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BOOK

THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY
JOHN YONGE AKERMAN,
FELLOW AND SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.
AND
W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.S.A.

VOL. XIX.

APRIL, 1856,—JANUARY 1857.



Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. Fast.

LONDON:
JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.

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TO
SIR GEORGE MUSGRAVE, BART., F.S.A.
OF
EDEN HALL, IN THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND,
THIS,
OUR NINETEENTH VOLUME,
IS
INSCRIBED.

MAY 10 '40 *Yvanich*

918682

CONTENTS.

ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

	Page
On Coins of Niniva, Termessus, etc. By W. S. W. Vaux .	1
Catalogue of Bactrian Coins. By Edward Thomas .	13, 49
Unpublished Types of Ancient British Coins. By John Evans	64
On a Tetradrachm of Alexander, struck at Aradus. By W. H. Scott	221
On a supposed Coin of Calynda. By W. H. Scott .	225
Note on the Coins of Meredates and Uiphoba. By W. H. Scott	226
On certain rare Greek Coins, recently acquired by the British Museum. By Thomas Burgon.	229

MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN NUMISMATICS.

On a rare Noble of the first Coinage of Edward IV. By John Evans	8
Curious Counterfeit Sterling. By Renier Chalon .	11
Stray Leaves from the Journal of a Traveller in Search of Ancient Coins. By J. G. Pfister	85

CONTENTS.

ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

	Page.
Notice of a Mamluk Coin, struck by command of the Sultan Melik Dháher Rokn-ed-din Bibárs Bondokdari. By Dr. Loewe	71
On the Weight of Sassanian Coins. By Professor Mommsen	223
Memoir on the Lemlein Medal. By Dr. Loewe	237

MISCELLANEA.

Notice of a "Description Générale des Monnaies de la Republique Romaine communément appelées Médailles Consulaires." Par H. Cohen	46
The Coinage of England in 1856	228
Indo-Scythic Coins	228
Note on the word "Nānaka"	22



COINS OF NINIVA, TERMESSUS, ETC.

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

ON COINS OF NINIVA, TERMESSUS, ETC.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 25th, 1855.]

SIR,

I HAVE much pleasure in laying before the Numismatic Society this evening, copies, in *gutta percha*, of two very curious coins lately acquired by the British Museum; the first of which bears the name on it of the celebrated city of Nineveh.

Though extremely rare, it is not actually unique—a similar coin having been described by M. Sestini.

The obverse bears the bust of the Emperor Trajan with the legend IMP. TRAIAN. CAE. AVG. GER. The reverse, an eagle with expanded wings between military standards, and the legend COL. AVG. FELI. NINI. CLAV.

There is no reason to doubt that the coin must have been struck to commemorate the foundation of a Roman colony at this place by the Emperor Claudius, who founded many similar colonies in many parts of the East. Moreover, this view is confirmed by the existence of another

VOL. XIX.

B

coin of the time of Maximinus, with the bust of the Emperor on the obverse and the legend IMP. MAXIMINVS; and the reverse, a naked man holding an object resembling a bull's head in his left-hand, and with the legend COL. NINIVA · CLAVD.¹

From these coins we gather two important facts, first, that the new city was called *Niniva Claudiopolis*; and secondly, that coins were struck as late as A.D. 235. Sestini, indeed, who has published this coin, from the museum of the Baron de Chaudoir, states that other coins have been discovered belonging to the Emperors Severus, Alexander, and Gordianus Pius, and to the Empress Mamaea. If this be true, there must have been coins as late as A.D. 244.

It is curious, that we have no notice in history of the actual name of Claudiopolis; but apart from the evidence of the coins, we know that Niniva was a place of importance during the early part of the Roman Empire. Thus Tacitus, in describing the march of C. Cassius, who had been appointed by the Emperor Claudius to escort Meherdates, the new King, to Parthia, states, "Sed capta in transitu urbs Ninos, vetustissima sedes Assyriae, et Arbela, castellum insigne famâ, quod postremo inter Darium atque Alexandrum praelio Persarum illic opes conciderant" (Annal. xii. 13); and even so late a writer as Ammianus twice mentions this ancient city: first, in his account of Constantius in A.D. 359, where he calls it "Ninive Adiabena ingens civitas"; and secondly, in A.D. 363, where he says in "hâc Adiabena Ninus est civitas quod olim Persidis regna possiderat, nomen Nini potentissimi Semiramidis Mariti declarans."

¹ The naked figure may be that of either Silenus, or of the god Lunus, who was venerated at Carrhæ.

It would be very interesting, were it possible now to determine which of the two great mounds of Koyunjik, or Nimrud, is the spot which in the fourth century of our era bore the name of Nineveh. I fear, however, that it is impossible to establish any certainty on this point. I believe that most of the Roman remains have been found in that of Nimrud, and among these may especially be noticed a hoard of Roman silver imperial coins ranging in dates between A.D. 74 and A.D. 201; with these were also found a number of terra-cotta figures and lamps. The coins, indeed, may easily have been buried, as has been suggested by Mr. Stuart Poole, by a Roman soldier, during the second expedition undertaken by Severus against the Arabs of Mesopotamia (A.D. 202), or during the Parthian war, which was carried on by the same emperor.

The other coin to which I shall call the attention of the society is one of great interest, and I believe, unique. It is an autonomous coin of the town of Termessus, in Pisidia, and has been only lately brought to this country. The history of the discovery is not known, so far as I am aware; but the coin has been sent to England by Mr. Finlay, of Athens, under cover to his friend, Mr. Stuart Poole, of the British Museum. To the kindness of the latter gentleman, the Society is indebted for the exhibition of the cast now on the table. Mr. Finlay procured it from M. Achilles Postolacca, who sent with it a paper containing the inscription, as he had read it, to the following effect:—

Obv.—Bearded head of Zeus Solymeus to right. ΤΕΡΜΗC-
CΕΩΝ. below Θ.

Rev.—With an olive wreath, ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑ ΤΕΡΜΗCCE H
TO ΚΑΠΟΥC ΕΧΟΥCΑ.

As this, however, would not make sense, it was sug-

gested that possibly the inscription might have been contracted, and that it had been originally

(H) ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑ (ΠΟΛΙΣ) ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ Η ΤΟ(ΥC)
ΚΑΠΟΥC ΕΧΟΥCΑ.

ΚΑΠΟΥC being the Doric form for *Κήπους*, the sense being "which has the guardianship of the sacred enclosures, i.e., for the public games," etc. I confess, however, that I am doubtful of this explanation, as I am not aware of any reason for this appearance of the Doric dialect in Pisidia.

While I am writing, another, and I venture to think much better, explanation has been sent, by Colonel Leake, in a note to my colleague, Mr. Burgon, a cast having been sent to him by Mr. Poole, at Mr. Finlay's request. Colonel Leake writes as follows:—

"The coin is of copper (size 7). The obverse has the usual head of Jupiter Solymeus as well as the ☉ below it, which is found on other coins of Termessus, sometimes on both sides, and which stands in need of explanation. But the reverse of the coin is perfectly intelligible, and is very interesting as illustrating the bronze tablet at Rome relating to Termessus, which is published in the collections of Muratori and Gruter. The reverse of the coin consists entirely of the following inscription, in six lines, within a garland—ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑ ΤΕΡΜΗCCE. Η ΤΟ Κ. ΑΥΤΟΥC ΕΧΟΥCΑ, *Ελεύθερα Τερμησσέ[ων πόλις] ἡ τὸ κ. αὐτοῦς* or *αὐτονόμους* (*scil. τοὺς Τερμησσέας*) *ἔχουσα*. "The free city of the Termessenses, which for the twentieth time (year) possesses the privilege of *autonomia*." *Αὐτοῦς* for *αὐτονόμους*, either from want of space, or possibly because it was not unusual to employ *αὐτὸς* in the sense of *αὐτόνομος*. That *αὐτόνομος* was intended can hardly be

doubted when we find ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΩΝ on many of the coins of Termessus.

“By the bronze tablet, the ‘Thermeses Maiiores Peisidae,’ are made ‘leiberi, amicei, socieique populei Romane, L. CELLIO, CN. LENTVLO COSS.’ *i.e.*, in the Consulship of Lucius Gellius Poplicola, and Cneius Cornelius, Lentulus Clodianus, the year of Rome 682, B.C. 72. The tablet, then, confirms them in the possession of everything they had, L. MARCIO, SEX IVLIO COSS. *i.e.*, in the Consulship of Lucius Marcius, and Sextus Julius Cæsar, the year of Rome, 663, B.C. 91. The second column of the inscription on the tablet defines the different privileges, which the edict of freedom conferred, and is the best authority in illustration of the right of the *liberae civitates*, and of the word *ἐλεύθερα*, which we find on so many Greek coins, and which may, perhaps, be hereafter found on some of those of Termessus.

“But on this question, it is unnecessary at present to dilate. It is sufficient, with reference to the Termessian coin in question, to observe that the time between the two Consulships accords exactly with the $\tau\omicron\kappa$. on the coin, and leaves no doubt that the Termessenses became *Αὐτονόμοι* in the year 91 B.C., and *Ἐλευθέροι* in 72 B.C., consequently that the coin was struck in the early part of 72 B.C. It appears, that the Termessenses took the side of the Romans in the Mithridatic war, which is alluded to in the tablet, that Mithridates, who is recorded as having ravaged Phrygia, deprived Termessus of some of its external possessions, among which islands are mentioned, and that all these were restored to them by the Romans. Undoubtedly it was the strong position of the city (see the Travels of Spratt and Forbes) that saved it from the king, and indeed was the great cause of the extraordinary opulence to which

it arrived, as evinced by its magnificent theatre and other remains. In their numismatic artists, they seem not to have been so fortunate."

The history of the town of Termessus is well known. Its name is spelt variously in different authors; as *τερμησός* generally throughout Strab. xiii. p. 630; xiv. p. 666; Polyb. xxii. 18, 24; Ptol. v. 5: *τερμεσός* Hierocl. p. 680: *τερμησός* in Dionys. v. 859. Arrian, who describes the scheme whereby Alexander the Great took its fortress (i. 28), calls the place Telmessus. It was situated on a rapid torrent called Catarrhactes, and guarded the pass leading to Milyas (Strab. xiii. 631; xiv. 666). It was about twenty-seven or twenty-eight English miles from Perge. Part of this country appears once to have belonged to the Lycians, and was possibly the land of the Solymi mentioned in Herodotus. Near the town was the *Βελλεροφόντου χάραξ* (Strab. xiii. p. 630), a legend which again connects it with Lycia.²

On the coins the usual legends are ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ, more or less abbreviated, with the heads and symbols of various deities, as Zeus, Zeus Nikephoros, Apollo, Pallas, Heracles, Mars (?) and Fortune. On one, too, in the British Museum is the representation of a man seated in a chair to the left, with the inscription COΛΥΜOC, which evidently refers to the Hero Eponymus of the city.³ On other coins occurs the legend ΤΕΡΜΗCCEΩΝ ΤΩΝ

² Indeed Strabo himself says, *καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἱ Τερμησσεῖς Σόλυμοι καλοῦνται*; and the mountain over the town bore the name of *Τὰ Σόλυμα*.

³ Two inscriptions in Boeckh :—No. 4366 *k*, and 4366 *q*, shew that there must have been a temple to Zeus Solymeus in this place, as a penalty is named in these *ἐπεὶ ἐκτέλει(ι) Δῖι Σόλυμῃ *q*.

ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ, which confirms the statement of Stephanus Byzantinus ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη ταύτης ἀποικος [καὶ αὐτὴ Πισιδίας] λεγομένη μικρά ὡς ἡ προτέρα μέλζων.

On other coins we find not unfrequently the word *ἀντονόμων*, with various dates, as I. A. (11), *θι* (19), *κθ.* (29), L·MA (41), etc.

Imperial coins of this place have been met with till a late period of the Roman empire, Sestini having published one, on which is CTP. ΚΛΑ., and a figure on horseback, which he attributes to Claudius Gothicus (Mus. Hedervar. p. 272).

The presumed remains of Termessus have been visited and described by several modern travellers. One of the earliest of them, Paul Lucas, considers that those at Schenel or Istenaz represent the site of this ancient city (Travels, vol. i. c. xxxiii. p. 242).

Colonel Leake adds, that Istenaz is doubtless the place called Stenez in Spratt's Journey, i. p. 244. Spratt names the ruins Galeluk. They are situated at 4400 feet above the sea, at a direct distance of fifteen geographical miles from Adalia (Attaleia). They are little more than half way from Adalia to Stenez. Since this paper was read the coins have been engraved.

W. S. W. VAUX.

II.

ON A RARE NOBLE OF THE FIRST COINAGE OF
EDWARD IV.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, May 22nd, 1856.]

I HAVE the pleasure of laying before the Society a second specimen of the excessively rare noble of the first coinage of Edward IV. It is now nearly four years since I first exhibited and called attention to one of these coins, which I then regarded as unique, an account and engraving of which will be found in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVI. 38. The present specimen is, however, from different dies; from the former it varies in several particulars. On the obverse, there is a pellet on either side of the king's head, instead of only one upon his right side. The ropes of the ship are more smooth and less twisted, and the bars across the poop of the ship extend further inwards. The relative position of the letters of the legend is also slightly varied. This latter is also the case on the reverse, while the E in the centre bears some traces as on the other specimen of having been struck over an D , showing that the die was originally intended for the nobles of Henry IV. The weight is $107\frac{1}{4}$ grains, that of my other noble being $107\frac{1}{4}$ grains, and the same as the noble of Henry V. and VI., while the usual weight of the subsequent rials of Edward IV., is $119\frac{1}{4}$ grains. These two coins are the only examples known of the first gold coinage of Edward IV. in 1464; and their extreme rarity is apparently to be accounted for

by the fact, that at the time when they were ordered to be struck, the relative value of silver to gold, was such that they were intrinsically worth more as bullion, than their current value. Under these circumstances, but very few could have been minted, and those must in most cases speedily have found their way to the melting pot. So rare, indeed, have the pieces of the coinage of 1464 always been, that all the early chroniclers, with the exception of Stow, have confounded it with that of the subsequent year. As I stated on a former occasion, the indenture of 1464, with William Lord Hastings, under which these pieces appear to have been coined, is still extant, and a proclamation also of the same time authorises the currency of these nobles of $107\frac{1}{2}$ grains, or fifty to the pound tower, at eight shillings and fourpence each. In the subsequent year 1465, it was found necessary to make a second indenture with Lord Hastings, altering the proportion of gold and silver, and authorising the coining of the rials of $119\frac{1}{2}$ grains or forty-five to the pound troy, but current for ten shillings, while the weight of the silver coin remained unaltered. The pound of gold, if minted in 1464, was therefore made to be current at £20 16s. 8d., while in 1465, it was current for £22 10s. This great variation in value must, however, have been the growth of many years, and could not have been of sudden occurrence. It is, therefore, but reasonable to suppose that the real value of gold as compared with silver, must have been nearly the same in 1464 as in the subsequent year, and that these nobles which were struck to be current at 8s. 4d., and believed by those in authority to be worth no more, were in reality worth 9s., or nearly so. Their disappearance from circulation, and the lack of bringing in bullion into the mints, of which the proclamation complains, would follow as a matter of course,

VOL. XX.

C

and the indenture of 1465, by which nobles, if they had been coined of the same weight, would have been current for 9s., shews that the enhancement of the value of gold had at length forced itself into notice, and caused the necessary provisions to be made for maintaining it in circulation. Among the many causes which may operate to produce rarity in coins, or even make them as entirely to disappear as if they had never been struck, there is none so sure and fatal in its results, as that the coin, even at its first appearance in circulation, should be worth intrinsically as bullion more, no matter how little, more than its nominal value. How certainly and distinctively this apparently not very important circumstance has operated on the nobles of the first coinage of Edward IV., is proved by the fact, that notwithstanding the care and attention that during two centuries at least, have been paid to the collecting and describing the series of English gold coins, the two specimens now before you are the sole survivors that have come down to our times; and there is no record of any others having been met with, though the fact that these two are struck from different dies, shews that there were more than a few trial pieces minted. I may add, that the two coins were found at an interval of some years, and in different parts of the country, and that their beautiful preservation, at the same time that it enhances their value and interest, places their authenticity beyond a doubt. The half and quarter nobles of this coinage have yet to be discovered.

JOHN EVANS.

III.

CURIOUS COUNTERFEIT STERLING.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 31st, 1856.]

MY DEAR SIR,

I have been favoured by Monsieur R. Chalon of Brussels with a note, of which the following is a translation :—

“My learned friend the Chevalier Thomson of Copenhagen, has made us acquainted in the thirteenth volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, with several imitations of the sterlings of Henry III. I forward the drawing of an example of these imitations, which appears to me very curious. The care which has been taken to assimilate the type and legends of this piece with the prototype, must have led most successfully to its being confounded with the English pennies of Henry.

Obv.—Full-faced bearded crown head, surrounded by the legend **hENRIQVS REX TRAS.**

R.—The ordinary type of the long cross, **QMI | TEL | EVE | ION**

I propose to read the legend thus :—

HENRICVS REX TeodeR iCi CoMITis CLEVE IOHannes (Monetarius).

The name *Teoderici* is here made to stand for *Terci* in the original coin. *Johannes* is also the name of a moneyer of Henry, while the letters **EVE**¹ of the word *Cleve*, might stand for *York*.

¹ *Cleve* (*Clevae*), for *Cliviae*, is found in several Latin charters. See Lacomblat, *Urkundenbuch für die geschichte des Nieder-Rheins*.

The practice of placing on the reverse the name of the moneyer in the English coins of this period, is not without examples in the imitations. We find it on one of the sterlings published by M. Thomson. M. Vander Chys has reproduced it in his beautiful work on the coins of guilders;¹ WILLEM ARNEMI (*William in Arneim*). This name is clearly that of a moneyer, since there was not a prince of the name of William in guilders at that period.

The Theirri, Count of Clives, to which we assign the piece which is the subject of this note, must be one of the four counts of that name who reigned successively from 1244 to 1311.

This coin belongs to the collection of my friend and colleague M. L. De Coster.

RENIER CHALON.

The Numismatic Society will doubtless duly appreciate the attention of M. Chalon, and consider this an interesting addition to the somewhat numerous list of "counterfeit sterlings."

I am, my dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

J. Y. AKERMAN.

To W. S. W. VAUX, Esq.,

President of the Numismatic Society.

¹ De Munten der voormalige graven en Hertogen van Gelderland, etc. *Haarlem*, 4to, 1852.

A	17	32a	50	71
B	a	33	51	72
	18	34		73
N ^o 1	a	35	52	74
2	19	a	53	a
a	a	36		b
3	b	a	54	75
a	20	37		a
4	21	a	55	76
5	22	b	56	77
6	23	38	a	a
a	a	39	57	78
7	b	40	58	79
8	aa		59	80
9	24	41	60	81
10	a	a	61	82
11	b	42	62	83
	25	43	63	a
12	26	44	64	84
a	a	45	65	85
13	27	46	66	a
14	28	47	67	86
15	29	a		87
a	30	b	68	88
16	31	48	69	a
17	32	49	70	89

90 E	109 22 下 4 x	127 a 中	144 中 " 中	165 今
91 E	110 中	128 中	145 中 " do	166 中
92 W	111 中	a 中	146 do " 中	167 中
93 中	112 中	129 中	147 中 " 中	168 中
94 中	a 中	130 中	148 中 " 中	169 中
a 中	113 中	131 中	149 中 " 中	170 中
95 中	with 中	132 中	150 中 " 中	171 中
96 中	114 中 " 中	133 中	and 中 and 中	172 中
97 中	115 中 " 中	a 中	151 中 " 中	173 中
98 K	a 中 " 中	134 中	152 中 " 中	174 中
a K	116 中	135 中	中 " 中	175 中
99 中	117 中	a 中	153 中 " 中	176 中
100 中	118 中	b 中	154 中 " 中	177 中
101 中	119 中	136 中	155 中 " 中	178 中
102 中	a 中	137 中	156 中 " 中	中
103 中	120 中	a 中	157 中 " 中	a 中
a 中	121 中	138 中	158 中 " 中	中
104 中	122 中	139 中	159 中 " 中	中
105 中	123 中	140 中	160 中 " 中	a 中
106 中	a 中	with 中	161 中	b 中
a 中	124 中	中	a 中	中
107 中	125 中	141 中	b 中	中
a 中	126 中	with 中	c 中	中
108 中	a 中	a 中	162 中	中
a 中	127 中	142 中	163 中	中
109 中	a 中	143 中	164 中	中

IV.

CATALOGUE OF BACTRIAN COINS.

THE following Catalogue of Bactrian Coins has been compiled with a view to its insertion as a supplemental *résumé* or appendix to the forthcoming reprint of James Prinsep's "Numismatic Essays."¹ It will be found to contain a detail of all the published specimens of any real importance, together with notices of such novelties as the editor of the work feels himself authorised to quote from unedited documents² and public or private collections.

This abstract, confessedly incomplete as it is, will nevertheless furnish a concise groundwork for a more comprehensive catalogue, such as the progress of our knowledge may hereafter demand; and, in the meantime, it may be

¹ The Numismatic Essays of the late James Prinsep, F.R.S., Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Collected and edited, with additional matter, by Edward Thomas, Esq., Bengal Civil Service. 2 vols. 8vo. With about 46 plates of coins. [The work will include all Prinsep's Numismatic papers, as well as his "Useful Tables of Coins, Weights, and Measures of British India," and the "Chronological and Genealogical Tables of Ancient India."] Stephen Austin, Hertford.

² I insert this reservation with especial reference to the plates of Major Cunningham's promised work on the successors of Alexander in the East, which that diligent collector obligingly communicated to me some years since in anticipation of the due course of publication. At the same time, I must remark that I do not feel myself called upon to exercise any similar restraint in regard to such new coins as may chance to be figured in these engravings, which I am in a position to cite independently from counterpart originals.

accepted as a definite advance upon any of those lists that have previously appeared in the Numismatic Chronicle.

To thus much of preface, I may add that I am not prepared, at this moment, to enter into any discussion on the epochs or the serial order of the different monarchs, nor do I wish to attempt any elucidation of the complex subject of monograms and mint-marks. For the former, I content myself with reproducing the results arrived at by those writers who have had opportunities of reviewing the question in its more mature aspect; and, for the latter, I confine myself to an exhibition of the positive data upon which future opinions may safely be formed.

I now proceed to cite the classification and distribution proposed severally by Wilson, Bartholomæi, Cunningham, and Lassen, following the order of priority of publication by each author.

No. 1.

GREEK DYNASTIES.—GENERAL LIST.

H. H. WILSON.

	B.C.		B.C.
Theodotus I.	256	Philoxenes	130
Theodotus II.	240	Antialkides	135
Euthydemus	220—190	Archebius	125—120
Demetrius	190	Menander	126
Eukratides	181	Apollodotus	110
Heliokles	147	Diomedes	100
Lysias	147	Hermæus	98
Amyntas	135	Agathokles	135
Agathokleia		Pantaleon	120
Antimachus	140		

BARBARIC KINGS.

SU-HERMÆUS, KADAPHES, KADPHISES.

Mayes	100	Azes	50
Palirius	80	ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ, <i>King</i>	
Spalyrus	75	<i>of Kings</i>	
Azilises	60		

INDO-PARTHIAN DYNASTY.

Vonones	Kodes
Undopherres	Miscellaneous Arsacidan
Gondophares	Kings
Abagasus	

INDO-SCYTHIAN PRINCES OF KABUL.

Kadphises	Oerki
Kanerki	Baraoro
Kenorano	Sassanians

CONTEMPORARY CLASSIFICATION.

Euthydemus.

Demetrius . . Eukratides.

Lysias Heliokles.

Amyntas . . Antialkides . Antimachus Agathokles

Agathokleia . Archebius . Philoxenes . Menander . Pantaleon

Apollodotus

Diomedes

Hermæus

Su-Hermæus (?)

A. A., p. 267, published 1841.

No. 2.

M. DE BARTHOLOMÆI'S LIST.

1. Défection de la Bactriane et commencement du règne de Diodote, vers 256 av. J. C.
2. Agathoclès succède à son père, vers 240 av. J. C.
Euthydème s'empare du trône de la Bactriane par le meurtre d'Agathoclès 215 av. J. C.
4. Pantaléon se maintient dans le Kaboulستان oriental contre Euthydème jusque, vers 214 av. J. C.
5. Guerre d'Euthydème avec Antiochus après 210 av. J. C.
6. Traité de paix, conclu avec le Roi de Syrie vers 206 av. J. C.
7. Euthydème fait des conquêtes dans l'Ariane et l'Arachosie, vers 200 av. J. C.
8. Demétrius fils d'Euthydème succède à son père, vers 190 av. J. C.
9. Eucratides s'empare de la royauté dans la Bactriane, Demétrius fonde une monarchie dans l'Arachosie et dans les contrées de l'Inde qui avaient été conquises par son père vers 181 av. J. C.

10. Eucratides fait pendant plusieurs années la guerre à Demétrius et finit par s'emparer de ses états, vers 164 av. J. C.
 11. Eucratides étend ses conquêtes dans l'Inde, vers 160 av. J.C.
 12. Meurtre d'Eucratide, par son fils Heliocles, qui s'empare de la couronne en Bactriane, vers 155 av. J. C.
- Ici commence le démembrement graduel de la monarchie, et les données historiques semblent nous manquer pour tenter même un ordre chronologique quelconque.
13. Antimachus fonde un royaume dans la Drangiane?
 14. Antialcides réunit sous sa domination l'Arachosie et le Kaboulstan oriental.
 15. Ménandre fonde un puissant royaume dans l'Inde.
 16. Arsace VI., Mitridate I^r roi Parthe, envahit la Drangiane, vers 145 av. J. C.
 17. Chûte complète de la Monarchie grecque-bactrienne, proprement dite, vers 139 av. J. C.

Köhnes Zeitschrift, 1843, p. 76.

The subjoined list has been abstracted from Major Cunningham's lithographed table in the eighth volume of this Journal. It will be found to enter into an elaborate detail of the epochal and territorial distribution of the various divisions of the Bactrian empire. The assignment of the geographical boundaries is understood to have been primarily based upon the author's interpretations of the mint monograms discovered on the coins of the different kings. It is needless to add, that the results must be received with considerable caution, as most of our readers are sufficiently aware of the difficulties environing the definition of the true value of monogrammatic combinations, as well as the obstacles that exist to their satisfactory application under even a well-defined system of comparative geography, a department in which we are sadly deficient in regard to the countries chiefly in question.

No 3.

MAJOR CUNNINGHAM'S TABLE.

NO.	B.C.	<i>Num. Chron.</i> viii. 175.
1	256	Diodotus I. } Bactriana (including Sogdiana, Bactria,
	243	Diodotus II. } and Margiana).
2	247	Agathocles } Paropamisadæ and Nysa.
3	227	Pantaleon }
4	220	Euthydemus — Bactriana, Ariana (including Aria, Drangia, Arachosia, and Paropamisadæ), Nysa, and subsequently Gandharitis, Peukelaotis, and Taxila.
5	196	Demetrius — ditto, ditto; and, later in his reign, Patalene, Syrastrène, Larice.
6	190	Heliocles — Bactriana and Paropamisadæ.
7	190	Antimachus Theos — Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila.
8	185	Eucratides — Bactriana, Ariana, besides Patalene, Syrastrène, and Larice, as well as Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila.
9	173	Antimachus Nikephoros — Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila, contemporarily with Eucratides' retention of the rest of his dominions.
10	165	Philoxenes — succeeds to Antimachus Nikephoros' kingdom.
11		Nicias — ditto, with the exception of Taxila.
12	165	Apollodotus succeeds Eucratides in Ariana, as well as Pata., Syr., Lar.
13		Zoïlus }
14		Diomedes } follow Apollodotus in Ariana alone.
15		Dionysius }
16	159	Lysias — succeeds these in Paropamisadæ, and obtains Nicias' dominion of Nysa, Gand., and Peuk.; while Mithridates I. possesses himself of Ariana, having previously gained Margiana from Eucratides.
17	150	Antialcidas — succeeds to Lysias' kingdom.
18		Amyntas }
19		Archebius } follow Antialcidas.
20	161-140	Menander — reigns in Paropamisadæ, Nysa, Gand., Peuk., Taxila, Por. Reg., Cath., Patalene, Syr., Lar.
21	135	Strato — succeeds, with the exception of the countries of Pata., Syr., Lar., which fall to Mauas.
22		Hippostratus }
23		Telephus } follow Strato.

VOL. XX.

D

- 24 126 Hermæus—rules over Parop., Nyssa, Gand., Peuk.
(The Su-Sakas obtain Aria, Dr., and Arach., from
the Parthians).
- 25 Mauas—has Taxila, Por. Reg., Cath., Pata., Syr., Lar.
- 26 105 Kadphises (*Yuchi*)—takes possession of Hermæus'
kingdom, and Taxila from Mauas (Kozola Kadaphes).
- 27 Vonones }
28 Spalygis } Paropamisadæ.
29 Spalirises }
- 30 110 Azas—succeeds Mauas, obtaining also, in 90 B.C.,
Nyssa, Gand., and Peuk.
- 31 80 Azilisas—succeeds Azas in the three latter, adding
Taxila, and the Paropamisadæ.
- 32 80 The Soter Megas obtains the dominions of Azas,
and subsequently those of Azilisas.
- 60 The Yuchi again possess Parop., Nyssa, and Tax., etc.
- 33 26 Gondophares—reigns in Ariana.
- 34 Abdagases (and Sinnakes or Adinnigaüs)—ditto in
ditto, less the Parop.
- A.D.
- 35 44 Arsaces (Ornospades or Orthomasdes)—ditto ditto.
- 36 107 Pakores Monnesses—do. do. (Hiatheleh in Bactriana).
[36^a Orthagnes.]
- 207 Artemon—in Aria, Drangia, Arachosia.
Sassanians.

No. 4.

M. LASSEN'S LIST.

DIE GRIECHISCH-BAKTRISCHEN UND GRIECHISCH-
INDISCHEN KÖNIGE.

1. DIE GRIECHISCH-BAKTRISCHEN.

Diodotus I., vor 250 vor Chr. G.

Diodotus II., seit 237 Agathokles, in Badakshan
und am obern Indus
seit 245.

Euthydemus, unabhängig seit 245;

in Baktrien seit 222; Pantaleon.

Demetrios, seit 205; beseigt um 165.

Eukratides, nach 180.

Heliokles, seit 160; Lysias, nach 165; Antimachus, seit 170.

Archebios, 150-140; Antialkides; . . . Philoxenes, um 160.

Amyntas.

2. DIE GRIECHISCH-INDISCHEN KÖNIGE.

Apollodotos, nach 160.
 Zoilos und Dionysios.
 Menandros, seit 144.
 Straton, um 124.
 Hippostratos, nach 114.
 Diomedes, Nikias, Telephos, zwischen 114 u. 100.
 Hermaios, 100—85.

No. 5.

DIE INDOSKYTHISCHEN UND PARTHISCHEN KÖNIGE.

1. ÇAKA-KÖNIGE.

Mayes, nach 120 vor Chr. G.	Vonones, kurz vor u. nach Chr. G.
Azilises, um 100.	Spalygis.
Azes, seit 95.	Yndopherres, um. 90.
Spalirisos um 60.	Abdagases, von 40 bis 30.

2. JUREITCHI-KÖNIGE.

Kadphises I., nach 85 vor Chr. G.
 Kadaphes, und seine namenlosen Nachfolger etwa bis 60 v. Chr. G.
 Kadphises II., seit 24 vor Chr. G., bis etwa 1.

3. TURUSHKA-KÖNIGE.

Hushka oder Oerki, von etwa 10 vor bis 5 nach Chr. G.
 Gushka, bis 10 nach Chr. G.
 Kanishka oder Kanerki, bis 40.
 Balan, bis 45.
 Oer Kenorano, bis 60.

Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. ii. p. xxiv., published 1852.

As I have already intimated that I am unwilling to enter upon any such comprehensive review of the general subject as should justify my attempting to recast the order of succession of the Greek princes of Bactria and Northern India, it becomes necessary that I should adopt, for the moment, some one of the lists above quoted, to serve as a basis for

the arrangement of this catalogue. I have therefore selected for the purpose that of Major Cunningham, as being more full in names, more facile of reference, and as grounded upon an examination of by far the most ample series of original specimens.

The table, it will be seen, was published many years ago, and I have no doubt its author would now be prepared to subject it to extensive modifications. I shall perhaps be pardoned, therefore, for anticipating some of the more obviously needed emendations. I have avoided complicating this outline catalogue with any notes or illustrations of the palæographic or linguistic peculiarities of the Arian legends, which are merely given *literatim* in *Italic* characters — their intent and meaning is ordinarily patent in the parallel Greek versions, of which indeed they were themselves mere translations. For all these matters, I must refer the reader to the original work, from which this article is an extract.

I have equally abstained from entering at any length into the details of the later Arian monograms, and restricted my facsimiles to the more interesting Greek combinations used in the series.

It may be necessary to explain that a degree of difficulty has been experienced in the allocation of the several varieties of these literal compounds. Some examples, that depart but slightly from outlines previously entered, have been inserted in the plates independently in their modified form, to avoid the risk of the omission of what might eventually prove to be a separate symbol. And, further, some monograms have been intentionally repeated, with a view to bring more distinctly together the complete group pertaining to a given monarch.

I. DIODOTUS.

1.—Gold.

Obv.—Head of the king, with fillet, to the right.

Rev.—Erect figure of Jupiter, in the act of hurling the thunderbolt; eagle in front of his left foot; a chaplet in the field; no monog. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

R. Rochette, Jour. des Sav., Ariana Antiqua, p. 218.
Trésor de Numismatique, pl. lxxii. 4.³

2.—Tetradrachma. Similar types (Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* viii. 178, and unpublished plates.)

Monog., No. 1, with II The chaplet is omitted.

a)—Drachma. Similar types to No. 1.

M. de Bartholomæi, Köhnes Zeitschrift, 1843, p. 75. Monog., No. 2, with the first symbol classed under B.

Mr. Stokes and B. M. Coins, Monograms uncertain.

Major Cunningham further cites the Monograms No. 2^a from the Coins of Diodotus.

II. COINS OF AGATHOCLES.

1.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Head, with fillet, to the right. ΔΙΟΛΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

Rev.—Erect figure of Jupiter, as in Diodotus' coins.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Monog., No. 3 (with chaplet).

M. de Bartholomæi, Köhnes Zeitschrift, 1843, pl. iii. 2, p. 67.

³ Coins bearing similar devices, from the mint of Antiochus II., may be referred to in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, pl. vii. fig. 2, vol. ii.; Prinsep's *Essays*, pl. ii., fig. 1, p. 25; Burnes's *Bokhará*, pl. iii., fig. 8; *A. A.*, p. 219; *Trésor de Numismatique*, lxxii. 3. Monograms: Mr. Gibbs' coin (Tetrad.) A; Mr. Freres' coin (Drachma) B.

2.—Tetradrachma, figured in pl. xiii. 3.⁴*Obv.*—Head of king.*Rev.*—Jupiter, with the left hand resting on a spear, and the right holding a figure of Diana Lucifera. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.*Monog.*, No. 17. Mr. Gibbs' coin has the same monogram. *Trésor de Numismatique*, lxxiv. *Monog.* 17^a.^a)—Drachma. Similar types.*Monog.*, No. 3. *J. des Sav.*, June, 1834. *A.A.*, vi. 4.

3.—Drachma.

Obv.—Head of Bacchus.*Rev.*—Panther. *Legend*—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.*J. des Sav.*, 1834. *A.A.*, vi. 5. *Trésor de Numismatique*, lxxiv. 2.

4.—○ Copper. Types as in No. 3, with the addition of the vine in front of the panther on the reverse.

Monog., No. 4. ΑΡΑΧΩΙΑ (?) *A.A.*, vi. 6. *Num. Jour.*, vii., pl. iii. 30.

⁴ As the collected edition of Prinsep's Essays, to which the numbers of these plates correspond, is as yet unpublished, and as many readers may wish to refer to the originals in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I append a list of the headings of the joint series of engravings, defining the parallel references.

Pl. II. Prinsep's Essays = Pl. No. xi. Vol. II. J. A. S. B. 1833.

„ III.	.....	=	... XIV.	.....	...
„ VIII.	.....	=	... XXVI.	Vol. III.	... 1834.
„ XIII.	.....	=	... XXV.	Vol. IV.	... 1835.
„ XIV.	.....	=	... XXVI.	.....	...
„ XV.	.....	=	... XXI.	.....	...
„ XVI.	.....	=	... XXII.	.....	...
„ XVII.	.....	=	... XXIII.	.....	...
„ XVIII.	.....	=	... XXIV.	.....	...
„ XXI.	.....	=	... LI.	.....	...
„ XXII.	.....	=	... XXXVIII.	.....	...
„ XXIII.	.....	=	... XXXIX.	.....	...
„ XXVIII.	.....	=	... XXXV.	Vol. V.	... 1836.
„ XXXII.	.....	=	... XLVI.	.....	...
„ XLIII.	.....	=	... XXVIII.	Vol. VII.	... 1838.

5.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Panther to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Rev.—Bacchante. *Legend*, in Indian-Pāli, *Agathuklayesa*.
Plate xxviii, 9; also *A. A.*, vi., 7, 8, 9.

Some varieties of these coins display mint marks or letters on the right of the Bacchante. The character is usually formed like a modern Hebrew ם *b*, it may be either an Arian 𐬨 *d*, or a Pāli 𑀭 *ne*; at times, again, it takes the form of an Arian 𐬭 *te* or *re*. An analogous piece, in the British Museum, exhibits the Greek letters, ΣΗ, on the obverse.

III. PANTALEON.

1.—□ Copper. Types similar to No. 5. Agathocles.

Ob.—Panther. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

Rev.—Bacchante. *Legend*, in Indian-Pāli, *Pantalevasa*.

Monog.—𐬨, 𐬭, etc. Pl. xxviii. 8; also *A. A.*, vi. 11.

IV. EUTHYDEMUS.

1.—Gold.

Obv.—Head of king to the right, with fillet.

Rev.—Hercules seated on a rock, resting his club on a pile of stones. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.

Monog., No. 5.

Pellerin, *Additions aux Médailles des Rois*, p. 95. *A. A.* i. 1.

2.—Tetradrachma. Plate ii., fig. 3. *A. A.*, i., 2, 3, 4.

Obv., as in No. 1.

Rev.—Hercules, etc., with his club resting on his right knee.⁵

Monogs., Nos. 6, 7, 18, 19.

Variant, pl. xiii. 1. *Rev.* type as in gold coin. *Monog.*, No. 14.

Jour. des Sav., July, 1834, *Monog.*, No. 8.

Other coins have *Monogs.*, Nos. 9, 10, 16, 18.

A. A., xxi. 1, has 9 with 10.

*) —Drachma, similar types.

⁵ Where the legends are omitted, they are to be understood to be identical with those cited on the latest occasion.

3.—Tetradrachma. Pl. xxxii. 3.

Obv.—Head of king.*Rev.*—Hercules standing, to the front; head encircled with a chaplet; on the left arm are the club and lion's skin; right hand extended.*Monog.*, No. 17. See also *A. A.*, vi. 3.

Mr. Freres coin, in the British Museum, varies the reverse device, inasmuch as the right hand holds a second chaplet. *Monog.*, No. 7.

*)—Drachma, as No. 3. *A. A.*, i. 12.

4.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Laurelled head of Apollo to the left.*Rev.*—Tripod. *R. Rochette, J. des Sav.*, Dec. 1838, p. 741.

5.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Bearded head, to the right.*Rev.*—Horse, free. Pl. xxxii. 4. *A. A.*, i. 13, 14, 15.

6.—○ Copper (small).

Obv.—Head indistinct.*Rev.*—Erect figure of Apollo to the left, with bow and arrow. *A. A.*, ii. 1.

7.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head as in No. 4.*Rev.*—Tripod.*Monog.*, No. 15. *Captain Hay; Trésor de Numismatique*, lxxii. 11; also *Köhler*, pl. i. 3.⁶

V. DEMETRIUS.

1.—Tetradrachma. Head of king with fillet, to the right.

Rev.—Minerva armed, to the front. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.*Monog.*, No. 12, with the letter Δ above the figure.*Jour. des Sav.* (Hönigberger's coin), i. 4, 1835; re-engraved in *A. A.*, ii. 3. *Trés. de Num.*, lxxii. 14.

⁶ I have not been able to obtain a sight of Köhler's work, I quote his coins from Grotefend, *Die Münzen der Könige von Bactrien*, 1839.

2.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right, with helmet fashioned like an elephant's head.

Rev.—Hercules, like No. 3, Euthydemus' device, but his right hand is upraised in the act of placing a chaplet on his brow, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

Mr. Gibbs' coin, monog. No. 17^a). Köhler, p. 321.

Monog., No. 7. R. Rochette, Jour. des Sav., 1838, p. 743.
B.M. coin monog. No. 11.

^a)—Oboli. Similar devices, pl. xiii. 2. *A. A.*, ii. 5, monog. 17^a.
M. R. Rochette notices a Triobolus of this type, J. des Sav., Deux. Supp. 16. Trésor Numismatique, p. 149.

^b)—No. 4, *A. A.*, has the neck of the king bare.
A second unpublished coin E.I.H. has the monog. No. 13.

3.—Copper.

Obv.—Head of Hercules.

Rev.—Apollo (?). *Monog., No. 13 (OΞ). A. A.*, xxi., fig. 3.

4.—Copper.

Obv. as No. 3.

Rev.—Hercules; the right arm is upraised towards the head of the figure. *Cunningham, J. A. S. B.*, xi. 130.

5.—Copper.

Obv.—Elephant's head.

Rev.—The Caduceus. *J. A. S. Bengal*, xi. 131.

VI. HELIOCLES.

1.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Head of king to the right.

Rev.—Jove with spear and thunderbolt. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Grotefend, p. 30, quoting Catalogue d'Ennery, p. 40.
Trésor de Numismatique, lxxiii. 15.

Monog., No. 20. A. A. pl. ii. fig. 6, monog. 12.

B.M. coins, monog. Nos. 8, 21 (weight of piece, 259·6 grs.)
Mr. Gibbs' coin, monog. No. 73.

A specimen in Lady Sale's collection has the same monogram as the piece first cited.

2.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Helmeted head.

Rev.—Imperfect (seated figure?). *Capt. Hay.*

3.—○ Plated copper (Drachma?).

Obv.—Helmeted head, closely resembling that of Eukratides, within a border of alternate drops and beads.

Rev.—Jove seated. *Legend* (blundered), ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΙΑΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Mr. E. C. Bayley; also, Capt. Hay.

*)—Drachma. Similar types. *Monog. Ω.* *Capt. Hay.*

4.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΑΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Rev.—Jove, as above, No. 1. *Legend*, in Bactrian-Páli or Arian characters, *Máhárājasa Dhamíkasa Heliyakreyasa.*
A. A., xxi. 8. monog. No. 22, i. e. Σ.

The orthography of the name in the Arian varies at times to *Eliyakreyasa* and *Heliyakresasa*; the latter occurs on a coin in the E. I. H., with the monog. No. 7. Other hemidrachmas have monog. No. 23, and 23 with Σ.

5.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Head. Greek Legend as usual.

Rev.—Elephant to the left. Legend as in No. 4.

Pl. xliii. 7; and A. A., ii. 7, monog. Σ. Other monogs. Nos. 7, 44.
E. I. C. coin.

6.—□ Copper. As No. 5, but the elephant on the reverse is to the right. Pl. xliii. 8.

7.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Elephant, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΑΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Rev.—Bull. *Máhárājasa Dhamíkasa Heliyakreyasa.*

Capt. Hay.

⁷ I am indebted to Mr. E. C. Bayley, of the Bengal Civil Service, for all notices of Captain W. E. Hay's coins. I myself have not seen that officer's valuable collection.

8.—Copper. Degraded type.

Obv.—Head.*Rev.*—Figure as in No. 1. Legends imperfect. Pl. xxviii. 4.

9.—Copper. Degraded type.

Obv.—Head.*Rev.*—Horse, free, to the left. Legends imperfect. Pl. xv.
12, 13, 14.

VII. ANTIMACHUS ΘΕΟΣ.

1.—Tetradrachma.⁸*Obv.*—"Head with fillet. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.*Rev.*—Standing figure of Jupiter, with shield and javelin (?);
eagle at his foot. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ
ΘΕΟΥ."

Monogram not noted.

Capt. Hay.

2.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right, with Causia.*Rev.*—Neptune, to the front, with trident and palm-branch.
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.*Köhler*, i. 10, reproduced by Mionnet, sup. viii. 466.*Monog.*, No. 82. *B.M.* coin, monog. No. 7. *Lady Sale's*
coin, No. 82.^a)—Hemidrachma (31·7 grs.). *B.M.* coin monog., No. 19 ^a.
A second monog. No. 82.

Major Cunningham (J.A.S.B., ix., p. 531, etc.) describes
a "plated" coin of Antimachus Theos, with the monog. Xo
(Chorasmia?)

2^a.—Obolus. Similar types and legends to No. 2.*A.A.*, xxi. 12. Monog. 7.

⁸ It is needless to say, that, if this important coin proves to
be genuine and is correctly described, Antimachus Theos must be
moved upwards to a very different position in the list of the
Bactrian kings.

VIII. EUCRATIDES.

1.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Uncovered head of the king, with fillet.

Rev.—Apollo, bow in the left, and arrow in the right hand.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Pl. xlii. 2.

Köhler, A. A., iii. 4, monog. No. 19^a.⁹

Lady Sale's collection boasts of a tetradrachma with a similar mint mark.

Hönigberger, Jour. des Sav., Sept. 1835, i. 5. *Mionnet*, suppt. viii.

^a)—Drachma. Similar types. Pl. xiii. 6. *Gen. Fox*, monog. 76.

2.—Obolus.

Obv.—Bare head of king.

Rev.—Caps and palm-branches of Dioscuri. Same legend as No. 1. Pl. xxxii. 10. Monogs. Nos. 7, 26, 32.

3.—Obolus.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king.

Rev. as in No. 2. *A. A.*, iii. 5. *Gen. Fox*, monog. No. 12^a.
E. I. H., 12^a and 34. *B. M.* monog. N.

4.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Bare head of king, to the right, with fillet.

Rev.—Dioscuri, charging; and monog. 7, B.M.

^a)—Drachma. Similar types, *Trés. de Num.* lxxiii. 2.

5.—Tetradrachma. (Weight of E. I. H. coin, with suspending loop, 255.7 grs.)

Obv.—Helmeted head of king. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ.

Rev.—Male and female heads, uncovered and unadorned with fillets. ΗΑΙΟΚΛΟΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ.

Monog., No. 24. *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. v, pl. xxvii., fig. 1. Re-engraved in *A. A.*, pl. xxi., fig. 7, from the original coin.

Col. Sykes' cast, from a possibly genuine coin of this class, gives the monog. No. 17^a.

⁹ Where my facsimiles differ from the published specimens, it must be understood that my copy is made from the original coin, and not from the engraving.

- 6.—Tetradrachma. (Weight of selected specimens in B. M., 258 and 259 grs.)

Obv.—Helmeted head, to the right.

Rev.—Dioscuri, charging. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟY ΕΥΚΡΑ-
ΤΙΔΟY. Pl. xiii. 5. A. A., iii. 1, 2, 3.

Monogs., Nos. 24^a, 25, 26. *Lady Sale*, No. 27. B. M.
17^a, 24, 24^b, 28, and 29.

Mr. Bayley. Monog. $\frac{9}{6}$, with HT in the field.

- *)—Drachma. *Jour. des Sav.*, 1834, pl. v., and 1836, pl. ii. 3.
Trés. de Num., lxxiii. 6. B. M. monog. N.

- 7.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Helmeted head of the king, to the left, with a portion of the bust displayed; the right arm raised in the act of darting a javelin.

Rev.—Dioscuri. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟY ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟY.

Monog. 15 (?) *Köhler*, i. 8. *Trés. de Num.* pl lxxiii. fig. 7.

- 8.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head of Apollo to the right.

Rev.—Horse, free, to the left. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟY.
A. A., iii. 7.

- 9.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head, to the left, with javelin.

Rev.—Dioscuri. B. M. E. *Köhler.* *Mionnet*, viii. 470.

- 10.—□ Copper. Small coin.

Obv.—Bare head of king to the right. Legend, B. M. E.

Rev.—Caps, etc., of Dioscuri. Legend, *Máhárājasa*
Eukratidasā. Pl. xxxii. 11. A. A., iii. 12.
Trés. de Num. lxxiii. 13.

- 11.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head and legend as in No. 6.

Rev.—Dioscuri. Legend in Arian, *Máhárājasa Eukratidasā*.
Pl. xiii. 8—10. *Monogs.* 36^a, 37^a, 32, 25, 37^b, 29
with E in the field, 40, 23^b.

- 12.—○ Copper. Of similar devices and legends. Pl. xiii. 7, and
A. A., iii. 8, monog. 44.

13.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head to the right, and B. M. E.

Rev.—Seated figure to the left, with a small elephant's at the side (as in Antialkides' coins). Legend indistinct.
A. A., iii. 11.

14.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to the left, with javelin. B.M.E.

Rev.—A winged figure of Victory to the right, with chaplet and palm-branch. Legend defective.
A. A., xxi. 5, monog. 24^a.

15.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king to the right. B. M. E.

Rev.—Victory to the left, extending a wreath and fillet. Legend defective except in the name.
A. A., xxi. 6, monog. 35^a.

I recapitulate the monograms, already quoted, on the coins of Eucratides, and add a list of the numerous symbols occurring on his various mintages.

Monograms quoted above:—Nos. 7, 12^a, 15, 17^a, 19^a, 23^b, 24, 24^a, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 29^b, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 36^a, 37^a, 40, and 76.

Additional, derived from other coins:—Nos. 3(?), 6^a, 7, 9, 15, 19^a, 23^a, ^b, 24^b, 24^b with E, 26^a, 27 to 45 inclusive, together with the second examples of each monogram classed under those numbers marked ^a, and No. 29 associated with the letter E on the field of the piece.

IX. ANTIMACHUS ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ .

1.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Winged figure of Victory, to the left, with palm branch in her right, and fillet in her left hand.
 $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ}$.

Rev.—King on horseback, to the right. *Máharajasa jayá-dharása Antimákhasa*. Pl. xv. 3. A. A., ii. 16.

Prof. Wilson was under the impression that all these coins bore the same monog. Nos. 29^a (A. A., 274); they are now found to embrace the symbols classed under the following numbers, 26, 29, 77, and 77^a.

2.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Demeter, to the front; cornucopia on her left arm.
Legend imperfect.

Rev.—Winged figure of Victory, to the left. *Máhárājasa*
- - - *Antimakhasa.* Pl. xv. A. A., ii. 16.

3.—□ Copper.

Obv.—The skin of an animal (?). ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

Rev.—Wreath and palm-branch. *Máhárājasa* - - - -
Antimakhasa. A. A., xxi., fig. 11.

A silver cast of a genuine coin, in the possession of Mr. Bayley, definitely determines the attribution of this piece, and contributes the full counterpart names as inserted above. It bears the monog. No. 26. See also Cunningham, J.A.S.B., April, 1840, p. 392.

X. PHILOXENES.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Helmeted head of king, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

Rev.—Horseman, as in Antimachus Nikephorus' coins.
Máhárājasa Apadīhatasa Pīlasinasa.

Pl. xv. 1. A. A., ii. 17. Monog., No. 74.

a.—□ Hemidr., of similar devices. Monog., No. 83, with Σ.

Mr. Bayley.

b.—□ Obolus (?). Types and legends as above. The Arian name is written, *Phalasinasa.* Monog., No. 84.

Captain Robinson.

Mr. Frere has a silver cast of an apparently authentic didrachma, which supplies us with a variety of this obverse type. The king's head is here uncovered. On the reverse, traces of the monog. 29^a, are visible. The Arian transcript of the name commences with the letter *Phi*.

2.—□ Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Bare head of king with fillet, to the right. Legend as above.

Rev.—Device and legend as in No. 1.

Monog., No. 83, with Σ.

A. A., xxi. 13.

Col. Abbot has two specimens of this type of coin, exhibiting the monograms, Nos. 74 and 6.

3.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Demeter, with the usual legend.

Rev.—Humped bull, with the usual legend.

Pl. iii., figs. 6, 7; pl. xv. 2. A. A., ii. 18.

Monogs., Nos. 83, 83 with Σ on reverse, 83^a, 85, 86.

4.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Crowned figure, with a long spear. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΞΕΝΟΥ.

Rev.—A figure of Victory. *Capt. Hay.*

X^a. ARTEMIDORUS.

1.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Erect figure, with the right arm upraised. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΡΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Bull, as in Philoxenes' copper coins. (M)*dhārājasa*
Apādhāta(sa A)ti(midarasa). *Mr. Bayley.*

These legends have been completed from a more perfect coin deciphered by Major Cunningham.

I conclude that this Artemidorus is the monarch styled Artemon in Major Cunningham's list already cited; but if so, the style and fabric of his coinage must very materially alter his assumed date and position in the general list.

XI. NICIAS.

Major Cunningham has published a notice of a coin, which he attributes to a king of this name (*Journal of the*

Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xi., p. 136). It may be described thus :—

1.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Horseman, as in No. 1, Philoxenes. Legend, *Máhá-rajasa Tradatasa - - kiása.*

XII. APPOLLODOTUS.

1. Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟ-ΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Thessalian Minerva to the left. Legend, *Máhárajasa Tradatasa Apaladatasa.*

Monog., No. 46, ΜΑΡΤΙΑΝΑ (?).

Pl. iii. 4; also pl. xiv. 4, and *A. A.*, iv. 13.

2.—□ Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Elephant. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Humped bull. Legend as in No. 1. Pl. xiv. 5, *A. A.*

3.—○ Hemidrachma. Types and legends as No. 2. *A. A.*, iv. 15.

4.—□ Copper. Small coin.

Obv.—Figure of Apollo, with bow and arrow, to the right. Legend as in No. 1.

Rev.—Tripod. Legend ditto. *Monog.*, No. 47.

Captain Robinson.

5.—○ Copper. Large coin.

Obv.—Apollo, with arrow, to the right. Legend as in No. 2.

Rev.—Tripod. Legend as in No. 2. Pl. xiv. 6.

6.—□ Copper. Similar devices and legends.

7.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Apollo to the front, with the bow in the left and the arrow in the right hand. Legend as usual.

Rev.—Tripod. Legend as usual. Pl. xiv. 7, 8; also *Varian's A. A.*, iv., figs. 17, 18, 19.

8.—□ Copper. Middle size.

Obv.—"Figure of Apollo standing to the left, clothed in the anaxyris, with chlamys behind, a quiver at his back; an arrow in his right hand, his left resting on his bow; inclosed in a frame of oblong globules, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑ..... ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ."

Rev.—"Tripod; in the field, a symbol which seems to be a military ensign. Arianian inscription imperfect."

A. A., 291, quoting *Jour. des Sav.*, Dec. 1838, p. 752.

9.—□ Copper (middle size), indifferent execution.

Obv.—Apollo (?) seated, to the right, a bow in left hand. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Tripod, within a frame. Legend imperfect, * * paladatas (?) Monog., No. 75. *Mr. E. C. Bayley.*

The additional monograms on the coins of Apollodotus are the following:—

On the Philopater coins, Nos. 1, 47 and 47^a, 48, 49. On the other varieties of his mintages, Nos. 46, 47^a, 50 to 72 inclusive.

Nos. 58 to 66, represent the combinations of monograms occurring on the obverse and reverse of the same coin; and Nos. 69 to 72, exhibit the joint Arian letters found on the reverse of the larger copper pieces.

XIII. ZOILUS.

1.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right, with fillet. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΖΩΙΛΟΥ.

Rev.—Hercules, as in Demetrius' coins, but the right hand holding the chaplet is not upraised. Legend, *Má-hárajasa Dhamikasa Johilasa.*

Monog., No. 24^b.

Lady Headfort, No. 29. *Capt. Robinson*, No. 77.
Col. Abbott, No. 78. *Mr. Bayley*, No. 79.

2.—Hemidrachma.¹⁰

Obv. as No. 1. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΞΩΙΑΟΥ.

Rev.—Thessalian Minerva. Legend, *Maharajasa Tradatasa Johilasa*. Monog., No. 51.

Col. Abbott. Mr. Bayley, No. 80.

3.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king(?), to the right.

Rev.—Club, with bow in its case, surrounded by a chaplet. Legend, as in No. 1.

Monog., No. 79.

Lady Headfort.

4.—○ Copper. Similar types to the Apollodotus coin, No. 5, with the addition of a small elephant at the back of the figure, in the field of the obverse. Legends as in No. 2.

5.—○ Copper (small coin).

Obv.—Elephant, to the right.

Rev.—Tripod. Monog. *dhi*.

XIV. DIOMEDES.

1.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Dioscuri standing, to the front. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΕΩΥ.

Rev.—*Māhārājasa Tradatasa Diyamedasa*.

Monog., No. 29. Pl. xxviii. 3. Same coin; *A. A.*, v. 1.

Three coins of this type in the B.M., and one in the possession of Mr. Bayley, all have monogs. No. 29; one example adds the letter Σ.

XV. DIONYSIUS.

1.—Hemidrachma (of inferior execution, similar in its aspect to the Philopator coins of Apollodotus).

Obv.—Head with fillet, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Thessalian Minerva. Legend, *Māhārājasa Tradatasa Dianisiyasa*.

Monog. (as in Apollodotus' coins), No. 51. *Col. Abbott.*

¹⁰ These coins have a great similitude, in their die execution, to the small Philopator coins of Apollodotus.

A second specimen gives the Σ in the name more after the form of a real *sigma*. The outline of the *Ni*, in the Arian legend, is also modified in the duplicate coin. Monog. No. 51.

2.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Apollo, to the right, as in Apollodotus' coins.
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Tripod. Legend imperfect.

Monogs., consisting of Arian letters, *Sh* and *A*, No. 81.

B. M.

XVI. LYSIAS.

1.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, with helmet in the shape of an elephant's head—similar to the Demetrius' type. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Hercules standing, to the front, as in the Demetrius' prototype. Legend, *Māhārāja Apadihātasa Lysikasa*. Plate xliii. 4. *A. A.*, ii. 9. Monog. 87. *A. A.*, 31.

Colonel Abbott has two of these coins with the several monogs. included under No. 88.

Pl. xiv. 9, 11, 12; pl. xxviii. 1. Monog. No. 7.

2.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of the king, with the ordinary style of Menander helmet. Legend as above.

Rev.—Hercules, as above.

The legend varies in the Arian definition of the name, which at times exhibits the vowel *a*, and at others the letter *k*, as the penultimate. The five specimens of this mintage that I have had an opportunity of examining, all have the monog. No. 87.

3.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Bare head of king, to the right. Legend as in No. 1.

Rev.—Elephant, as in Heliocles' coins. Legend as above, the name being usually spelt with a *k*.

Pl. xiv. 12. *A. A.*, ii. 10. *Num. Jour.* vii., pl. ii., 22.

Monogs. Nos. 88, 7, and 74^a.

4.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Bare head of king, to the right. Legend as above.

Rev.—Caps and palm-branches of the Dioscuri. Legend,
Máharajasa Jayadharasa Antálíkidasas.

Capt. Hay.

XVII. ANTIALKIDES.

1.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Bare head of king. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

Rev.—Jove enthroned, with a small figure of Victory in his right hand; elephant in front, etc. Legend, *Máharajasa Jayadharasa Antiálíkidasas.*

Monog., No. 87.

Col. Abbott.

*)—Hemidrachma. Similar types and legends. *A. A.*, ii. 12.
Monogs., No. 7 and 87.

2.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, with Causia. Legend as above.

Rev. as in No. 1. *A. A.*, ii. 11.

Monogs., Nos. 7, 74^a, 87.

3.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head, with the ordinary crested helmet. Legend and reverse device as usual. *A. A.*, No. 3, p. 277.

4.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head.

Rev.—Caps and palms of Dioscuri. Legends as usual.
A. A., No. 6, p. 279.

5.—□ Copper. Similar devices and legends. Pl. xiv., 9, 10, 11.

These two classes of coins vary occasionally in the subordinate typical details,¹¹ and the Arian definition of the name is irregular in the general series, in the interchange of the dental and cerebral *d*, as the penultimate consonant. Other monograms, Nos. 29^a, 88^a, 85^a.

¹¹ Ex Gr. Num. Chron. vii., pl. ii., fig. 21.

XVIII. AMYNTAS.

- 1.—Didrachma. Much damaged. (Weight, 128 grs.)

Obv.—Helmeted head, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑ-
ΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Thessalian Minerva, to the left. Legend, *Maharajasa*
Jayadharasa Amitasa. B.M. monog., No. 75.

- 2.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right. Legend as above.

Rev.—Minerva armed, to the left. Legend as in No. 1.

Monog., No. 104.

Pl. xxxii. 1. A. A., ii. 14.

XIX. ARCHEBIUS.

- 1.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Bare head. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Jupiter standing to the front, with spear and thunder-
bolt. Legend, *Máharajasa Dhamikasa Jayadharasa*
A'khabiyasa.

Monog., No. 106.

Col. Abbott.¹²

- *)—Hemidrachma. Similar types and legends. Pl. xxviii. 1.
A. A., ii. 8. Monog., No. 7.

- 2.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Helmeted head.

Rev. as No. 1. Monog., No. 75^a.

Col. Abbott.

¹² I regret to say that my notes on the typical details of Col. Abbott's coins are very imperfect. I was somewhat pressed for time on the only opportunity I had of inspecting his rich and varied collection, and at the moment entertained no design of publishing the result of my scrutiny; hence my memoranda, I find, refer to doubtful and difficult readings, special coincidences of design, and monogrammatic data, rather than to the *die* specifications ordinarily demanded by exact numismatists. My notes of interrogation will indicate what I supply from memory.

3.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Bust of the king with bare head, to the left, a javelin in the right hand, as in one of the common classes of Menander's coins (No. 4). Legend as above.

Rev.—Jove (Neptune?) as above, with similar legend.

Monog., No. 7 with 105.

A. A., xxi. 10.

4.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Victory, to the right, extending a fillet. Legend as usual.

Rev.—An owl. Monog. 106.

R. Rochette, Jour. des Sav., Feb. 1839. *A. A.*, p. 280.

5.—□ Copper. Similar devices and legends. *B. M. monogs.*, No. 106 and 106^a.

XX. MENANDER.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Thessalian Minerva, to the left. *Māhārājasa Tra-datasa Menadrassa*.

Monog., Σ, and 24^b.

A. A., iii. 13.

^a)—Hemidrachma. Same types. Pl. iii. 5; and *A. A.*, iii. 14.

2.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king with helmet, to the right.

Rev.—Minerva. Similar legends to the above.

A. A., iii. 15.

3.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head of king with helmet and javelin.

Rev.—Minerva.

A. A., iv. 2

4.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Bare head of king, to the left; the right hand grasps a javelin.

Rev. as usual.

^a)—Hemidrachma. Similar devices, with the legends differently arranged. Pl. xiv. 1.

5.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Helmeted head, as in No. 2.*Rev.*—An owl. Legends as in No. 4^a.

6.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Bare head, to the right.*Rev.*—A dolphin. Pl. xxxii. 8. A. A., iv. 3.

7.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Bare head, to the left, with javelin, as in No. 4.*Rev.*—Minerva, to the right. Legends as usual. A. A., iv. 7.

8.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head.*Rev.*—Winged figure of Victory, to the right, with palm-branch and wreath. Pl. xiv. 3.^a)—□ Copper.*Rev.*—Victory, to the left.

There are other subordinate varieties of these coins, see
A. A., p. 285.

9.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head, to the right.*Rev.*—Owl. Pl. xxxii. 6; A. A., iv. 8.

10.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Helmeted head, to the right.*Rev.*—Shield of Minerva. Pl. xxxii. 5. A. A., iv. 12.

11.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Boar's head.*Rev.*—Palm-branch. Pl. xxxii. 9. A. A., iv. 9.

12.—□

Obv.—Elephant's head.*Rev.*—Club of Hercules. Pl. xiv. 2. A. A., iv. 10.

13.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Wheel.*Rev.*—Club. Pl. xxxii. 7. A. A., iv. 11.

14.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Figure, to the front; helmet and lance. Legend,
B - - - ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev.—Panther. *Quoted by Wilson, A. A., p. 287, from
R. Rochette, Jour. des Sav., Dec. 1838, p. 751.*

15.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Elephant, to the left. Legend imperfect, but exhibiting traces of the name of Menander. βασιΛΕΩΣ
ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Rev.—An ankus (or elephant-goad). Legend, imperfect,
[Μάháρα]jasa Trada[tasa] - - -

Monog., No. 89. *E. C. Bayley.*

Full List of Monograms:—Nos. 7, 24^b, 26, 26 with A, 26^a with A, 29, 29^a with H, ditto with B, 55, 56^a, 74^a, 77, 77 with A, 77^a, 77 and 77^a, each repeated on the several specimens on the obverse and reverse; 79, 87, 87 with Σ, Ε, and Γ, on the several examples; 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 94^a, 95, 96, 97, 97^a.

XXI. STRATO.

1.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head in profile, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙ-
ΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev.—Minerva Promachos (as in Menander coins. Legend,
Μάhárajasa Pratichasa (?) Tradatasa Stratasa.

Two specimens. *B. M.* Monog., No. 7.

2.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Apollo, as in Apollodotus' coin, No. 7. Legend as
in No. 1.

Rev.—Tripod. Legend as in No. 1.

E. I. H., monog., No. 7.

3.—□ Copper.

Obv.—King's bust, with club resting on his right shoulder.
Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev.—Victory. Legend, Μάhárajasa Tradatasa Stratasa.

Monog., No. 99.

Mr. Bayley.

4.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Type as in No. 3. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.

Rev.—Type as in No. 3. Legend, *Máharajasa Tradatasa*
Dhamikasa Stratasa.

Monog., No. 99. *B.M.* Other monogs., Nos. 74*, 99, 100.

See also the debased hemidrachmas of Strato noticed by Major Cunningham in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vii. of 1854, p. 691. Early publications of some of the above coins are also to be found in that author's papers in *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xi. 1840 and 1842.

XXI. AGATHOCLEIA

(WIFE OF STRATO).

1.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Female head, helmeted. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ
ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.

Rev.—Hercules with club, seated. *Máharajasa Tradatasa*
Dhamikasa Stratasa.

Monog., No. 100. *J.A.S.B.*, v., pl xxxii. 2. *A.A.*, vi. 10.
Mr. Bayley.

XXII. HIPPOSTRATUS.

1.—

Obv.—Bare head of king, to the right, with fillet. ΒΑ-
ΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Helmeted figure, right hand extended, the left sup-
ports a cornucopia (Demeter?). Legend, *Máharajasa*
Tradatasa Hipastratasa.

Monog., No. 103, with an Arian A on the other side of the
figure. *E.C.B.* and *B.M.*

2.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Bare head of king, to the right, with fillet. ΒΑ-
ΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

Rev.—Helmeted figure on horseback, to the right; horse in
motion. *Máharajasa Tradatasa Mahátasa Jayátasa*
Hipastratasa. Monog., No. 101.

Mr. Bayley. *B.M.*, No. 47^b. *Col. Abbott*, 47.

3.—Tetradrachma.

Obv.—Device and legend as in No. 1.

Rev.—Horseman, motionless. Legend as in No. 2.

Monog., No. 101, with the several adjuncts of, copied under
No. 102. *Mr. Bayley and B. M.*

4.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Apollo standing, to the right. Legend as in No. 1.

Rev.—A tripod. Legend as in No. 1.

Monogs. as in No. 1.

XXIII. TELEPHUS.

1.—Major Cunningham has made public the only known coin of this king. (*J. A. S. B.*, xi. 133.)

Obv.—"An ancient giant, full front, with snaky legs, which curl upwards on each side." ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΘΛΕΦΟΥ.

Rev.—"A draped male figure standing, to the left, his head crowned with rays, and holding in his right hand a spear; to the right, a clothed female figure, with a crescent on her head. Legend, *Maharajasa* - - - *kramasa Taliphasa*. Monog., No. 98.

XXIV. HERMÆUS.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Jove enthroned, right hand extended. *Maharajasa Tradatasa Hermayasa*.

Monog., *E. I. H.*, No. 110. Pl. xviii. 1. *A. A.*, v. 3.

*)—Hemidrachma. Similar types. Monog., No. 83 of *Wilson's list*. *A. A.*, v. 3.

2.—Hemidrachma. HERMÆUS AND CALLIOPE.

Obv.—Male and female heads, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΕΣ.

Rev.—Horseman, as in Antimachus' coins. *Maharajasa Tradatasa Hermayasa*; and at the foot of the reverse, *Kaliyapaya*.

A. A., xxi. 14, *Capt. Robinson*, *Mr. Bayley*, etc., all apparently have the same monog., No. 107.

- 3.—○ Copper, identical in type and devices with No. 1.
xviii. 2, 3, 4. *A. A.*, v. 4, 5, 6. Monog., No. 108, with
the several Bactrian letters classed under No. 109.

- 4.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, with curiously arranged head-dress.
Legend, B. Σ. E.

Rev.—Horse standing, to the right. Legend as usual.

Pl. xxviii. 11. *A. A.*, v. 7, and xxi. 15.

Monog., No. 3^a and 29.

General List of Monogs.:—3^a, 23^a, 29, 41^a, 44, 48, 107,
107^a, with Arian letters, *k*, *s*; 108, with elongated downstroke
of R, associated with the Bactrian letters, *trá*, *v*, *dh*, *sh*, and *n*(?);
108 to 112, 113 to 118.

XXIV^a. SU-HERMÆUS.

- 1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right. Legend, imperfect,
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

Rev.—Hercules standing, with his club resting on the ground.
Legend, *Dhama Phidasa Kujula Kasasa Kushanyatu-*
gasa. Pl. xviii. 9; xxviii. 10. *A. A.*, v. 8, 9, etc.

XXV. MAUAS.

- 1.—Didrachma. (Weight, 151.4 grs.)

Obv.—Male figure, to the front; right arm extended, the
left supports a spear. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ
ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

Rev.—Victory, with a chaplet, to the right. *Rajadirajasa*
Mahatasa Maása.

Monog., No. 47^a. *B. M.*, *Capt. Robinson*, No. 47.

Lady Sale's coin (weight, 143 grs.), monog. No. 106.

- *)—Hemidrachma. Similar types. *Capt. Robinson*, monog. 47.

- 2.—Didrachma.

Obv.—A biga, with horses at speed. The driver wears a
helmet; the chief figure rests upon a spear, a nim-
bus surrounds the head. Legend as in No. 1.

Rev.—Jove enthroned, as in Hermæus' coins, with triple-
pointed spear (trident?). Legend as in No. 1.

Monog., No. 98^a.

Capt. Robinson.

3.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Elephant's head.*Rev.*—Caduceus. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ.Monog., No. 106. *B. M.* Pl. xiii. 4. *A. A.*, viii. 11.

4.—□ Copper (small coin).

Obv.—Apollo, to the front, as in Apollodotus' coins; arrow in the right, and bow in the left hand. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ.*Rev.*—Tripod. Legend, *Muharajasa Maása.* *B. M.*

5.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Female figure, to the front, with spear and crescent above the head. Two six-pointed stars or constellations appear in the upper part of the field, one on each side of the figure. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.*Rev.*—Victory with chaplet, to the left. Legend, *Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Maása.*

Monog., No. 120.

6.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Jove enthroned, with small figure at the side.*Rev.*—Female figure, as on the obverse of No. 5.Monog., No. 120. *A. A.*, p. 315.

7.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Figure clothed in skins, with nimbus.*Rev.*—Indian bull, to the left.

Monog., No. 106.

B. M. *Mr. Bayley and Capt. Robinson*, monog., No. 49.

8.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Male figure, with club and trident, flowing robes, etc.

Monog., No. 121.

Rev.—Victory, with loose garments (similar to the figure on the obverse), and a varied style of chaplet.Pl. xliii., fig. 11. *A. A.*, viii. 10.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

DESCRIPTION GÉNÉRALE DES MONNAIES DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE ROMAINE,
COMMUNÉMENT APPELÉES MÉDAILLES CONSULAIRES PAR H. COHEN.
Paris, 4^e. 1857.

It is now some time since the numismatic public have been made aware, that M. Cohen, long known as a most learned and able collector of Roman silver coins, was engaged on a work that would illustrate the chief riches of his own cabinet, and, at the same time, would throw considerable light on a class of coins too little studied : those referring to the earlier part of the history of Rome, antecedent to the establishment of the empire.

We rejoice to find, that the expectations so long entertained have not been disappointed, and that M. Cohen has been able, with the aid of his accomplished publisher, M. Rollin, and with the careful drawings of M. Dardel, whom he characterises as "*le plus habile artiste de Paris en ce genre,*" to produce a volume which completely surpasses and throws into the shade all that has been hitherto done on this subject. We rejoice at this the more, from our own personal knowledge that the learned author of the work we are now noticing, may himself be regarded justly as one of the most zealous and indefatigable numismatists in Europe, and, therefore, peculiarly well fitted to give a practical illustration of the interesting and, in many respects, difficult class of coins to which he has paid attention in the volume before us. The coins of which M. Cohen has given a description, are of that class which has always found more favour on the Continent than with English collectors. Ever since the revival of learning, no class of coins, with the exception of the Roman large brass, had so constantly occupied the attention of learned men in Italy. Nor is this unnatural ; the native money of the people who so long ruled over the fairest provinces of Italy, we should expect, that when the learning of mankind was again turned into channels which had been so long closed up and neglected, these ancient types would be considered with more than usual interest. We rejoice, therefore, that in M. Cohen's new work he has boldly given these coins their true designation, and has termed them

what they really are, the coins of the Romans during the time of the Republic. Nor is this the only thing we think deserving praise in its arrangement: for M. Cohen has, wisely, in the assortment of his plates, separated the gold and the silver from the copper, an arrangement which greatly conduces to clearness, and which might be advantageously followed by any future writers or publishers of coins. M. Cohen has rendered his work much more valuable, and, at the same time, very interesting to read, by some excellent notes he has attached to each of the families he has described, and which he has modestly intitled "éclaircissements." Some of these throw much light on the history of the times to which they refer, and are valuable additions to the slight information we previously possessed on these subjects. The book is enriched by no less than seventy-five plates, executed with great care, under the experienced eye of the author, by M. Dardel, whose skill is well shown in the clearness with which he has rendered to the eye some of the smallest and most complex of this "Consular Money." With all these points in its favour, we have great pleasure in recommending to the notice of our numismatic friends the work of M. Cohen, which we consider to be one of the most valuable monographs which has been published for many years.

ENGRAVINGS OF UNEDITED OR RARE GREEK COINS, WITH DESCRIPTIONS. BY LIEUT.-GENERAL C. R. FOX. *Bell and Daldy*, 1856.

We hail with great pleasure the publication of this monograph, and trust that its appearance may induce others, who, like General Fox, are in the possession of rare and practically unknown coins, to follow the excellent example he has set them. We say this advisedly: even if there were more errors than may be detected in this little volume, we should still hold that the example it offers to others is worthy of all encouragement. We are glad, therefore, to see the first portion of the General's work, and sincerely trust that health and opportunity may be afforded him, to give us another and similar *fasciculus*. The present portion comprehends a description of 114 selected coins, beginning with Massalia in France, and extending to the Island of Siphnos: among them will be found many coins of great interest and rarity, and some which have been hardly known before. The monograph is rendered much more valuable by the plates which the General has had the trouble to have engraven of all the specimens he has here selected for description: they have been executed by M. Dardel, a gentleman well known on the continent for his skill in such matters, and are superior to any that have, of late years, at least, been produced in England. It is hard to select

where all the engravings are well done; but we might, perhaps, notice among the most successful of M. Dardel's drawings, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 17, 30, 32, 43, 44, 57, 63, 64, 96, 110. These could not have been better, or more accurately executed. With these plates in his hand, the student has no necessity to refer to the coins themselves.

In speaking thus warmly of General Fox's work, we must not be supposed to be ignorant of some errors that have crept into it, and which we hope will not be seen in any subsequent portion that he may publish. Thus, occasionally, we notice, in the descriptive text, that the Greek legends on the coins, or portions of them, have been omitted, as in Nos. 33, 34, 62, 63; while in other cases, as Nos. 35, 46, 49, 52, the wrong metal has been annexed.

V.

CATALOGUE OF BACTRIAN COINS.

(Continued from page 45.)

9.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Elephant.

Rev.—Seated figure. Monog., No. 122.

Mr. Frere, pl. xv., fig. 11. *Jour. des Sav.*, 1839.

10.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Male figure, to the left (indistinct).

Rev.—Lion, to right. Pl. xv. 7.

11.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Neptune, with trident, treading upon a prostrate figure.

Rev.—Figure surrounded with branches.

Monog., No. 120. *Colonel Nuthall. A.A.*, p. 314.

12.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Neptune, with the right foot placed on a prostrate figure as in No. 11; the left hand rests on a trident, while the right is raised in the act of hurling the thunderbolt.

Rev. as in No. 11. Monog. illegible. *Lady Elliot.*

13.—□ Copper.

Obv. as No 12, except that Neptune holds a palm-branch in the left hand in lieu of a trident.

Rev. as No. 12. Monog., a modification of No. 47.

Mr. Bayley.

14.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Horseman, with a fold of his dress flying loose behind him. (Monog. illegible.)

Rev.—Helmeted figure, in loose garments, moving to the right, holding a garland in the right and a spear in the left hand. Monog., *mi.* *Mr. Bayley.*

VOL. XIX.

H

15.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Horseman, with spear.*Rev.*—Winged Victory, to the left, holding a chaplet in the right hand. Monog., No. 47. *Mr. Bayley.*

16.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Standing male figure, to the front; right arm up-lifted, in the left a club. Monog., No. 127^a, with P instead of Y in the upper limb, and Arian ti.*Rev.*—Indian bull, to the right. Monog. No. 108^a *Mr. Bayley.*

A second coin, in the possession of Mr. H. Brereton, gives the name clearly as *MATOT*.

17.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Elephant.*Rev.*—Indian bull. *Capt. Hay,*

XXVI. KADPHISES.

1.—Copper.

Obv.—Head as in the Su-Hermæus' coins. Legend, ΚΟΡΗΛΟ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ.*Rev.*—Hercules as above. Legend, *Dhama Phidasa Kujula Kasasa Kushanyatugasa.*

Pl. xxviii. 12. A. A., xi. 10, 11.

XXVI^a. KOZOLA KADAPHES.

1.—○ Copper small coin.

Obv.—Youthful head. Legend, ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΛ ΧΟΡΑΝ ΤΥ ΖΑΘΟΥ.*Rev.*—A Scythic figure. Legend, *Khashanasa Yauasa Kujula Kaphasasa Sachha dhani phidasa.*

Monog., No. 119. Pl. xviii. 13, 14, 15; xxviii. 13, 14.

A. A., xi. 14.

XXVI^b. KODES.

1.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Barbarous head of king. ΚΩΔΟΥ.*Rev.*—Erect figure, with flames issuing from his shoulders; the right hand rests upon a spear. ΠΑΗΘΡΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡ. Pl. xiii. 11, 12, 13. A. A., ix. 1, 2, 3, 5.

2.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Head as above.*Rev.*—Horse's head. ΚωΔ.

Pl. xxxii. 16, 17, 18. A. A., ix. 4, 6, 7.

XXVII. VONONES (AND AZAS).

CLASS A.

I understand that Major Cunningham has discovered coins with the above combination of names. The specimens are engraved in his unpublished plates, but I do not consider myself authorised to quote them in any detail beyond this notice of the interesting historical fact they suffice to substantiate.

VONONES (AND SPALAHARES).

CLASS B.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Azas' horseman with spear, at the charge, to the right. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ,

Rev.—Jupiter, with spear and bolts. *Maharaja Bhṛata Dhamikṛsa Spalahārasa.*

Monog., No. 131.

Capt. Robinson.

*)—Hemidrachma. Similar types and legends. Pl. xv. 5.

A. A., viii. 8. Monog. 130, 131.

2.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Hercules, with club and lion's skin, and right hand raised to the head. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ.

Rev.—Minerva, to the left, armed with shield and spear. *Māhārāja Bhṛata Dhamikasa Spalahārasa.*

Monog., No. 130.

Pl. xv. 10. A. A., viii. 9.

VONONES (AND SPALAGADAMES, SON OF SPALAHARES).

CLASS C.

1.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Azas' horseman, with spear. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ.

Rev.—Jupiter, with spear and bolts. *Spalahāra Putrasa Dhamikasa Spalagadamasa.*

Monogs., B. M. coin, 132. Col. Sykes, 133.

SPALIRISES AND AZAS.

CLASS D.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Azas' horseman. ΒΑCΙΑΕΩC ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΠΗΛΙ-
ΠΙCΟΥ.

Rev.—Jove, as above. *Máhárājasa Mahátakasa Ayasa.*
Mr. Frere, monog. 134.

2.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Azas, horseman. B. M. ΠΗΛΙΠΙCΟΥ.

Rev.—A bow and arrow. *Máhárājasa Ma'átakasa Ayasa.*
Mr. Bayley, monog. 133 a.

CLASS C a.

XXVIII. SPALAGADAMES, or SPALYRIAS (alone),

THE BROTHER OF THE KING.

1.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Azas' horseman. ΠΗΛΥΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΒΑCΙΑΕΩC.

Rev.—Hercules, seated on a rock. *Spalahára putrasa*
Dhamikasa Spalagadamasa.

Pl. xv. 9; xxviii. 6, and xlii. 3. *A. A.*, viii. 13.
Monogs., the second figure in Nos. 113, 132, 136.

CLASS D a.

XXIX. SPALIRISES (alone).

1.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Female figure, to the left. ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ ΒΑCΙΑΕΩC
ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΠΗΛΙΠΙCΟΥ.

Rev.—Jove, enthroned. *Máhárājasa Mahátakasa Spaliri-*
sasa. Pl. xv 6; xxviii. 7. *A. A.*, viii. 12. *B. M.*, etc.

Monogs., Nos. 135, 135 a, and 135 b.

XXX. AZAS.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—The standard Azas' type of horseman, to the right;
the spear point slightly depressed. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.

Rev.—Female figure, with palm-branch in the left, and a four-pointed object (like some of the Scythian monograms) in the right hand. *Māhārajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ayasa.*

Monog., *Capt. Robinson*, 125, with Arian letters, *mi.*
A. A., vi. 12.

*)—Hemidrachmas.

B.M. monog., No. 123, with Arian letters *bh* and *dh.*
Capt. Robinson, 173, with the letters *san.*

Do. do. 47, with *B* and an Arian *T.*

Do. do. 47, with *A* and an Arian *T.*

Do. do. 47, with an Arian *T* alone.

Do. do. 124, with an Arian *si.*

Capt. Robinson, with *dh* and *mi.* *A. A.*, vi. 18.

2.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Horseman, as above.

Rev.—Minerva Promachos, to the left.

B.M. monog., 103, with an Arian *A.* *Capt. Robinson*, ditto.

A second has monog. 103 with No. 125.

*)—Hemidrachma. *B.M.* monog., 103, with *A.*

Capt. Robinson, monog. 103 with 125.

3.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Horseman, as above.

Rev.—Jupiter, with spear and bolts.

Capt. Robinson, monog. 126, with *bh.* *B.M.*, 126, with *dh.*

4.—Variety of No. 3. Didrachma.

Obv.—Horseman, as above, with the letters *Pri* below the horse.

Rev.—Jove, with the spear or sceptre, triple-pointed, the points diverging from one centre.

Monog., No. 103, with *A.*

5.—Didrachma

Obv. as above. Monog., *li.*

Rev.—Jove, with triple-pointed sceptre ; but the right hand is elevated in the act of throwing the thunderbolt.

Monog., No. 103^a, with *A.* *Capt. Robinson.*

- a).—Hemidrachma. Monog., No. 103^a, with Arian *A.* *B. M.*,
Capt. Robinson, etc.
- b).—Hemidrachma. Variant.
Obv.—As above.
Rev.—Jupiter rayed, to the front, leaning on a spear. The bolts are held in the right hand, low down.
Monog., No. 129. *Capt. Robinson*.
- 6.—Didrachma.
Obv.—The Azas' horseman, to the right, without the spear; the right hand of the figure is extended above the horse's head. Monog., *s.*
Rev.—Minerva, to the right, helmeted and armed with buckler; right hand extended.
Captain Robinson, monog. 49, with *A.* *Lady Elliot*, double monog., 144. *Mr. Carne's collection*, group 141^a.
- a).—Hemidrachma. *Mr. Bayley*, monog. 103, with *A.*
- 7.—Didrachma.
Obv.—Horseman, as above, with whip in the right hand.
Rev.—Standing figure, with spear, holding a small statue of Victory. Pl. xvii. 17(?). *A. A.*, vi. 15, 16(?), 17.
B. M. monog. 47 with 48, and Arian letters *T*, *bu*, *dh*, etc.; others, with *T*, omit No. 48.
- a).—Hemidrachma. Monog., No. 137, with *San*; a second, No. 138, with *dh* and *s.* *Lady Elliot*.
- 8.—Didrachma.
Obv.—Horseman, as above. Monog., *ti.*
Rev.—Minerva, with spear, to the right; bare head, and right arm extended.
Monog., No. 103 with 123^a. Pl. xvii. 15. *A. A.*, vi. 13.
- (8).—Variety. Billon.
Rev.—Similar figure, with triple-pointed spear. Monog., No. 149.
- 9.—Didrachma. Billon.
Obv.—As above.
Rev.—Neptune, with trident, to the front.
Monog., No. 127, with *si.* Pl. xvii. 16. *A. A.*, vi. 14.

10.—Hemidrachma.

Obv.—Horseman, as above.

Rev.—Minerva, armed with spear and shield, with the right arm upraised. Pl. xvii. 18. *A. A.*, vi. 19.

B. M. monog. 128, with *Ssh.* *Capt. Robinson* 128^a, *sashi*; and 128^a with 127^a. Another: *Obv.* monog. *A. Rev.* 126^a, with an indistinct symbol like 125.

11.—Drachma.

Obv.—King, standing, to the left; right hand extended, and sloped spear on his left shoulder.

Rev.—Winged figure of Victory, to the right, holding out a chaplet. Monog., No. 52.

10.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Neptune, treading on a prostrate figure. Legend as above.

Rev.—Female figure, surrounded by branches. Legend as above. Monog., No. 52. Pl. xvii. 14. *A. A.*, vii. 5.

11.—□ Copper.

Obv.—King, riding on a Bactrian camel.

Rev.—Thibetan yák (or long-haired bull). *A. A.*, vii. 6.

12.—□ Copper.

Obv.—King on horseback, with spear sloped.

Rev.—Bull.

Monog., No. 103, with *T.* Ditto with *A.* *Capt. Robinson.* Pl. xvi. 9. *A. A.*, vii. 12. Other monogs., No. 161, variants.

13.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Hercules, to the front, with chaplet upraised in his right hand, and club in the left, after the manner of the reverse devices of Demetrius. Monog., 131.

Rev.—Horse, free, to the right. Monog., *mi.* Pl. xv. 8. *A. A.*, vii. 7.

14.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Elephant, to the right.

Rev.—Indian bull, to the right. Pl. xvi. 4, 5. *A. A.*, vii. 10. Monogs., Nos. 150, 151, with variants.

15.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Humped bull, to the right.*Rev.*—Indian lion, to the right. Legend, *Maharajasa Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Ayasa*. With combined monogs. from 142 to 149.

Pl. xvi., figs. 1, 2, 3. A. A., vii. 8.

a).—Small coins. Similar types. A. A., vii. 9.

b).—□ (?) A. A., vii. 3. Monog. A. *Rev.* monog., *Pr.*

16.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Demeter, seated on a throne.*Rev.*—Hermes, standing. Pl. xvi. 10. A. A., vii. 12.

Most common monog., No. 147.

17.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Figure, seated cross-legged.*Rev.*—Hermes, standing. Pl. xvi. 12. A. A., vii. 13, 14.

Monogs., Nos. 153 to 160.

a).—Small coins, ditto A. A., vii. 15.

18.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Female figure, standing, to the left.*Rev.*—Humped bull, to the right.*Mr. Bayley*, monogs. indistinct.

19.—○ Copper.

Obv.—A lion, sejant. Legend, blundered and unintelligible.*Rev.*—Rude figure of Demeter, seated. Legend, *Máhara-jasa - - - Ayasa*. Monog., No. 47, with *ti*.*Mr. Bayley*.

20.—○ Copper. Minute coin. Types similar to No. 7.

Monog., *Obv.* No. 169, and *mi*. *Rev.* No. 47, and *Sau*.*Mr. Bayley*.

21.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Horseman, with right hand raised. Monog., 119^a.*Rev.*—Demeter, standing, to the front; right arm extended, the left supports the cornucopia. Legend, *Máhara-jasa Mahatasa Dhamikasa Rajadirajasa Ayasa*.Pl. xvii. 22. Monogs, No. 177, 177^a, 178, 178^a, and 178^b, with variants.

SUB-AZAS.

22.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Azas' horseman, with right hand holding a whip.
Legend, B. B. M. AZOY. Monog., No. 139 (*Agaj*?)

Rev.—Minerva, helmeted, with spear and shield, to the right; the right hand supports a small figure of Victory. Legend,¹³ *Indra Varma Putrasa Aspavarmasa Strategasa Jayatasa* (Aspavarma, son of Indra Varma).

Monogs., No. 140, with 125, and the several Arian letters entered in the plate. *My Cabinet.*

XXXI. AZILISAS.

1.—Didrachma.

Obv.—Azas' horseman, with spear. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΑΙΛΟΥ. (Monog., *ti. A. A.* coin)

Rev.—Figure, to the left, holding the four-pointed object in the right, and palm-branch in the left hand. *Máharajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa.* Monogs., *B. M.*, 123 with *San* and *Bh*; ditto, 124 with *Si*.

B. M. monog., Σ with *si* and *G.* *Capt. Robinson*, monog. 124 with *si* and *S.* *A. A.*, viii. 5.

*)—Hemidrachma. Similar types. *B. M.* monog., 125^a with *I.* *Capt. Robinson*, monog. Σ with an Arian *H*.

2.—Didrachma.

Obv. as above, with Arian letter *S* in the field.

Rev.—Female figure, to the left, with chaplet and palm-branch. Monog., No. 75. *A. A.*, viii. 6.

3.—Didrachma. (145 grs.)

Obv.—Azas' horseman, to the right, with whip and the bow fixed behind the saddle. Monog., No. 137.

Rev.—Dioscuri, standing to the front, leaning on their spears. Legend, *Máharajasa Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa.* Monogs., *San* and *As* (?)

Mr. Bayley. *Col. Nuthall*, *Obv.* monog., 137 with *B*, and *Rev.* 171.

¹³ Cunningham, Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal, vii. of 1854.

4.—Didrachma. (142 grs.)

Obv. as No. 3. Monog., 137^a.*Rev.*—Single figure, clothed in skins, to the front; the right hand grasps a spear, the left rests upon the sword hilt. Monog., No. 170. *Mr. Bayley.*

5.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Standing figure, to the front (indistinct), with right arm extended, and mantle on the left. Monog., 74^b.*Rev.*—Lion, as in Azas coins. Monog., No. 172. A second coin has *mi* (?) *Mr. Bayley. Capt. Robinson.*

6.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Azas horseman.*Rev.*—Bull, to the left.*B. M.* monog., 125 with *mi*, and traces of monog. 126.*)—*Rev.*—Bull, to the right.

7.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Azas horseman.*Rev.*—Elephant. *Máhárājasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa.*Monog., variety of No. 124, with *Si*. *A. A.*, viii. 7.

8.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Horseman.*Rev.*—Hercules, seated, with club, and as in Spalyras' coins. Monog., No. 124. *Mr. Bayley.*And a second piece, 173. Ordinary monog., No. 124, with Arian *s*, *si*, or *ti*.

9.—□ Copper.

Obv.—Standing figure, to the right; with the right arm extended horizontally, and holding a chaplet.*Rev.*—Figure in short tunic, but with loose veil-like garments around the head, etc. *Mr. Bayley.*

XXXII. SOTER MEGAS.

1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Bust of king, with crested helmet, to the left; the right hand holds an arrow. Monog., No. 167, with the Arian letters, *ti*, in front of the profile.

Rev.—Azas' type of horseman, to the right, elevating a small object like a cross. BACIAEV BACIAEVΩN CΩTHP MEΓAC.

Monog., No. 167.

Mr. Bayley. A. A., ix. 8, 10.

2.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Bust of king, with rayed head; the right hand holds either a javelin with pennons or a simple dart. Monog., No. 167.

Rev. as above. Monog., No. 167. Pl. xvii. 26. A. A., ix. 11, 12, etc.

There are numerous subordinate varieties of this type of coin, which it is needless to particularise in this place.

3.—○ Copper.

Obv.—King on horseback, to the right. Legend as above. Monog., No. 167.

Rev.—A male figure, with flat helmet and fillet, casting incense upon a small altar. Legend, *Máhārajasa Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Tradatasa.* Monog., ti.

Pl. xviii. 23. A. A., ix. 20, 21, 22

4.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head with fillet, to the right. Monog., No. 167.

Rev.—Standing figure, to the left, holding a staff or spear in the left hand, and what may possibly be intended for the thunderbolt in the right. Greek legend (imperfect). *Mr. Bayley.*

XXXII^a. KADPHISES.

1.—Gold. Unique.

Obv.—King, seated after the oriental fashion (cross-legged) on clouds. He holds a club in his hand, and small flames ascend from his shoulders; he wears a Scythic cap surmounted by a single-centred trident. Legend, BACIAEYC oohMo KADΦICHIC. Monog., 168.

Rev.—Siva and his bull (Nandi); flames rise from the divinity's head, and he holds a trident in his right hand. Legend, *Maharajasa Rajadirajasa sarvaloga Imastasa Mahimastasa hapinasasa* - - - -

Monog., 166.

Capt. Robinson.

2.—Gold.

Obv.—King, seated on an Eastern throne, with a flower in his right hand. Legend and monog. as above.

Rev.—Device as No. 1. Monog., ditto. *A. A.*, x. 5, and xxi. 17.

I do not propose to enter into any detail of the coins of Kadphises in this place, as they scarcely belong to the Bactrian series. It will be sufficient to remark, that the types usually consist of a figure of the king in his Scythic costume, with a reverse device symbolising the Hindú divinity Siva. These coins are known only in gold and copper, the single supposed silver specimen in the *E. I. H.*¹⁴ having proved to be of copper plated over!

XXXIII. GONDOPHARES.

1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Azas' horseman, to the right. ΒΑCΙΑΕΩC ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΥ. Monog., No. 164.

Rev.—Figure, with trident. Legend, *Maharaja Rajarajasa Mahatasa Gadaphratasa.*

B. M. coin. Monog., No. 162. *A. A.* (billon coin), v. 16. Pl. xliii. 15.

2.—○ Copper.

Obv.—As above. (ΥΝΔΟΦ - -) Monog., No. 164.

Rev.—Minerva, armed, to the right. Monog., No. 127 with 174. *A. A.*, v. 17.

3.—○ Copper.

Obv.—As above, with the addition of ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ in the legend.

Rev.—Male figure, with spear, to the right.

Monog., No. 127 with 176, also *T* and *Phre.* *A. A.*, v. 18.

¹⁴ *A. A.*, xi. 9.

4.—□ Copper.

Obv.—King, on horseback; to his front is seen Victory, presenting a chaplet. Legend, BACIAEo - - - - ΦΑΡΟΥ (?)

Rev.—Centre device, the monogram figured under No. 164. Legend, *Máhá - - Dhaga - - sa Apratihata* *Ja - - sa Gudapharasa.*

Monogs., Arian letters *Bu* and *San*. A. A., xxi. 16.

Mr. Bayley.

5.—

Obv.—Head of king, to the left; the contour similar to the Pakore's busts. Legends imperfect. B. B., etc.

Rev.—Victory, with chaplet. *Máharajasa Rajadirajasa ahatasa Gudaphara* - - - - Monog., *Gu*, and an indistinct Arian letter. *Mr. Bayley.*

6.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, to the right, greatly barbarised.

Rev.—Victory, as in No. 5. Legend, *Máharajasa Godapha(?)sa Tradatasa.* Pl. xviii. 5—8.

7.—○ Copper. Small barbaric coin.

Obv.—Rude filleted head, to the right. Abbreviated Greek legend, BACI BAC - - Y

Rev.—Rude figure of Thessalian Minerva, to the right. Legend, *Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Godapharasa.*

Monog., Arian *Stri* and *Há* or *Ho*.

XXXIV. ABDALGASES.

1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Azas' horseman, to the right, with flat cap and flowing fillet; hand upraised. Legend, corrupt, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ-ΟΝΤΟΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝΥ ΑΒΑΛΓΑΣΟΥ. Monog., 164.

Rev.—Erect figure, to the right; head-dress as on the obverse, with spear, hand extended. Legend, *Godaphara Bhrada Putrasa Maharajasa Abdagasasa.*

Capt. Robinson, 163, with Arian monog. (*Sakre* or *Saphre*).

2.—○ Copper. Similar types, with the addition of the title of *Tradatasa* before the name on the reverse.

3.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Horseman, to the left.*Rev.*—Figure, as in No. 1, without the cap.

Major Cunningham.

*)—Small coin. *Mr. Bayley.*

4.—○ Copper.

Obv.—As No. 1. Monog., No. 146, with *T*.*Rev.*—Erect figure, holding a small statue of Victory, to the left. Monog., No. 127 with 165. *Mr. Bayley.*

SUB-ABDACASES-SASAN.

1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Horseman, as in No. 1. Legend imperfect. Monog., No. 164, with *P*. My *Cabinet*, 164, and *B*.*Rev.*—Figure as above, No. 1. Legend, *Maharajasa Mahatasa Tradatasa* - - - ¹⁵ *Godaphrasa Sasasa*.Monog., No. 166 with 7, and small letters, *P*, *Sh*, etc., in the field. *Mr. Bayley*, *P*, *Pi*, etc. *A.A.*, v, 20.

2.—○ Copper. -

Obv.—Azas horseman.*Rev.*—Jupiter, holding a figure of Victory, to the left. Legend, *Maharajasa Rajadhirajasa Saccha Dha(ma-pidasa) Sasasa*. [Cunningham]. Monog., No. 127 with 165. *A.A.*, v. 19.

XXXV. ARSACES.

I extract the following notice of the coins of Arsaces from Major Cunningham's paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xi. p. 135, 1842.

“ 1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—A horseman, to the right. ΒΑCΙΑΕΥΟΝΤΟC ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΡCΑΚΟΥ.*Rev.*—Type obliterated. *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ashshakasa tadatasa*.

¹⁵ Major Cunningham renders this doubtful word as *Devahadasa*, God-hearted, Θεορροπος. *J.A.S.B.*, vii. of 1854, p. 713.

"2.—○ Copper.

Rev.—A horseman, to the right. Legend, imperfect, BA-SI - - OY APΣAKOY.

Rev.—Male figure, to the left, holding out a small figure in his right hand. *Maharajarajasa* - - - *A(shshakasa).*"

XXXVI. PAKORES.

1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Bearded head, to the left; the hair is elaborately curled and arranged after the Persian fashion. BACIAEYC BACIAEON ΠAKOPHC.

Rev.—Victory with chaplet, to the right. *Maharajasa Rajadhirajasa Mahatasa Pakurasa.*

B. M. coins have monograms, composed of Bactrian letters, *go, ro, to*, associated with the character Φ on the opposite side of the reverse field,

XXXVIII. ORTHAGNES.

1.—○ Copper.

Obv.—Head of king, to the left; the hair is arranged after the Persian fashion on the Pakores' device. Legend corrupt. BACIAEYC BACIAEQN MEΓAC oP-ΘATNHC.

Rev.—Victory, to the right, holding out a fillet. Legend, imperfect, (*Maharajasa?*) *Mahatasa Gudupharasa*
- - - - *B. M.* Bactrian monogs., *gu* and *go*.

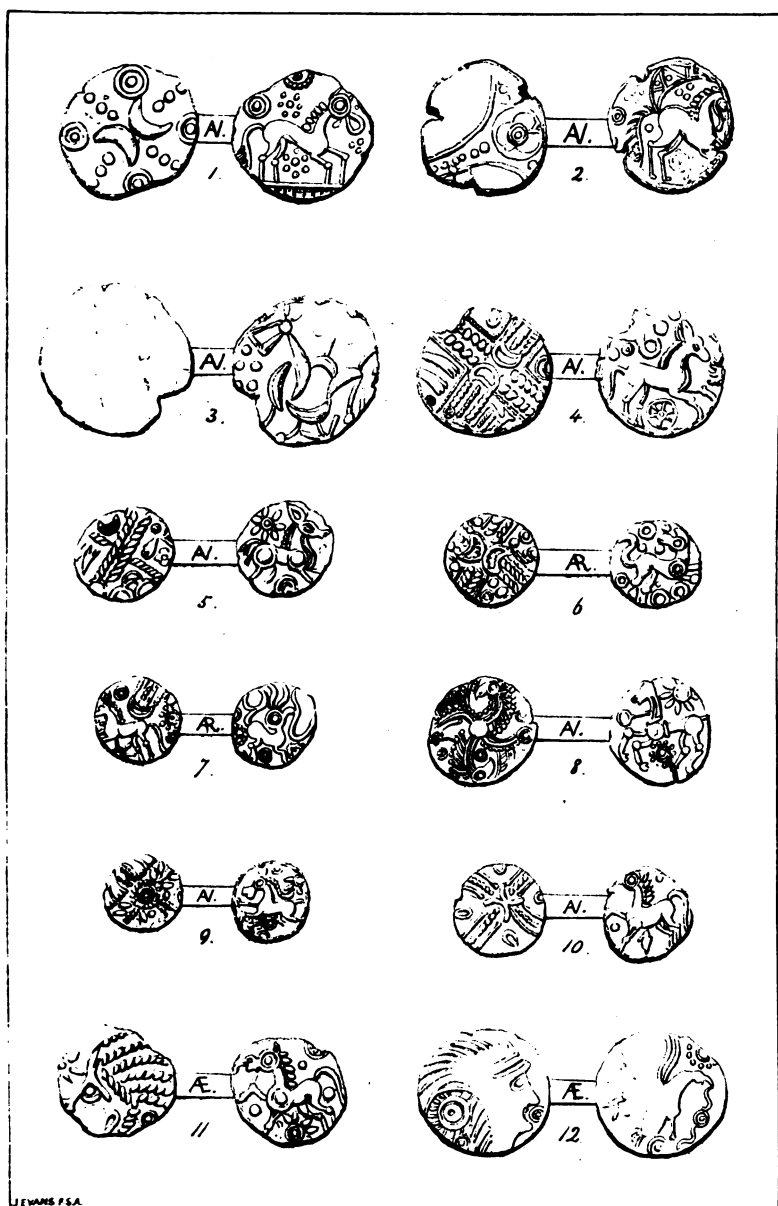
VI.

ON SOME UNPUBLISHED TYPES OF ANCIENT
BRITISH COINS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, March 19th, 1857.]

It is now some years since the attention of this society has been called to the uninscribed series of ancient British coins, which has, however, like the inscribed series, been receiving constant accessions of new types and varieties, by the discovery of fresh specimens in various parts of the country. Though, of course, in interest falling far short of the coins bearing inscriptions which identify them as having been struck by some prince or city known in history, or even of those which merely afford some vague clue to what may possibly give grounds for an attempt at their appropriation; yet these anepigraphous coins, especially where the places of their *provenance* are known, are by no means unworthy of notice, and even of attentive consideration. They not only assist us in determining the districts in which some of the inscribed types were struck, but also, being links in the same chain of successive imitations of imitations, by their greater or less resemblance to their prototype, afford means of arriving at an approximate estimate of the era to which to assign them. The common prototype to which nearly all the ancient British uninscribed coins, and the majority of the inscribed, may be referred, is,¹ as I have already shewn, the Gaulish imitation of the Macedonian Philippos; the successive imitations of

¹ Num. Chron., Vol. XII., p. 127.



J. H. W. F. S. A.

COWELL'S ANASTATIC PRESS IPSWICH

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

imitations of which, each getting farther and farther from the original, and at each successive step decreasing in weight, formed for many years the currency of the Ancient Britons, before any inscriptions appeared on the coins.

It would, however, I think, be erroneous to suppose, that the uninscribed coins were superseded by the inscribed at the same period in every part of the country; on the contrary, it appears to me, that the use of letters upon the coins commenced upon the south-eastern coast, and spread gradually northward, in the same manner as most probably the use of money itself had originally done; so that the coins of the Icenii and Brigantes, or those found in the Norfolk and Yorkshire districts, were among the latest to receive inscriptions upon them.

The coins that I have selected as being the most remarkable among those of the uninscribed class that have of late been discovered, are twelve in number, all of which are represented in the annexed Anastatic Plate.

The first was discovered in the neighbourhood of Norwich in the year 1853, and came into the possession of Mr. Goddard Johnson, from whom it passed into the collection of the late Mr. Loscombe, at the sale of whose coins it was purchased for the British Museum. It bears a considerable resemblance to the coin found at Oxnead, Norfolk (Hawk. pl. i. 2; Rud. pl. A. 87; Num. Jour. vol. i. p. 224), and is of gold, weighing $83\frac{1}{2}$ grains. On the obverse are two crescents back to back, in the centre of a cross formed by single lines of pellets, which has four ring ornaments in the spaces between its limbs. On the reverse is a horse to the right, standing upon an ornamented exergal line, its tail divided into branches; above, below, and in front, stars of pellets, and in the field, two ring ornaments.

VOL. XIX.

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The second coin was also found in Norfolk, and is likewise of gold. The blank not having been placed in the centre of the dies, the devices are to one side of the coin, both on the obverse and reverse. The device on the obverse appears to be a voided cross, formed by arched lines with rows of pellets between them; and in the centre, a circle enclosing a ring ornament so as somewhat to resemble a rose. It has a great analogy with the type of Num. Jour. vol. i. p. 222, pl. 1, 5, Ruding, pl. A, 78, which I should also consider to be attributable to the Iceni. On the reverse is a horse galloping to the right, his tail branched, from the root of which proceeds a crescent-shaped figure, divided into compartments, and turning over his head. In the field, ring ornaments and pellets. The weight is $86\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and the coin is in my own collection.

From the place of finding, and the general character of these two coins, they may, I think, be safely attributed to the Iceni. The peculiar branching of the tail is observable upon the coins of Addedomaros, and also upon some of the silver coins of the Iceni. See the two engraved in Num. Chron., Vol. II. p. 72, Nos. 7 and 8, found at March, Cambridgeshire. The prominent place that the two crescents back to back assume on these coins, is also one of their remarkable features. I have already shewn how they may be traced back, and proved to be merely corruptions of the original type of the head of Apollo, in the Num. Chron., Vol. XII. p. 127, so that I need not now further remark on the pedigree of these types.

The third coin in the Plate is also of gold, weighing $81\frac{1}{2}$ grains. The obverse is plain and convex; and on the reverse is a rude disjointed horse to the left, with a star below, and a star of pellets in front. Though its place of finding is not known, it may, from the resemblance of the

horse upon it to that on the coins reading DVMNO COVEROS, VEP CORF, etc., and on uninscribed coins found in Yorkshire, be safely attributed to the Brigantes. It is in my own collection, as is also the fourth coin, the type of which, though not given by Ruding or Hawkins, will be found in Stukeley, Pl. xix. No. 3, engraved from a coin in the collection of Joseph Tolson Lockyer, F.S.A.

On the obverse is a cross formed by wreaths, with two crescents in the centre, and in the angles appear locks of hair, the crescents representing the front hair, and the clothing of the neck, of the wide-spread bust that is found on the earlier British coins: so that this type is a most important link between those with merely the cruciform ornament, and those on which an attempt at a laureated bust is plainly discernible. On the reverse, is a moderately well-shaped horse to the right; in front, a representation of the sun; below, a wheel; and above a curved figure between pellets, similar to that¹ on some of the coins of the Whaddon Chase find (to which this type bears some general resemblance), being probably the debased representative of the Victory leaning over the biga on the prototype. The weight of this specimen is $85\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and it was found last year at Manuden, near Bishop's Stortford. I have another specimen of the same type, weighing $82\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and found at Farthinghoe, Oxon; and I have also seen a similar coin found at Hallaton, Leicestershire; so that the district through which this type was current must have been extensive, though the coins are by no means common. There is a close relationship between them and those found a few years since at Womersley,² near Guildford.

¹ Num. Chron., Vol. XII. Pl. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7.

² Smith's Coll. Ant., Vol. I., Pl. lvi., 3, 4.

There is also considerable analogy between this coin and that engraved as No. 5 on the Plate, which is, however, of smaller module, weighing only $18\frac{4}{10}$ grains, and has not the crescents in the centre of the obverse, nor so decidedly a cruciform appearance. The horse on the reverse is also rather different in character, and has a star of pellets above, and a wheel below. It is in the Museum Collection, but the place where it was found is not known.

Unlike the preceding coins, No. 6 is in silver, but has on the obverse the cruciform ornament, with two crescents in the centre, somewhat similar to that of the first type of the Weston coins (Num. Chron., Vol. XV. p. 98). On the reverse is an animal, which can hardly be termed a horse, nor indeed any other known animal, looking backwards, with his tail erected; in the field, various annulets and pellets. The weight of this coin, which is in the Museum Collection, is $14\frac{7}{10}$ grains, and it was found in Suffolk. From this circumstance, and its general appearance, it may be classed among the coins of the Icenii; to which classification the next coin, No. 7, may, I think, also lay claim. On the obverse is a well-formed horse to the left, with ring ornaments and a star of pellets on the field; and as a memento of the origin of the type, notwithstanding the presence of the horse on the obverse, instead of, as usual, on the reverse, we find above it a crescent and wreath, in fact, one quarter of the cruciform ornament so common on these coins. On the reverse is a strange animal, not susceptible of any zoological description, but which, for want of a better name, may be called an ornithocephalous horse, with long ears, and apparently pecking at a snake. In the field are ring ornaments and a wheel of pellets. The coin is of silver and of remarkably little weight, being only $7\frac{1}{10}$ grains. It is in the Museum Collection.

The next coin, No. 8, is of gold, weighing $17\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and in the same collection. Mr. Huxtable also possesses a similar specimen. On the obverse is a cruciform ornament with a pellet in the centre, each limb of the cross being curved, and two of them being made to represent the heads of eagles, with a mane or crest running down behind their necks; the other two limbs terminate in ring ornaments, but have a sort of fringe extending from them. On the reverse is a horse to the left; above, a star; and below, a rose of pellets; in front of the horse, an annulet, which is connected to the horse's neck. From the type of the reverse, which bears a very close resemblance to coins found at Bognor, Bracklesham, and Chichester, and other parts of the Kent and Sussex coast, I am inclined to attribute these coins to the south-eastern part of England, though their place of finding is not known.

No. 9 was found at Bracklesham, and is engraved in Dixon's *Geology of Sussex*, p. 80, No. 3, having been in that author's collection, though now in the British Museum. It is of red gold, weighing 15 grains. In the centre of the obverse there is a ring ornament, in lieu of the usual crescents, surrounded by pellets, on either side of which the wreath appears crossed by two corded lines. In two of the spaces formed by the cross are the figures representing the locks of back hair; and in the other two, the crescents representing the front hair of the wide-spread bust of the prototype. On the reverse is a horse to the left, with an annulet in front connected to the neck and ring ornaments, and a star in the field. It is a very remarkable little coin, the type of the obverse being especially worthy of notice.

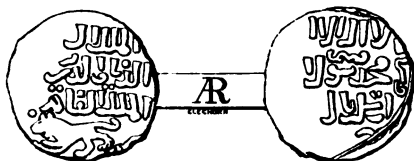
The three remaining coins on the Plate, Nos. 10, 11, and 12, are also singular in their types, and were all three found in Bedfordshire, and are now in my own collection.

No. 10 is of gold, weighing $20\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and very similar to the coin inscribed EPPI, engraved in Num. Chron., Vol. XVI. p. 80, No. 4. On the obverse is a cruciform ornament, with crescents in the centre, and horse-shoe shaped figures in the angles. On the reverse is a rather peculiar horse with an uncertain adjunct beneath. There is a great resemblance between this horse and that on the reverse of the subsequent coin, No. 11, which is, however, of copper, weighing $25\frac{1}{2}$ grains. On its obverse is a rudely-formed head to the left, the hair being represented by corded lines, and in general character very similar to that on some of the coins of Tasciovanus. There is a star in the field in front of the face.

The head upon the obverse of the 12th coin, which is also of copper, and weighing $36\frac{1}{2}$ grains, is almost Peruvian in its character, the hair turned back from off the face, and with a wheel or star in the place of the ear. The reverse is no less remarkable, the device being apparently an eagle devouring a snake, somewhat like that on the small silver coins of Epillus with the legend "Rex Calle," and on those reading "Epati." The origin of the types of both obverse and reverse is to me altogether obscure, and I have never met with any other coin at all analogous to it. In fact, all three coins belong to a district with the coins of which we are but little acquainted.

In conclusion, I may remark, that I have great pleasure in presenting the Plate of the twelve coins to the Numismatic Chronicle.

JOHN EVANS.



VII.

NOTICE OF A MAMLÚK COIN, STRUCK BY COMMAND OF THE SULTAN MELIK DHÁHER ROKN-ED-DIN BIBÁRS BONDOKDARI.

الملك الظاهر ركن الدين بيبرس بندقداري

[Read before the Numismatic Society, February 19th, 1857.]

By DR. L. Loxwe, F.R.A.S., M.S.A.P., &c., &c.

AT one of our meetings I promised, on the invitation of our President, to read a few observations respecting a Mamlúk coin, which I then had the honor of exhibiting. I will now, with your permission, fulfil my promise.

The history of the Mamlúk sultans is so well described by the Arabic author, 'Taki-ed-din Ahmed Makrizi, and so beautifully translated by Quatremère, that it required little research on my part to enable me to give a short account of the life and works of the sultan, by whose command the coin in question was struck.

Mamlúk, مَمْلُوك, is a word derived from the Arabic *Múl*, مَلِك, signifying possession, or property, and refers to the Turkish and Circassian slaves who formed the body

guard of the successors of Salahdin; and who, having been raised to some of the principal offices in the kingdom, became, at last, masters of Egypt themselves.

Melik Moezz Izz-ed-din Aibek was the first Mamlúk sultan, Melik-Mansúr Núr ed-din Ali was the second, and Melik Modhaffer Kutúz the third. These three Mamlúks reigned from the year 1250 to 1260 of the Christian era, when Melik Dhaher Rokn ed-din Bibárs Bondokdari began to reign and continued to remain in power till the year 1277.

Bibárs, a native of Turkey, was bought by Melik Sâleh Nej'm ed-din Ayúb; he distinguished himself in the service of his master, and, by degrees, became elevated in rank. After the death of Melik Sâleh he entered into the service of Melik Moadham, and remained with him until the time when the life of the latter ended by having his throat cut. Bibárs continued to rise in estimation on account of his prodigious valor; and, after the death of Fares-ed-din Aktaï, he left Káhيره for Syria. A little while after, he returned to Egypt and accompanied Kutúz in his expedition against the Tartars. On that occasion he asked Kutúz to appoint him governor of Aleppo. This the Sultan refused. Fearing to have a man like Bibárs as an enemy, he resolved to deprive him of his life. Bibárs, however, received information of that project in good time, and he, one day, when the Sultan returned from a hunting party, entered the Royal tent to ask for the possession of one of the female prisoners of war; the Sultan immediately granted his request, and Bibárs, under the pretence of kissing his hands as a mark of gratitude, took hold of the Sultan's arm, which was a preconcerted signal with the other emirs to commence an attack. One emir struck him with the sword on the neck, a second pulled him down from the horse on which he still sat, and a third sent an arrow into his heart.

After the assassination of the sultan, all the emirs who took part in the plot entered the Royal tent, when the emir Aktai-Mostáreb rose and asked, "Which among you has taken the life of Kutúz?" and Bibárs, in the most composed manner, declared that he himself had perpetrated the act. Upon this Aktai-Mostáreb said, "Sit down in his place—sit on the throne destined for the Sultan."

Bibárs, the new sultan, took first the title of الملك القاهرة *Elmelik Elkáhir*, "the conquering king"; but the vázir Zein ed-din Jakúb ben Zoháir advised him to change that title, as no one observed the vázir, who bore it ever succeeded in his career. Bibárs, therefore, adopted instead the title of Melik Dhaher, الملك الظاهر. This word has a double signification: first, "the glorious," and, secondly, an allusion to an individual who follows the practical devotions of religion, as prescribed by the simple words of the koran.

The inhabitants of Káhíreh, as well as all Mamlúks in the different Egyptian provinces, gladly submitted to the sceptre of Bibárs, with the exception only of the emir Sanjar Halebi, the governor of Damascus. He persuaded the emirs to acknowledge his own supreme authority; and, on the 6th day of the month Dhoo'l Hidge, the prayer in the mosque was offered up for the life and prosperity of Melik Dháher as well as for that of Melik Mújáhid, the latter being the title which Sanjar Halebi then adopted. He went even so far as to have money struck, bearing inscriptions which united the name of Melik Dháher with that of Melik Mújáhid.

In the same year, however, a revolution broke out at Aleppo, the governor was deposed, and the emir حسام الدين *Húsám ed-din El-júkán dár El-azízí* was appointed in his stead. He was favorably inclined to Bibárs; and after various battles had been fought with

marked success by the forces of the sultan, the revolution was quelled. The army of the sultan then directed their course, under the command of the emir Jemal ed-din Múhammad, towards Damascus, there deposed Melik Mújáhíd, and proclaimed Bibárs as Sultan.

Bibárs suppressed the various revolutions in Syria, and made himself feared by the Mongols, the Greeks, and the Armenians.

To give more dignity to his elevated position, he caused Ahmed (Mostanser Billah), a prince of the Abbasside family, to confer upon him the title of Sultan, whilst he left the title of Khálifa to Ahmed. This important act took place in the year 1264, a year particularly distinguished in consequence of the brilliant comet which appeared in the constellation of Orion.

In the diploma which the Khálifa gave to the sultan, the following passages occur, which show what spirit of hatred pervaded the heart of the enemy with whom the Crusaders, at that time, had to fight:—

“One of the most important points which must be treated here,” says the Khálifa, “is the war against the infidels; this is a most indispensable duty incumbent upon all the Múslemin — this is an act, the remembrance of which will be recorded in history. God has promised a magnificent reward to all those who fight in the cause of religion, and has reserved for them a most eminent place in paradise.

“Already you have distinguished yourself by brilliant acts, which caused the envious to turn pale for shame. You have shown a power of resolution more penetrating than the sword, more agreeable to the Múslemin than the most entertaining feasts. It is by your valor that God protected the ramparts of Islam, and secured them from being profaned by the enemy. Your courage has preserved for the Múslemin the integrity of their empire. Your sword has

inflicted incurable wounds in the hearts of the infidels, and it is by you that the throne of the Khálifas, will, we hope, regain its former splendour."

To evince his gratitude to the Khálifa, and to make his devotion to the representative of the Prophet known to the Múslemin, he caused the inscription on the coins henceforth to be struck to contain the following words :—

بيبرس قسيم امير المؤمنين الحاكم بامر الله العباس احمد

Bibárs, the intimate friend of the Commander of the faithful, the Imam who governs by the command of God, Ahmed the Abbaside.

In his wars with the Crusaders, he encountered several disasters, but he nevertheless took from them many important cities; and a letter which I shall now have the honor of reading to you, addressed to Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, after his taking of Antioch in the year 1267, will give you an example of the fierce manner in which he treated his enemies.

"To the illustrious, venerable and honourable Count, the warrior, the belligerent lion, the glory of the Christian nation, the chief of the Crusaders, and the greatest among the adorers of Jesus. To him, whose title of *Prince*, by the fall of Antioch became changed for that of *Count*. May God lead him into the right path, crown his enterprises with a happy result, and cause good counsel to find easy access to him at all times.

"The Count, I say, is well aware of our having marched against Tarablús and of our having carried war into the very heart of his estates. He has seen, since our departure, his ships destroyed, his men killed, and the churches swept from the face of the earth. The Count has also seen every house given up to all kinds of outrage; the dead

bodies heaped up on the sea-shore like islands ; the men slaughtered, and their children made prisoners ; the women sent into slavery ; and all the trees cut down except those required for the construction of implements of war and palisades. We have taken all that belonged to you and your subjects, money, women, children, and flocks ; the poor amongst us have become rich, the bachelor has received a wife, the servant is a keeper of slaves, and he who before walked on foot now rides on horseback.

“And you, you did contemplate the sight of a man given up to the agonies of death, and on hearing a voice, you surely, in the most terrified manner, must have said unto yourself, ‘Oh that voice is directed against me!’ You have been well aware of our having only left you for the purpose of again coming back to you, and our object in granting you some respite has only been to wait for the time previously fixed upon by us.

“When we left your estates, there was not a single beast without its following our troops, not a girl without being in our power, not a column without having fallen under the blows of our pickaxes, not a field without its crops being gathered by us ; in short there was no single object of your property which fell not into our hands. You could not find refuge either in the caverns of the highest rock, or in the deepest valley, which penetrates even into the midst of the frontiers and surpasses all imagination.

“You were also aware, how, after leaving you, we appeared in front of Antioch, the capital, without any sign being previously given of our approach ; you knew that we intended going away from you only for a short time, with the intention of coming back soon afterwards. Well, we send you now the accomplished facts, and we are going to inform you of all the calamities which befell the land.

"We left Tarablús on Wednesday, the 24th day of Shábán, and encamped behind the wall of Antioch on the first day of the month of Rámádan. The moment after our arrival, your troops came out of the town to attack us, but we conquered them. They mutually supported themselves, but could not obtain any advantage thereby. The lord high constable, who was among the prisoners we had taken, asked for permission to have a conference with your subjects, and I agreed to it. He entered into the town, and soon returned, accompanied by a number of monks and principal personages among your attendants. They wanted to treat with us, but we soon found out that their designs were similar to yours, which are to kill the people; for when the matter under discussion was the doing of any good, their plans were opposed; on the contrary, when it was the doing of evil, they were all of one opinion. Seeing that their fate was decided without remedy, and that God had decreed their death, we dismissed them, saying, 'We are now going to besiege you immediately; this is the first and last information we can give you.' They left us, acting in a manner as you would do, fully impressed with the idea that you would come with your infantry and cavalry to help them. However, during the interval of less than an hour, the field-marshal, the superior of the monks, the keeper of the castle, all were surrounded by death. We made the assault, sword in hand, on Saturday at four o'clock, the fourth day of the month of Ramadán, and destroyed all those whom you had selected to guard and defend the town. Among the people we found there, every one had at least something in his possession, but now there is not one among us who has not either one of the people themselves, or something that belonged to them, in his possession. Oh if you had seen the riders, how they were thrown under the feet of their

horses! your houses invaded by the plunderers, and freely over run by those who were searching after spoil! If you had seen your wealth weighed by the kintar; and your jewels, how they were sold or bought with your own treasures, at the price of four for one dinár; if you had seen your churches demolished, your crosses cut to pieces, and the books of your false evangelists exposed; if you had seen your enemy, the Múslim, ravaging the sanctuary; the monk, the priest, and the deacon, all slaughtered on the altar; the nobles given up to misfortune, and the princes of the royal family reduced to slavery; if you could only have contemplated the sight of flames penetrating into your palaces; the dead given up to the flames of this world previous to their being given up to the fire which awaits them in the other;—your palaces, with all the furniture therein, destroyed; the churches of St. Paul and Assian tottering, and at last ceasing to exist; if you could have seen all this, you surely would have said, ‘I wish to God I had been transformed into clay!’ or, ‘I wish I had never received the letter which gives me the account of this fearful catastrophe.’¹

¹ ولورایت کنایسک و صلبانها قد کسرت و نسرت و صغفها من الاناجیل المزورة قد نشرت و قبور البطارقة قد بعثت و لو رایت عدوئ المسلم و قد داس مکان القداس و المذبح و قد ذبح فيه الراهب و القسيس و الشماس و البطارقة قد دهموا بطارقة و ابنا المملکة و قد دخلوا فی المملکة و لو شاهدت النيران و هی فی قصورک تخترق و القتلی بنار الدنيا قبل الاخرة تخترق و قصورک و احوالها قد حالت و کنيسة بولص و کنيسة العسیان و قد زلت و زالت لکنت تقول یا لیتنی کنت ترابا و یا لیتنی لم اوت بهذا الخبر کتابا

"This mournful state of things will cause your soul to expire; and these flames will become extinguished by the water of your tears. Oh! if you were to see your habitations empty of all that belonged to them; all your chariots taken; all your vessels lying in the port of Súwádiah and your boats fallen into the power of your enemy; you, surely, would feel convinced, that God who has first given Antioch to you, has now again taken it from you;—that the Lord who has given the citadel into your possession, has now again deprived you of it, and made it altogether disappear from the face of the earth. You will now understand, that we have, thank God, taken again possession of the Islam fortresses which you had seized, viz. Shákif-Talmis, Shákif-Kafr-denin, and all other places in the district of Antioch. We have forced the soldiers to leave the castle; we have taken them by the hair, and dispersed them far and nigh. Nothing remained to which the word 'resistance' could be applied, unless it were 'the river'; and, even that, if it could, would cease to bear the name of *Así*, عاصي 'the rebel.' That river now sheds tears of regret. Formerly its tears consisted of clear water, but now they are of blood, which we have poured into it.

"This letter contains good tidings for you, inasmuch as it informs you, that it pleased God to watch over your life and to prolong your days, as it so happened that you have not been yourself at Antioch during that time. If you had been there, surely, you would now have been either killed or made prisoner, wounded or mutilated.

"A living man contemplating the sight of a field covered with dead bodies, must feel some pleasure in knowing that he is himself in safety; perhaps God granted the prolongation of your days that you may thereby have time allowed to

make good all you have hitherto neglected to do, with regard to obedience and service due to him.

“As none escaped who could inform you of this event, we have taken it upon ourselves to do so. It not being in the power of any one to let you know that your life is in safety, and that all the others died, we have given you all the information in this our despatch, that you might know things exactly as they are. After receiving such a letter, you ought not to accuse us any more of falsehood, nor need you to ask any one for further information.”

Bohemond, on receiving this letter, was very much irritated, this being indeed the first news he received of the fall of Antioch.

We must hope, and happily we have reason to believe, that the Múhammedan princes of the present century have given up that spirit of revenge, and that any royal diploma given to the sovereign of any of their countries will not any longer recommend the entire annihilation of the Franks; or, at all events, that the representatives of European powers will always take care, that the Múhammedans shall not act in strict accordance with injunctions similar to those of the Khálifa Abu'l-Kâsem Ahmed.

This letter, showing how the Múhammedans at that time felt with regard to Europeans, it may perhaps not be uninteresting to the members of this society to hear a few words of advice given by Admiral Sir Sydney Smith, in a letter which I had the honour of receiving twenty years ago. The original is in the following words:—

“Your note of this morning finds me at my writing table working for you, and surrounded by Arabic manuscripts, which I wished to put under your eye for your information and guidance in your projected tour. Your excuses for not coming to my distant residence I must necessarily

admit, knowing your multifarious and important occupations; but I cannot the less feel the disappointment at not having the opportunity of making some useful communications to you, such as :—

“An authentic copy of the capitulation granted by the Caliph Omar on his entry into Jerusalem, A.H. 15, to the Patriarch Zephirinus (Sophronius), giving and securing to the Christian subjects privileges still in existence when claimed by those who have the right and have the sense to appeal to the original (one of four) in the archives of the law officers at Constantinople, a copy of which I sent to the persons interested therein, living under the authority of the Pasha of Jerusalem, in order that they might exhibit to the latter, and remind him, in my name, that the Christian powers had an eye upon him, and would not fail to comply with each other's request, to make a joint effort for their protection in case of its arbitrary violation.

“2ndly. The correspondence of the ecclesiastical authorities of the four Christian right guardians of the Holy Sepulchre.

“3rdly. The correspondence of the present ministers of Sultan Mahmúd with me on their own affairs as dependent on me, knowing that my eye is keen as a hawk's, and my claws long when I am obliged to put them out, always against my will, and never but when forced by imperative circumstances, such as violation of principles and treaties, oppression of the defenceless, and their evident need of the succour my influence or action may be supposed to be equal to affording them.”

Bibárs then proceeded to the Holy Land, made himself master of Zafed, the castle of Kárák, of Tiberias, and various other places. He ravaged Little Armenia and made the king's son prisoner, took possession of Derbesák, Derkúsh, Belmish, Káfrdenin, Rábán and Merzéban. He

VOL. XIX.

M

also penetrated into Nubia, upset the throne of David, and substituted Meshker, who engaged to give up to Bibárs half of his annual revenues.

In the year 1268, Bibárs went into the Hejáz, where he received the homage of all the Emirs; he entered Mecca and Medina, where he most creditably acquitted himself of his duties as a pious Múslim; and opened on that occasion friendly relations with the king of Yemen, who offered him many valuable and handsome presents.

Makrizi gives a description of the various contemporaries of Bibárs, among whom we find *St. Louis*, or Louis IX., who, with the intention of converting the Bey of Tunis, proceeded to his capital, and there died, at the age of fifty-five, in the year 1270.

With regard to Edward, who, after the death of St. Louis, went to the Holy Land, and distinguished himself by his valiant exploits, Makrizi gives the following account.

"Bibárs," he says, "having been informed of the arrival of the King of England, that he landed at Acre with 300 horse, eight large ships, and many other vessels, forming in all thirty sail, and that it was his intention to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he encamped at Tripolis, and there, after divers occurrences, the Franks sued for peace, and obtained a truce of ten years' duration."

Makrizi, however, adds, that Bibárs sent two of his officers with 3000 Egyptian dinárs to redeem the prisoners.

Bibárs was a most active prince; he examined personally all that was going on in his estates; he was sure to inspect his fortresses, and, on many occasions, he himself assisted to demolish the walls and strongholds of his enemies. His activity induced the poet of his age to say of him, "One day in Egypt, one day in the Hejáz, one day in Syria, and one day in Aleppo."

In the year 1268, when his army supposed him dan-

gerously ill in his tent near Orsúf, he secretly left the place, went to Egypt, there regulated all the affairs of the state, and, after a short time, re-appeared to his soldiers who were under the impression that he had never quitted his tent.

In the year 1277, however, the moment arrived when his glory was to become extinguished, and his life was to end, by a fate similar to that which he had prepared for his predecessor Kútúz. The astrologers told him, that some great man would die that year; and Bibárs, with the intention of removing the evil fate from himself, prepared a poison for Malik Kaher, a prince of the house of Salahdin; but the cup which contained the poison was forgotten to be removed, and Bibárs, taking it himself, drank its fatal contents and expired in the greatest sufferings, after a reign of seventeen years.

Bibárs bore the title of *أبو الفتح* *Abū'l futúkh*, "the father of victory," and ordered the figure of a lion, called in Arabic *الأسد النصرام* *Elássad Eddharghám*, "the ferocious lion," to be struck on the money issued during his reign, as an emblem of the wars he made against his enemies, and the victories he achieved over them. Marsden considers the lion as an imitation of the style adopted by the Seljúk princes.

He also selected the title of *ركن الدين* *Rokn ed-din*, "The pillar or support of religion," in reference to the black corner-stone of the Cábá, which is called *ركن البيت* *Rokn el-beit*, and to signify thereby his most fervent attachment to the Islam.

On the coin which I again have the honour to exhibit, the *أسد النصرام* and the title of *ركن الدين* were inscribed, but not the title of *الملك الظاهر* which he was advised to adopt by his Vázir, Zein-éd-din Jakúb ben Zoháir: he is still called by his original title *الملك القاهر* *Elmelik Elkáhir* "The conquering king." It follows therefore that the coin in question must have been one of the first issued from the mint of Bibárs.

In conclusion, we must not omit to state some of his benevolent traits. He distributed annually one hundred thousand measures of corn, and provided munificently for the widows and orphans of the soldiers who died on the field of battle.

He founded the college of Dhaherieh at Kahireh, built a caravanserai in the Holy City of Jerusalem, made magnificent bridges across the Nile, and constructed the canals of Alexandria and Tánáh.

His two sons, Melik Saïd Nasr-ed-din Múhammad Berekeh-Khan and Melik Adl Bedr-ed-din Selámesh, only occupied the throne for the period of two years. The former, having irritated the emirs by his tyrannical caprices, was deposed; and his brother, who was then proclaimed sultan, met with a similar fate after a reign of one hundred days.

These revolutions having been planned by Keláún, the Atábek of the army, he took the crown for himself, in the year 1279.

A coin of Bibárs with the inscription of القاهرة being very scarce, this specimen from my cabinet deserves the attention of the numismatist. The alloy of the Dirhems of Dhaher consisted of seventy per cent. of fine silver, and thirty per cent. of copper.

Silver. 54 grains.

Olv.—الملك . . . الدنيا والدين الملك القاهرة

“The King, the pillar of the world and of religion, the conquering King.”

The word ركن is effaced. Below the inscription is the lion called الأسد الصرغام

Rev.—لا اله الا الله . . محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى

“There is no God but God—Muhammad, the messenger of God—He sent him with guidance.”

The rest of the usual legend, ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين and true faith, that he might exalt the religion above all, though the infidels be averse thereto,” is omitted.

VIII.

STRAY LEAVES FROM THE JOURNAL OF A
TRAVELLER IN SEARCH OF
ANCIENT COINS.

BY J. G. PFISTER.

“La numismatique est une Maîtresse dangereuse pour l'amateur, et toujours adorée, bien que cruelle, pour ses fervents disciples.”¹

DURING the eventful winter of 1847—48, whilst at Naples, I obtained permission to revisit the famous Museum of Antiquities of the Marquis of Sant-Angelo, and to inspect, as on a former occasion, the magnificent collection of coins and medals. There had also been of late commenced, the formation of a cabinet of mediæval coins, generally, however, referring only to the Neapolitan states. In a drawer of sundry yet unclassified mediæval and modern coins, I observed one, which, at the first glance, appeared to me to be an inedited testoon, struck by one of the family, De' Fieschi, Counts of Lavagna [Lavania]. I was entirely misled by the extraordinary resemblance in the design of its type to similar coins of that family, as well as by the inscription, which I read SEB. (*astianus*) EPS. (*Episcopus*) ET. PR. (*inceps*) LAV. (*aniæ.*)

¹ Mann mit zugeknöpften Taschen,
Hut dir Niemand was zu lieb?
Hand wird nur von Hand gewaschen,
Wenn du nehmen willst, so gib!

And as there was no series of this sort of coins, I felt that I might venture to propose an exchange for a Cinquecento Neapolitan medallion. I easily obtained my request from my guide, the obliging and erudite numismatist, il Cavaliere Don Michele di Sant Angelo.

The coin was laid by with other acquisitions, and not thought of, until the spring, when I came to the gay and beautifully situated small fishing town of Sésstri di Levante,

Niemals anfert dort die Sorge,
Niemals landet dort ein Dampfsschiff
Mit neugierigen Philistern,
Tabackspfeifen² in den Mäulern.

It is the Segesta of Pliny, who attributes it to the Tiguli, and calls it "Segesta Tigulliorum." It belonged during the middle ages to the Fieschi family, and is situated not far from the town of Lavagna itself. During the evening, whilst I was in the garden of the hotel, listening to a song in praise of

"il bel paese

Che Appenin parte e'l mar circon da e l'Alpe"

I approached the singer, who was a relation of the landlord, and agreeing with him in praise of his country, I begged of him information as to the neighbouring town of Lavagna—whether there were yet to be seen some antiquities, some remains of the feudal Castle of the Fieschi, etc. He was sorry not to be able to inform me, but, pointing to a fine carriage just passing by, along the high road towards Genoa, said that the personage in that carriage could give me the best information. And who should it be, but Cardinal Fiesco himself; who was, he said, particularly liked

² A pipe is a great soother!—a pleasant comforter!—Blue devils fly before its honest breath! It ripens the brain—it opens the heart; and the man who smokes, thinks like a sage, and acts like a Samaritan!—*Night and Morning.*

in the country around, for his affability and amiable manners, as he was accustomed to receive, at a minute's notice, the poor as well as the rich. Relying upon such welcome information, I took my seat early the next morning in a Baroccio,³ by the side of my Lignrian Mentor; and the cigars being lighted, via! towards Chiavari, in which neighbourhood the Cardinal resided. It was the first of May 1848, and, indeed, a glorious May morning it was. The luxuriant beauty of the vegetation, the blossoms and flowers of the country around, was such that one might have fancied oneself in a tropical climate. However,

Nicht an das Wo ward Seligkeit gebunden,
Wer hat das Glück schon außer sich gefunden.

At the town of Chiavari I took a guide to conduct me to the Villa Fieschi, which was situated more in the direction of the mountains, about two miles distant. Arrived, and having dismissed my guide, I entered the court-yard, the doors being wide open, but nobody to be seen, until I came up to the house; there I met with an ecclesiastic who was the secretary of the Cardinal, and to whom I stated the object of my visit. He invited me immediately to walk upstairs; and, having waited a short time in a salon which contained many curious ancient paintings, I was presently ushered into an adjoining room, and stood before the Cardinal, who might have been some sixty years of age, of dignified appearance, and with a cheerful and healthy countenance. He was dressed in black, and wore a scarlet scull-cap. At once the words of Schiller came into my mind;

„Zwei meiner Ahnherrn trugen die dreifache Krone,⁴
Das Blut der Fiescher fließt nur unter dem Purpur gesund.“

³ The Roman Birotæ, which the Wallons have yet in Bi-ruetta.

⁴ Pope Innocent IV., Sinibaldo Fiesco, 1243—1254, and Adrian V., Ottobono Fiesco, in 1276, from July to September. Innocent IV., was the first Pope who introduced the golden rose, and

I excused myself as well as I could, that it was "*l'amour pour la science numismatique*" which had brought me before his eminence. The Cardinal threw a penetrating glance at me, and, probably convinced that I was a harmless fellow, seated himself on the sofa, and invited me to do the same. I then briefly stated, that I was in possession of rare coins, struck by his ancestors,⁵ which one day I might, perhaps, publish, and that I should feel grateful to his eminence for any information with regard to dates and facts, etc.

The Cardinal was sorry not to be able to comply with my request immediately, because all the family documents which he possessed were in the library of his palace at Rome. But if ever I should come to that city again, he would be glad to see me, and would give me all the information I might require on that subject. Or if I would note down in writing, the names of those of the Fieschi of whom I possessed coins, he then would forward to me the result of his researches, wherever I thought proper. In that case, I

the red hats for the Cardinals; as a symbol that they should be ready at any time to shed their blood for the church if required. He built in the county of Lavagna seventeen palaces, which were mostly burned down by the Emperor Frederic II., and in 1252 he built a great Basilica near the town of Lavagna.

In a MS. Chronicle (*Memoria di Chiavari*) in possession of Sig. Antonio Solari, at Chiavari, who permitted me to inspect it for Numismatic matters, I noticed also, that in A.D. 992, Rubaldo Flisco, son of Tedisio, held in fief from the Emperor Otho III., (983—1002) Lavagna, "*con tutta l'aqua*," i.e., all the river Endella also the town of Sestri, and those lands wherein are situated the far famed slate quarries called Lavagna (slate in Gaelic is *leac*.) From 1280 to 1292, we have Bonifacio Fiesco as Archbishop of Ravenna, who, in 1280, began to strike coins in that city. A Niccolo Fiesco was Bishop of Toulon 1518—1524. In the annals of Genoa, I found mentioned several Bishops of that family. Obizio, 1288—1292; Giacomo, 1393—1400; Giorgio, 1436—1439; and Laurenzio in 1705. The wife of Azzo Visconti, Lord of Milan, 1328—1339, was an Isabella dei Fieschi.

⁵ All these coins are now in the British Museum.

mentioned the Marquis Giuseppe Durazzo, at Genoa, who had honoured me at different periods with permission to visit him at his palace, and where I particularly recollect, one evening, the Marquis being surrounded by his beautiful little family, his amiable Marchioness, and, of course, plenty of old coins, showed that

*L'étude des sciences est une sorte de francmaçonnerie, qui rapproche les hommes, et les lie par un lien d'intérêt commun.*⁶

F. SORET.

I then brought out my supposed new discovery of a coin struck by a Sebastian de' Fieschi. The Cardinal inspected it for a good while, but observed, however, that although the name of Sebastian occurred in his family, he did not think the coin could have been issued by a Fieschi, because none of his ancestors did, nor could ever have styled himself a prince in any public or even private document, because they were only Counts of Lavagna, Lords of Messerano,⁷ etc. Besides, the saint represented on the reverse of the coin referred neither to the country of Lavagna nor to the family, and therefore, his opinion was, that the coin did not belong to the Fieschi.

I then showed him a coin of Messerano, which his eminence approved of. Having also by me a fine silver medal referring, in my opinion, to the well known conspiracy of Ludovico Fiesco, Count of Lavagna, against the all-powerful sway of the family Doria, at that time (1547) in Genoa, I shewed it to the Cardinal, who had never previously seen it. On the obverse, is represented the bust of the great Andrea, (the Nelson of those days) in armour, wearing a long beard.

⁶ Sir Walter Scott says somewhere, that "the dice, like the grave, levels these distinguishing points of Society."

⁷ In 1394, May 29th, Antonio Fiesco, Count of Lavagna, was invested with the Lordship of Messerano, by Pope Boniface IX. *Zanetti*, vol. ii., p. 99.

He appears far advanced in age; to the left in the field, is a trident, and inscribed ANDREAS DORIA.⁸

The reverse shows the youthful and handsome bust of the famous conspirator himself.⁹

The Cardinal observed, smilingly, that there was a likeness. However, when I begged him to observe, that this side of the medal had no inscription, and that where there ought to have been one, a chain was to be seen, such as galley-slaves used to wear; and that also the neck of the

⁸ I copied the following inscription under a window, outside the Church of St. Matteo, at Genoa.

MAIORVM NOSTRV
MEMORIA ANDREAS DORIA
AFFLICTAM PATRIAM
NON DESERVIT.

And on his tomb in the subterranean part of that church,

ANDREAS D'ORIA
HAC IN CELLA CRVCI. D. N. I.
A SE DEDICATA SEPLCRVM
SIBI VIVENS PARAVIT.

A.D. 1547.

And over a door of an ancient fine house in the Piazza Matteo, is inscribed

SENAT: CON: ANDREÆ
DE ORIA PATRIÆ
LIBERATORI MVNVS
PVBLICVM.

⁹ Some years ago, when Mr. Anderson, a distinguished actor, brought out Schiller's tragedy of Fiesco, at Drury Lane, I went to him at one of the rehearsals a day or two before the performance, and showed him this very medal, at the sight of which he was highly pleased. I gave him also, the coloured coat of arms of the families of the Dorias, as well as of the Fieschi. There was also present the eminent Mr. Planché, who told me that he had looked in vain, in public as well as private collections, for the arms of the Fieschi. I had the satisfaction to see them introduced in some of the costumes, as well as in the decoration of the scenery, during the performance.

It was the Marquis G. Durazzo, at Genoa, who had copied them himself, as well as many other coats of arms of distinguished Genoese families, from a manuscript in his library, and kindly presented them to me.

bust was chained to a small galley, probably to indicate the punishment he deserved for his crime, had he lived : at this my interpretation, his Eminence could not restrain himself any longer, but burst out into a loud laugh, and calling in his secretary, said to him, that "Questo Signor Tedesco, has been so kind as to shew me the portrait of one of my ancestors as Galleotto." I was certainly not embarrassed, because the Cardinal himself, scarcely a minute before, had acknowledged that there was a likeness in the portrait.

His Eminence condescended to converse with me for a good while on many topics, numismatics, travelling, on England, etc. ; and when I thought it time to take leave, he observed to me, "that if ever I came again to Chiavari, I was not to neglect going to see a church, dedicated to St. Salvatore di Lavagna, situated still nearer the mountains. He told me that it was the best Transalpine gothic edifice in that part of the country, but that it was seldom visited by travellers ; it had been built by one of his ancestors,¹⁰ and that I might see there many very fine ancient monuments of his family. The road," he continued, "leading to it, is certainly not a very good one ; and a torrent must be crossed, as there was no bridge, and which did not permit a ferry, on account of its shallowness during most parts of the year ; but that there were always strong men on the spot, to carry people over for a trifle."

So I took leave of his Eminence, wishing from all my heart, that he might yet enjoy in good health, for many years to come, such fine days of May : and on my way, returning to Chiavari, I reflected with pleasure upon the kind reception I had received from Cardinal Fieschi.

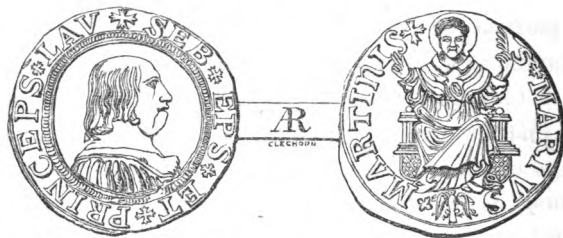
And it was, indeed, with a sincere gratification and pleasure, that I read in the newspaper of Cologne

¹⁰ Probably Pope Innocent IV., Sinibaldo Fiesco : 1243—1254.

(*Kölnische Zeitung*), of the 8th of July, 1856, the following paragraph : — “ Rome, 20th June. The venerable Cardinal Fieschi is so far convalescent, after having been for a long while unwell, that he was able, on St. John’s day, to celebrate the solemn Festival-mass in the principal church of the Knights of Malta.” And it was further observed, that “ Since Lambruschini’s death, Cardinal Fieschi became Grand Prior of the Order, whose members met this year from different parts of Italy, in greater numbers than on former occasions,” etc.

Arrived at Geneva, I shewed my new acquisition of coins and medals to my highly esteemed friend, M. F. Soret, administrator of the Cantonal Museum, who at once congratulated me upon my supposed Fiesco testoon, which he pronounced to be a Swiss coin of the greatest rarity, an inedited testoon of Sebastian de Montfaucon, bishop of Lausanne; that there was only one more specimen known in a private collection at Zürich; that the Museum of Geneva possessed a copy of it; and that my specimen was even a little better preserved.

INEDITED TESTOON OF SEBASTIAN DE MONTFAUCON, THE
LAST BISHOP OF LAUSANNE, 1517 — 1536.¹¹



Obv.— Bust of the bishop to the right, represented about the age of thirty-eight, apparently attired with the vestment, and wearing the hair rather long, ac-

¹¹ This coin is now in the British Museum.

cording to the custom of the time. (Inscribed
 SEB✠EPS✠ET✠PRINCEPS✠LAV (Sebastianus
 Episcopus et Princeps Lausanensis).

Rev.—On the *Rev.* is represented the seated figure of Saint Marius, named as the first bishop and patron saint of Lausanne, and the last of Aventicum. He has the aureola round his head, and is in the act of giving the benediction. The left hand is also raised, in which he holds a palm branch. S✠MARIVS✠MARTIRIS. In the exergue, we observe an imperial eagle, and to the right is a flower for a mint-mark. These testoons (quarti) of Lausanne, not being of the best silver, their circulation was prohibited at Parma. Zanetti, V., p.102.

Sebastian was the son of François de Montfaucon, brother of bishop Aymon, lord of Pierre Charres, and Jacqueline de la Rochette, in Savoy. He was born in 1495, and was appointed bishop of Lausanne on the 18th of September, 1517, by Pope Leo X., and the Emperor Maximilian I; and died at his Chateaux des Terraux, in Bugey (Bugesia), in 1560, having survived the loss of his bishopric twenty-four years.

It appears that the house of Montfaucon, or Montfaulcon, takes its name from a castle, Monte Falconis, situated in the neighbourhood of Besançon. The family had, however, also possessions in the Pays de Vaud, and in Savoy.

Amédée, or Amey de Montfaucon, son of Richard, count of Montbeillard, bought, in 1273, the castle and territory d'Echellens, for the sum of one hundred and forty "librae denariorum monetæ Lausanensis," of the Chevalier Pierre de Chéseaux, of Lausanne. From 1347 to 1356, we have François; and 1491 to 1517, Aymon de Montfaucon, bishops of Lausanne. Aymon was a son of William de Montfaucon, lord of Flaxieux, in Bugey; his mother, Margaretha de Villette Chevron.

When the life of bishop Aymon was on the decline, many
 VOL. XIX. O

of the gentry, spiritual as well as temporal, applied to him to take his cousin, Sebastian de Montfaucon, as his coadjutor. At first, Aymon refused to comply with their wish; but, upon their pressing solicitation, he consented; observing, however, that they would soon regret having given themselves so much trouble for his cousin, because he knew his disposition better than they did. It may be observed, that the bishop of Lausanne was chosen from among thirty-two canons of the cathedral, and was honoured, since the fourteenth century, with the title of Count of Lausanne, and Prince of the Holy Empire, thus partaking of the sovereignty as well as the township.¹²

The bishop was temporal prince, however, only over a part of the town of Lausanne, the four parishes of Lavaux, the vale and priory of Lutry, part of Vevey, and the castle and constableness of Avenches. Rudolph III., last king of the Burgundians, second race, was crowned at Lausanne, on which occasion he presented the bishop with the country of Vaud (Comitatus Waldensis). The act is of A. D. 1011, made at Vevey. Since that time, the bishops of Lausanne acquired great territory, and became mighty lords. In the fourteenth century, they bore the following title:—"By the grace of God, and of the holy Apostolic seat, Bishop and Count of Lausanne, and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire."

Under the German empire, Lausanne itself enjoyed great liberties and valuable privileges, without being exactly an imperial town, although under imperial protection, to which the small eagle on the coin probably refers.¹³

¹² In the *Conservateur Suisse*, we find that in the year 1405, it was "Défense de faire un foyer sans une cheminée élevée au moins de 6 pieds au dessus du toit, sous peine de 10 s., la demi à l'Evêque, la demi à la ville."

¹³ In 1297, the Emperor Adolphus of Nassau, and Pope Gregory X., had a conference at Lausanne, in which that Emperor confirmed to the Pope, the possession of the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Marches of Ancona, and the Duchy of Spoleto.

In 1251, the Emperor William, of Holland, pledged Arles, Besançon, Lausanne, and, with them, also the imperial rights, for 10,000 marks of silver, to Hugo, duke of Burgundy. In 1259, Louis, Seigneur de Bugey, son of Thomas of the House of Savoy, bore the title of Baron de Vaud. About 1271, a good deal more of the Pays de Vaud had past, by little and little, under the domination of that branch of the House of Savoy, and that part of the country was then called the Baronie de Vaud.

In 1368, May 1st, the laws of Lausanne were consolidated under the name of "*Placitum generale*," still called "*Plaid général*,"¹⁴ which was promulgated with the greatest *éclat*, of which the "*Chroniques du pais de Vaulx*," gives us a specimen, that about that period, namely, in the time of bishop Aymon, 1356 to 1375, "*Un porc, qui avait tué un enfant à Chatillens près d'Oron, fut traduit en jugement à Lausanne et condamné comme meurtrier; le sautier de la ville reçut ordre de faire pendre cet animal au gibet.*"

The governor had the guardianship of the keys of the city, as exemplified when Charles II., Duke of Savoy, came to Lausanne in 1532. The burgomaster Louis de Seigneux presented him the keys with these words: "*Je vous remets les clefs de notre ville, non point pour y dominer, mais, afin que vous y dormiez en plaine sécurité.*"

The chronicles of the Pays de Vaud relate, that the irritating conduct of the clergy prepared the people to favour the Reformation. It appears that the clergy of Lausanne

¹⁴ Allusion is made somewhere, that this word is derived from the Celtic *plaid*, *plegyd*, which signifies to take part, to side with one; the Welsh *pleidiwr*, a partisan; *Cyd-blaid*, a confederate. The word *plaid* is found on the earliest French monuments, at a time when none of the Latin consonants were lost, and where it would certainly have been written *plaict*, if it had been immediately derived from *placitum*.

were so ignorant, that when, in 1527 (November 27th), the Bernese demanded of bishop Sebastian de Montfaucon, to send them some of the most learned dignitaries, to assist at the conference about to take place at Berne, on matters of reformation, they concluded their application with these energetic words : " *Haec boni consulite, hisque locum date, quum Paternitatis vestrae officium sit, non solum tondere, verum etiam Christi oves pacere.*" Which may be translated thus : " Consider this well, and grant this our petition, since it is your fatherly duty not to shear only, but also to pasture the sheep of Christ." The bishop Sebastian answered, " *Qu'il n'avait pas de gens assez instruits dans l'Ecriture Sainte pour une affaire aussi importante que l'examen de la religion.*"¹⁵ But none of the monks of the Burgundian or " Romant " part of Switzerland, distinguished themselves for their learning; and Berenger, of Tours, called that country the modern Bœotia. It was, at that time, a vast forest, inhabited only within the immediate range of those castles and mountains, which were thinly scattered over its surface.

The progress of the Reformation, which increased more and more at Lausanne, made the bishop indignant against the inhabitants. In 1533, the people complained most bitterly against Sebastian de Montfaucon, and among the many grievances, more or less severe, which were brought forward against him, was, in particular, the following threat pronounced by the bishop against the inhabitants. " *Je ferai tant, que vous et vos enfans, en pleureront sur vos genoux avec des larmes de sang.*"¹⁶

The fear of such a menace, disposed the inhabitants of Lausanne to throw themselves, in 1535, into the arms of the

¹⁵ Levade, p. 171.

¹⁶ Ruchat (A.), *Abregé de l'Histoire Ecclesiastique du Pays de Vaud*. Berne, 1707, 8vo. p. 100.

Bernese, with whom they were already allies since 1525, as likewise with those of Freyburg. This treaty was concluded at Berne, on the 25th of December, 1535, for the term of 25 years, notwithstanding all the efforts of the bishop to prevent it.

In the beginning of the year 1536, the Bernese entered the Pays de Vaud; the bishop, however, was respected and not molested, until it was found out that he intended by intrigue to place the country in the hands of the Duke of Savoy.¹⁷ This was proved by the following intercepted letter which the bishop had written to his bailiff at Vevey,¹⁸ Monsieur Curtilliers wherein he gave him orders to raise a levy of men in the country of Lavaux.

*Letter of Sebastian de Montfalcon, Bishop of Lausanne, to Monsieur de Curtilliers, his Bailiff at Vevey, in the year 1536.*¹⁹

Monsieur le Baillif, je vous veulx bien advertir comme aujourd'hui suis arrivé ici,²⁰ pour venir veoir mes subjets, et pour les faire mettre en l'ordre, tant pour la manutention de la foy, que de monseigneur et pais, et a ce soër ay ben nouvelles comme le capitaine Colloneys est arrivé à Morge avec une belle bande d'italiens bien en ordre, et a mandé partout dellà le lac pour avoir gens, pour aller audevant de ceulx de Berne, pour leur donner la bataille, si me semble que nous devons tous ayder, aller là où sera le grand flot, car si d'aventure nous perdions, que Dieu ne veuille, le pays, les villes ne serient pas puis après pour nous résister, et ne faut point faire comme les Romains firent, quand

¹⁷ On surprit de ses lettres qui marquoient l'intelligence qu'il entretenoit avec les ennemis de ce canton. See Watteville, Hist. de la Confédération Helvet., Yverdon, 1768, p. 170.

¹⁸ In 1222, a part of Vevey belonged to the Seigneurs de Bloney, who sold it to William d'Escublens, Bishop of Lausanne. The rest of the town belonged to the Duke of Savoy.

¹⁹ Levade, Dictionnaire Géographique, Statistique et Historique du Canton de Vaud. Lausanne, 1824, p. 404.

²⁰ At his chateau of Glérolle, situated on the borders of the lake near St. Saphorin, between Lausanne and Vevey; it is one of the most ancient castles in that part of the country. By various objects of Roman antiquities, and coins found there, one may conclude that it was a place of some consequence.

feu M. de Borbon print Rome, car chescun se voloyt garder son pallays qui fût cause de leur ruïne, et de ce ay bien voulsu advertir, afin, si bon vous semble le communiquer à M. M. de Vivey et aux lieux circonvoisins; et de mon cousté ne restera point que je ne fasse mon devoir. Si vous avez quelques nouvelles, je vous prie de m'en advertier. Faisant fin à ma lettre, après m'estre re-commandé à vous de bon cœur, et prié nostre Seigneur de vous donner ce que vous désirez.

à Glérole, ce 25 jour Janvyer.
le bien vostre,
l'Evesque de Lausanne.

The bishop, at the same time, having returned to Lausanne, sent a messenger to Captain Colloneys, who was at Morges, to let him know of the departure of the auxiliaries from Lausanne, which would facilitate an attempt upon that town; however, those of Lausanne obtaining information, demanded help of the burghers of the neighbouring towns of Lutry, Vilette, and of St. Saphorin; a favourable answer came, and almost as quick a company of well armed citizens, who uniting themselves under the wild blazon of the bear, prevented the invasion which the bishop had projected.

In those days, as well as in earlier times, the bishops themselves exchanged the mitre for a helmet, and went to war, as we have it in the well known story of Philip, Bishop of Beauvais, who was taken prisoner in battle by Richard I., King of England, in 1196. The Pope having claimed him as a son of the church, Richard sent to his holiness the bishop's sword and armour, with the words of Scripture, "See if this is the coat of thy son." In the famous battle of Laupen,²¹ 21st of July, 1339, three bishops were engaged in the fight; one was the Bishop of Lausanne, the others were the Bishops of Basle and Lyons. At the battle of Mohaz, 1526, the Bishop of Buda was slain. However, one of the greatest warrior bishops, was he of Sion, Matthew Schiner, at the sanguinary battle of Marignano, 13th—14th

²¹ It was at this memorable battle, that Louis of Savoy, Lord of the Pays de Vaud, lost his only son.

September, 1515. Even as late as 1690, Walker, Bishop of Derry, was killed at the battle of the Boyne. But to return to our Sebastian de Montfaucon, who preferred running away to fighting: as soon as he perceived that his letter to Curtilliers, bailiff of Vevey, had been intercepted by the Bernese, and that the consequences must inevitably effect his ruin, he evacuated the castle of Lausanne, during the night of the 22nd to 23rd of March, 1536, and retired to Friburg.

On the most elevated part of Lausanne is situated the castle, which was commenced by Bishop Jean de Cossonay in 1255; however, the castle was built upon a more ancient one (Dun), because we find that in the year A.D. 892, Rudolph II., King of Burgundy resided for a time at "Castrum Lausanense." It was finished by Bishop Guillaume de Challand, in 1425, bearing the name of Chateau de St. Maire, on account of a neighbouring old church of that name dedicated to the first bishop and patron, Saint *Marius*, who is represented on our coin. The castle, which now bears the name of Maison Cantonal, was the residence of the prelates until the conquest of the Pays de Vaud by the Bernese.

During the fifteenth century, it contained the Mint. In 1368, the Mint is mentioned to have been in the Rue de Bourg. "Le seigneur Evêque ne peut battre ou faire battre monnoie sans le consentement des trois ordres (the chapter, the nobility, and the townsmen); c'est toujours dans la Rue de Bourg que le battra la monnoie de Lausanne."²² There was a chamber in the castle, called

²² Statuts de l'Evêché, 1368. We may here observe, that in the year 1209, Roger, bishop of Lausanne, had given as a feudal privilege, to Ulrich III., Count of Neuchâtel, the right of striking coins. This concession was afterwards disputed by the states of the bishoprick, and was bought back in 1225 by the bishop Guillaume d'Ecublens. However, later in 1347, the Emperor Charles IV., accorded the right of the Mint to Count Louis.

l'Evêque, and which contained a sort of an antique shrine, or rather large chair, apparently immoveable, turning, however, upon hinges, and concealing a small door, which conducted to a secret staircase, communicating with a subterranean passage, which had its issue outside the town. It was by this door, that Sebastian de Montfaucon escaped during the siege of the castle by the Bernese.

On the 29th of March, the Bernese likewise took Chateau de Chillon, after a valiant defence by the Savoyard garrison. The citizens of Geneva had also sent some large boats, with artillery and troops, to lay siege to the Chateau by water, to assist in the deliverance of their eminent citizen, Bonnivard, Prior of St. Victor, who had been kept prisoner at Chillon²³ for six years and six months, by the Duke of Savoy.

All the country, from Morat to Geneva, was conquered in eleven days, and with only 7,000 men; and in less than three months, a great part of the Pays de Vaud, the Barony of Gex, and part of Chablais.

The Bernese forthwith took possession of all the estates belonging to the bishop (1st April, 1536), on account of his having made common cause with the Duke of Savoy, against whom the Bernese had lately (16th January, 1536) declared war, in consequence of the Duke's infraction of the treaty of St. Julien (1st October, 1530).

In 1537, a college or academy was founded at Lausanne, and endowed from the sequestration of the convents.

Since the seventh century, Lausanne was, indeed, a rich Episcopal See, and numbered in 1520, in the diocess, not less than 7 Chapters of Collegiate Churches, 9 Abbeys, 25 Priories, 7 Rectories (Rectorats d'Hospices), and 299 Cura-

²³ In 1218, we find the names Zillium and Gillum; and in 1236, Castrum Chilione.

torships. Lausanne was then governed by an officer from Berne, till 1798, when it fell into the hands of the French, who made it the capital of the department of the *Leman*.

It is somewhat curious, that the obverse of our coin shews the portrait of the last bishop of Lausanne, while the reverse exhibits to us the figure of its first bishop, namely, St. Marius. And here it is a pleasure to me to be able to give some satisfactory account of the life of this venerable and worthy man. I must again observe, that exactly the same design (but of course with different names) of the seated figure of St. Marius on our coin prevails, and is represented on the testoons of Ludovico Fiesco, 1517 — 1530, and on some of Pietro Luca Fiesco, 1532 — 1575, as well as on a testoon of Bartolomeo Tizzoni, Count of Desana, 1525 — 1535; and as it also happens that the period, as well as the workmanship of all those coins corresponds, I am convinced that the dies for all the four coins in question, were made by one and the same artist.

On the coins of the Fieschi, St. Theonestus is represented by the artist as a martyr;²⁴ and the like has been done with St. Theodorus, on a testoon of Desana,²⁵ as well as with St. Marius on our testoon of Lausanne. This last circumstance is, however, too important for the illustration of the coin, which we now publish for the first time, to pass over; because the legend, S. MARIVS MARTIRIS., as well as his holding in the left hand a palm branch,²⁶ cannot be correct,

²⁴ Vittorio, *Il Fiorino d'oro*. Firenze, 1738, 4to., p. 263, fig. 1, 2.

²⁵ Gazzera *Mem. Stor. dei Tizzoni, Conti di Desana*. Torino, 1842, 4to., pl. ii., fig. 6.

²⁶ Since very remote times, the palm branch was always represented as a symbol of triumph; and upon the oldest Christian works of art, we find the palm branch generally represented as a symbol of martyrdom, which we have also so often observed on the tombs of Christian martyrs in the catacombs of Rome and

as Marius died in peace at Lausanne, on the 31st of December, A.D. 601 (on which day his festival was kept), at the age of sixty-four, and in the twenty-first year of his episcopate. For his exemplary life, he was placed among the number of saints. Cuno d'Estavayé, the registrar of the Chartulary of Lausanne, A.D. 1235, speaking of Marius, says: "Nobilis genere, sed nobilior moribus." Not only had he been considered, in later days, as the best and most zealous of all those men who sat on the episcopal chair of Lausanne, but, perhaps, even of all Switzerland. Soon after, his body was deposited in a little church which stood near the old castle, and had previously the name of St. Thyrsi (Thyrsus, martyr, who suffered under Decius, at Nicea), but afterwards was called St. Maire in respect to his memory. "In Ecclesia Beati Marii que quodam dicebatur Beati Thyrsii." (Chart. Lausanne)

The cathedral of Notre Dame was founded by Bishop Henry, Count of Lenzburg, about A.D. 1044. In 1274, the Emperor Rudolph I., of Hapsburg, consecrated in person the restored cathedral.

Marius was a native of Antun, of a noble family, and in some degree related to the royal house of Burgundy.

At a synod, held at Macon (Consilium Matisconense), in A.D. 581, he was created bishop of Aventicum²⁷ (Pagus

Naples. Even as late as the fifteenth century, the dead were represented on tombstones holding palm branches in their hands, to indicate the victory which they had obtained. The branch of a palm tree was called *Bai* in Egypt; and as the palm tree was supposed to be immortal, or, at least, if it did die, to revive and enjoy a second life, the Egyptians gave the name of *Bai* to the soul.

²⁷ The Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, in his *Ikonographie* (Emblems of Saints), London, 1850, p. 94, has mentioned a St. Marius as the hermit.

Aventicensis). He was then about the age of forty-three. At a second synod, also held at Macon, in A.D. 585, by Gontram, King of Burgundy and Orleans, 561 — 593, Marius also assisted, and subscribed himself as “*Episcopus Aventicorum.*”

It may be observed, that at that period, the kingdom of Burgundy extended itself from the Loire, as far as Sedunum in the Valais; and from the Rhone (Avignon) to the sources of the Maas, and the Moselle.

The Burgundians had already obtained, in the last year of Honorius, A.D. 423, a permanent seat and dominion in the province of Gaul. The continual devastation of the Burgundians, and other hordes of barbarians about the nearly ruined city of Aventicum, made it a dangerous residence for the bishop. A poet of old laments thus over the fall of that once splendid metropolis: —

“*Quæ caput Helvetiæ fueram jam nominis umbra
Magni, reliquias vix traho parva meas.*”

King Gontram, being well aware of the merit, the zeal and importance of such a man as Marius, gave positive order, in A.D. 590, that he should transfer the episcopal see from Aventicum, which was situated in a plain, to the more secure elevated situation of Lausodunum. It may here be observed, that the old name of the former Lausona, situated in the plain of Vidy, appears to have been adopted instead of that of Lausodunum, as is proved by the golden Tremissi of Lausanne of that period, and by somewhat later documents, namely, the act of the foundation of the Abbey at Payerne, which the Burgundian queen Bertha finished. It is called “*Actum vero Lausona civitate.*” The episcopal chair of Augusta Rauracorum (Augst. *Episcopi Rauracorum*) was likewise transferred from its smoking ruins to

Basle, A.D. 451, and also that of Octodurum (Martigny) to Sion,²⁸ and that of Vindonissa²⁹ (Windisch) to Constance.

Marius, as we have seen, was held in great respect by King Gontram, who, on the Bishop's solicitation, gave many valuable donations to the church of Lausanne, and also founded at Geneva the Church of St. Peter, on the ruins of a temple of Apollo. Gontram died at Chalons on the 28th of March, 593. Chalons was at that time the capital of the kingdom of Burgundy, which comprised Autun, Mâcon, Avench, Lausanne, Sion and Geneva.

I may here mention, that when that eminent Irish preacher of Christianity, St. Columbanus, arrived in Switzerland, he came to the court of Gontram. The King earnestly desired to retain him, but, refusing all overtures of wealth and ease, he went towards Besuntium (Besançon), in which neighbourhood he founded, in A.D. 589, the Abbey of Luxevil, which he governed for 20 years.

In A.D. 610—612, we find St. Columbanus and St. Gallus, his disciple, in the neighbourhood of Zurich. In A.D. 614, St. Gallus founded the famous Abbey of St. Gall. It appears also, that Gontram had given previously to Marius himself large estates, near, or at, the ruins of Paterniacum, an ancient town situated on the small river Broye, a few miles from Aventicum. This estate he often visited; and even sometimes cultivated it himself, and, at other leisure hours in winter, he fabricated, with his own hand, sacrificial vessels. "*Ecclesiæ ornatus vasi fabricando sacratis. Et manibus*

²⁸ This may have happened later in A.D. 580, when the greatest part of the town of Octodurum was destroyed by the slip of a mountain.

²⁹ About Vindossa, Eusebius, who died in A.D. 340, narrates in a passage, "What shall I recite of the fields near Vindossa, covered over with the bodies of the enemy, and still white with their bones?"

propriis prædia justa colens." (Mentioned on his epitaph. Chron. Chartul. Lausann.)

Other examples might be given, how the bishops in those days, travelled out of the special duties of their office. For instance, St. Piranus, born A.D. 352, of noble parents, in the county of Ossory in Ireland, having been ordained Bishop at Rome, fixed his abode among a simple people in the west of Cornwall, and passed a long and exemplary life. In the fulfilment of his sacred calling, he was equally zealous in instructing his parishioners in the useful arts, and especially in the working of metals. The Cornish miners venerate the name of Piranus. From him was named a very curious church, now in ruins in Cornwall, called Perranzabuloe, that is, St. Pieran in the sand (*Sanctus Piranus in Sabulo.*) Also in the life of St. Hilary, we observe, that from the time he rose, any one who wished to see him was received. He performed the office of a justice of peace, and afterwards repaired to the church and performed service; he also performed manual labours, sometimes spinning for the poor, sometimes cultivating the fields of his church. Thus passed his day, in the midst of his people, in grave and useful occupation of public interest. This it appears was often the life of a bishop in the fifth century.³⁰ At a later period, as we have seen, many bishops took a fancy for fighting.

Marius must be considered as the founder of the present town of Payerne, A.D. 595, having first built a church there in honour of the blessed Virgin ("*Templum et Villa in proprio patrimonio edificavit.*" Chron. Chartularii Lausann.) The consecration of that church took place on the 24th of June, A.D. 584. Some antiquarians were of opinion that the name of Paterniacum, which was still so written during

³⁰ Vide M. Guizot's History of Civilization.

the middle ages, alluded to the fact that Marius had built that town on his proper inheritance. Others preferred the name of a distinguished Roman family, the Paternii, of whom many inscriptions had been found in Western Switzerland. That name was also known at Aventicum, an inscription records a Graggius Paternus, Curator Coloniae (Aventicum).

However, the termination in *ac* in the ancient name of Payerne, appears to me to allude to a Celtic origin. The place had been known to the Romans, and there had been, or is still to be seen, an inscription on the bridge over the Broye, dedicated to Jupiter³¹ (Zeus Pater), the genius of the place, and to the goddess who gives favourable returns (Fortuna *redux*). It appears that towards the end of the tenth century, the present town of Payerne was at its highest point as a prosperous and thriving and even fashionable town. Bertha, the dowager queen of Burgundy,³² considered as one of the brightest examples of domestic virtue on a throne, resided at Payerne, where she enlarged and enriched the church built by Marius. On documents signed by her, the seals bear the inscription "Bertha humilis Regina," A.D. 961. She built there an abbey from the neighbouring ruins of Aventicum, and endowed it with lands and vassals. The name of the first abbot was Majolus. Even to this day, there is still a saying at Payerne, which alludes to that excellent queen whose distaff became proverbial, "*ce n'est plus le temps ou Berthe filait.*" When, in 1817, the sarcophagus which enclosed the ashes of Queen Bertha, was discovered in the dilapi-

³¹ Bochat, vol. ii., p. 438,

³² Bertha was a daughter of the Duke of Suabia, and widow of King Rudolph II., who died in A.D. 937, 13th of July, and was buried at the monastery of St. Maurice.

dated abbey at Payerne, the Conseil d'Etat, of the Canton de Vaud, had it honourably placed in the parish church of Payerne, with an inscription, composed by the dean, M. Bridel. Payerne continued more or less prosperous, until, as it appears, towards the end of the fourteenth century. But, alas! now-a-days, instead of spreading out into the country, the country enters into the town. In fact, it seems to be, like Avenches, a dying town. "Une ville qui meurt! chose triste et solennelle! Les rues se défont. Où il y avait une rangée de maisons, il n'y a plus qu'une muraille; où il y avait une muraille, il n'y a plus rien. L'herbe remplace le pavé. La vie se retire vers le centre, vers le coeur, comme dans l'homme agonisant. Ce sont les extrémités qui meurent les premières, les membres chez l'homme, les faubourgs dans les villes. Les endroits habités perdent les étages. Les églises s'effondrent, se déforment et s'en vont en poussière, non faute de croyances, comme dans nos fourmillières industrielles, mais faute de croyants. Des quartiers tout entiers tombent en ruine. Il est presque étrange d'y passer; des espèces de peuplades sauvages s'y installent. Ici ce n'est plus la ville qui se répand dans la campagne, c'est la campagne qui rentre dans la ville. On défriche la rue, on cultive le carrefour, on laboure le seuil des maisons; l'ornière profonde des chariots à fumier creuse et bouleverse les anciens dallages; les pluies font des mares devant les portes; le caquetage discordant des basses-cours remplace les rumeurs de la foule. D'une place réservée aux cérémonies impériales³³ on fait un carré de laitues.

"L'église devient une grange, le palais devient une

³³ A.D. 1033. Imperator Conradus cum filio suo Henrico veniens ad Paterniacum, etc. Bochat, Mem. Crit. de la Suisse, ii., p. 267.

ferme,³⁴ la tour devient un pigeonnier, la maison devient

³⁴ From one of these farms, which appears to have been the house or palace of the governor of Berne, I obtained a very fine panel of glass-painting, dated 1575. It represents three different coats of arms. On the upper division, to the right, over the first coat of arms, appears Diana (rather a fat one), we will say the Hyberborean (Diana Taurica) bathing, and attended by two other females: one of them seems to be frightened (of Acteon). Bees are seen flying over the figure of Diana. On the left division, appears Acteon, as usual, *cornuto*, and accompanied by two greyhounds. The device is EX VIRTUTE HONOS. Under the first coat of arms, is inscribed JEORG MARCVARD GENERAL COMMISSARY DES NVNTH GEWVNNEN LANDS DER STADT BER; George Marquard, General-commissary of the ninth division of the conquered country by the town of Berne. N.B.—The entire country of the Canton de Vaud, was conquered by the Bernese in 1536.

On each of the two lower divisions, are seen two cherubim, on the back of an eagle. The two other coats of arms are probably those of a first and a second wife of George Marquard. The one to the left is placed under Acteon, and bears the name of MARÏJA MADERIN. The other, to the right, has the name of ELISABHET ZUR KINDENN, probably the second wife, and placed, of course, under the division which represents the chaste Diana. Both symbols of the arms allude to the names, as *type parlante*.

Considering the representation of bees over the figure of Diana, we may here with pleasure allude to the reflective mind, either of the artist who designed that division, or of him who gave the order. With respect to the bee: this pure and remarkable insect is an attribute of Diana. We find it near the head of Diana on the coins of Naples; and, in reference to the same idea, it appears near the corn-ear on the coins of Metapontum. In the innocent state of the heathen paradise, the first men lived upon honey; hence, first nourishment, and purity of divine service, were the old ideas symbolised by the bee, and hence priestesses were called *melisses*, *μελισσαι*, to remind them of their purity or sanctity. And, therefore, Pindar (Pythian Games, iv., 106), calls the Pythian priestess, "the Bee of Delphos." And so the bee became by the ancients selected as a symbol of the most important conditions of life. The bee appears also as a symbol of a colony;—see coins of Corinth and Ephesus, etc.

Having received a letter of invitation from the Secretary of the Manchester Exhibition. for the contribution of any objects which might be thought worthy of exhibition, I sent this glass-painting, with two others, and likewise three ancient German jars of the sixteenth century.

une baraque, la boutique devient une échoppe, le bassin devient un étang, le citadin devient un paysan ; la cité est morte. Partout la solitude, l'ennui, la poussière, la ruine, l'oubli. Partout sur les places désertes, sur les passants enveloppés et mornes, sur les visages tristes, sur les pans de murs écroulés, sur les maisons basses, muettes et rares, l'oeil de la pensée croit voir se projeter les longues et mélancoliques ombres d'un soleil couchant."

Returning again to St. Marius, we may state, that the greatest part of his life was spent in useful pursuits, and in benevolence. He wrote also a very valuable chronicle, from the time of the Western Emperor Avitus, which he commenced in A.D. 455, and continued up to September, 581. It contains the principal events of that period, and preserves many facts which one may in vain look for any where else, in particular with regard to important events of the history of Burgundy. In Chron. II., pp. 188, 189, he gives the principal facts of the life of King Sigismund, and the conquest of Burgundy. Indeed, some French writers distinguish him by the term of "Un des plus anciens chroniqueurs de France qui sont parvenu jusqu'à nous." ³⁵

Marius having been also bishop of Aventicum, we might perhaps, say more of that important Romano-Helvetic colony (Aventicum Helvetiorum Foederata). Tacitus is the first who speaks of that city (Hist. I., c. 68), calling it "Gentis caput"; and, according to many inscriptions still extant, we may collect, that during the auspicious reign of Augustus, this country enjoyed much prosperity, which, under his profligate successors, was soon converted into a most degrading state of servitude. Aventicum was one of

³⁵ Dom. Rivet. Hist. Litter. de France, vol. iii., p. 400. Paris, 1735. 4to.

those towns which Cæsar obliged the Helvetii, after he had beaten them in Gaul, to rebuild.

It appears, that when Vitellius was elected emperor by the legions at Cologne, the death of Galba, assassinated at Rome, A.D. 70, was not yet known at Aventicum (Helvetii de cæde Galba abnuentes, Tacit. I., c. 67). It also appears, that Otho's brief occupation of the throne, was hardly known in Helvetia. No monument of him has yet been discovered there. Therefore, when Vitellius assumed the purple, the XXI. Legion³⁶ (Rapax) stationed at Vindonissa, took offence at the loyalty which the Helvetians had maintained in favour of Galba, and being joined by the Thracian and other Legions, and headed by Allienus (Aulus) Cæcinna, one of the generals of Vitellius, a man of great audacity and unexampled cruelty, ravaged the country with fire and sword from Baden (Respublica Aquensis), which they demolished, up to Aventicum, which surrendered.

Wer die Dörfer ansteckt, sei verfluchet!
Ob es Alobrogen oder Römer.
Ob es Christen waren oder Heiden,
Daß sie Gottes ärgster Fluch betreffe,
Oder auch des Teufels bester Segen.

VOLKSLIEDER, der Aventici.

However, Julius Alpinus,³⁷ the chief magistrate, known

³⁶ An interesting account about this legion, is given by Dr. Heinrich Meyer, of Zürich, in a treaty on the XI. and XXI. Legion. "Geschichte der XI. and XXI. Legion." Zürich, 1853. I may observe, that Dr. H. Meyer has also lately written a volume on the works of art and antiquities in the British Museum, in which the reader will find many learned remarks on the so far-famed marbles of the Parthenon. We hope that this work, "Ein Besuch im brittischen Museum in Briefen, von Dr. H. Meyer: Zürich, 1855," will, some day or other, be translated into English.

³⁷ Names of noble and distinguished leaders of the Helvetians, who were sent by their nation at various times during the Gallic war as ambassadors to Cæsar, we have in Orgetorix, Numejus, Verodoktius and Divico.

as a friend of Galba, was demanded for instant execution, as a traitor, by Aulus Cæcinna,³⁸ A.D. 70. Tacitus thus relates this historical fact; "In Julium Alpinum, ut concitorem belli, Cæciinna animadvertit ceteros sævitæ vel veniæ Vitelli reliquit." (Hist. I., 68.) No remonstrance could avail, not even the eloquence and tears of his daughter, Julia Alpinula, who was a priestess of the tutelar deity of the town, Dea Aventia,³⁹ could save the unfortunate father.

Her sepulchral inscription, found at Aventicum, expresses in pathetic language the sorrow which seems to have abridged the days of the unhappy priestess.

IVLIA ALPINVLA HIC
IACEO
INFELICIS PATRIS IN
FELIX PROLES
DEAE AVENT. SACERD.
EXORARE PATRIS NE
CEM NON POTVI
MALE MORI IN FATIS
ILLI ERAT
VIXI ANNOS XXIII.

³⁸ This Roman general was of a noble Etruscan family of Volaterra. It is curious, that Cicero made a speech to obtain the citizenship for one of a similar name, Aulus Cæcinna, whom he mentioned in his speech as the noblest of all the Etruscans.

³⁹ The ancients often established a religious worship in honour of cities, similar to the personification of Rome, "Dea Roma," early in the second century B.C. (Tacit. Ann. iv. 56. Livius xi. 3.) Of Autun we have "Dea Bibracta," of Nîmes, "Deus Nemausus," and so "Dea Aventia." It is curious, that the town of Losdunum (Juliodunum), Dept. Vienne, has been personified into a patron saint, that of St. Loudon. Bochat, ii., p. 497, gives an interesting inscription referring to an offering made by a distinguished citizen of Aventicum, to the Deity Aventia, and which M. Bochat reads (p. 506) "Dea Aventiæ Titus Tertius Severus, Curator Coloniae idemque Allectus; cui (Aventiæ) Incolæ Aventicensis, primi omnium, ob ejus erga se merita Tabulam argenteam Pondo quinquaginta (Librarum) posue-

"Here I lie, Julia Alpinula, unhappy daughter of an unhappy father. Priestess of the goddess Aventia. My father's fate I could not avert, a miserable end was predestined to him. I lived twenty-three years." But the inscription in question, unfortunately is no longer to be found, like so many others which have been published and in time destroyed, or employed for common building materials, or carried to other places. Levade, in his *Dictionnaire Géographique, Stat. et Hist., du Canton de Vaud, Lausanne, 1824*, observes that this inscribed slab was carried to England; "*Cette epitaphe a été transportée en Angleterre,*" p. 21. If so, perhaps some antiquarian may discover it again, as Mr. George Scharf, an excellent antiquarian and artist, discovered, in 1852, at Marbury Hall in Cheshire, the residence of James Smith Burry, Esq., a fragment of great interest of the Parthenon frieze. And upon the artist naming to Mr. S. Burry its connection with the Elgin marbles, that gentleman generously presented it to the British Museum, where it now exactly fills a gap that long existed in the northern frieze.

This inscription was published by the erudite Gruter, in 1602, after Lipsius; and so in time it appeared in other works. I. C. Orellius, *Ins. Rom. Ant.*, vol. i., p. 123, Turici 1828, gives several inscriptions alluding to Aventicum; he gave this one also, but considered it a forgery (*spuria*), and says that Lipsius, who was the first to publish it, about the end of the sixteenth century, had the inscription from a person of the name of Paulo Gulielmo, but as it had not been seen by any one afterwards, Orellius and others con-

runt. *Donum de sua pecunia ex Sesterceis Septingentis, Locus datus decreto Decurionum.*" Of priests of Aventicum, Bochat, ii., pp. 493—494, gives also several inscriptions. One of a Lucius Camillus, who died at the age of 92.

sidered it, without doubt, a composition of that knave (a fraudulent homine) out of Tacitus, Hist. i. 68, as has already been seen by Ryckius ad Tacit. Ann. iii, 23, etc.

Far be it from me to pretend to possess the ability to argue with those distinguished archæologists of our days, who disbelieve in the genuineness of this inscription. I only permit myself to observe, that, in my humble opinion, there is not ground enough given by them, in fact none at all, to prove that the inscription is a forgery. I have shown it to several good latin scholars, and no fault is found with its composition. And why may not the very historical fact related by Tacitus, tell as well for the genuineness of the inscription, as against it? In fact, the inscription is not important, there is nothing about it extraordinary or recherché; it merely gives us, in a very pathetic but simple way, to understand, that the young priestess, pierced with sorrow at the death of her unfortunate father, having in vain urgently solicited his life, could not survive such severe anguish; that she died at the age of twenty-three years, and that she herself, or her relations, wished that her epitaph should express her tenderness for her father.

With regard to those words in the inscription, "male mori in Fatis illi erat," we may observe, that it was believed by the Pagans, that no one could avoid the career of fate which destiny had fixed, and that the gods themselves could not annul or change it. So of Juno in the *Æneid*.

"Hoc regnum dea gentibus esse
Si qua fata sinant."

It is also to that fatality to which the Mahometans submit themselves with an entire resignation; and thence the common exclamation, "From that which is written there is no escape." Referring to the name of Alpinula in our inscription, it may be further observed, that women

used to adopt the diminutive of the name of their father (Albinus) as a surname. Fabretti has given several examples (Inscript. Antic. p. 172.)

It appears, moreover, that the family Alpinia must have been distinguished not only in Aventicum, but also in other places of Switzerland, according to inscriptions. One found at Baden (Aquae Helveticae), near Zürich, relates that a certain L. A. Magianus and his wife, Alpinia Alpinula, furnished the money to supply the ornaments of a temple of Isis, that stood at Baden.⁴⁰

DEAE ISIDI TEMPLVM A SOLO
L. ANNVSIVS MAGIANVS
VIR AGVENSIS DE SVO POSVIT
AD CIVIVS TEMPLI ORNAMENTA
ALPINIA ALPINVLA CONIVNX.
ET PEREGRINA FIL X·C·DEDE
RVNT. L. D. D. VICANORVM.

It may be observed, that about 150 years ago, when the Rev. Dr. Wild, of Avenche, wrote his "*Apologie pour la vieille cité d'Avenche en Suisse*," published at Berne in 1710, a M. Cuper, a friend of Dr. Wild, did merely mention in a letter⁴¹ to that meritorious archæologist and historian of his native town, that something like suspicion rises up in his mind, as to the genuineness of that inscription of Julia Alpinula. His words are "*Nescio quid subdoli mihi oriatur*," and that is all. But it does not appear that Dr. Wild agreed with the opinion of M. Cuper. Bochat, in his *Mem. Crit.*, mentions also the allusion of M. Cuper to that inscription in the letter to Dr. Wild, but without dis-

⁴⁰ Bochat, vol. ii., pp. 374 — 402. He relates also, that on the 22nd of August, 1633, there were found at Wettingen, near Baden, sacred vessels, all of silver, the ornaments on which allude to the worship of Mithras, so prevalent in Switzerland under the Empire, like that of Osiris, and still more of Isis.

⁴¹ Published in the *Museum Helvet.*, part i., p. 52.

cussing it. And so nothing more was thought about its genuineness for almost a century, until, (as it appears to me), Lord Byron alluded to the beauty of that inscription with enthusiasm, in his *Childe Harold*. And now, from that time, it seems that the doubt as to the genuineness of the inscription is to revive again. It was declared decidedly a forgery, by several distinguished archæologists. The last allusions made to it, I observe in the "*Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthums Freunden im Rheinlande*," year X.; Bonn, 1852; and in the "*Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*," vol. x., p. 112, Zürich, 1854.

Be it as it may, the distinguished historian, Johannes von Müller, believed in its genuineness, and so did one of the brightest geniuses of our days — the pride of his country — Byron.⁴² Also Levade (*Dict. Geogr. et Statistique du Canton de Vaud*), from whom I copied it, does not allude to any doubt of the inscription not being genuine. But let us yet compare a few recent discoveries of epitaphs, published in the Supplement of the fifteenth volume of the Imperial "*Akademie der Wissenschaften*," at Vienna, 1855, pp. 251 — 252; and which, in their pathetic composition, though somewhat incorrect in the prosody of the verses, and questionable in grammar, might be put in comparison with that of Julia Alpinula. The one is in fifteen lines, stating that the stone was erected by a girl of the name of

⁴² Byron was, however, not the first who alluded to the said epitaph in poetry. I have met with these beautiful lines, written before his time, and signed Bridel.

"Ci git dans son printemps la fille d'Alpinus :
 Pour te sauver mes vœux ont été superflus.
 O mon père ! et je cours à ta voix qui m'appelle
 Te suivre et te rejoindre en la nuit éternelle :
 Je n'ai pu du destin désarmer les rigueurs :
 Ton sort a fait le mien, tu péris..... et je meurs."

Fabricia Marcilla, daughter of one L. Fabricius, a retired soldier (*miles evocatus*), to her dear mother, Veiana Hospita, who died at the age of forty-five; and likewise of a brother, who fell in battle, twenty-eight years of age. The personal indications (names of the persons) are above the verses, of which, unfortunately, only four lines are preserved.

FELIX·TERRA·PRECOR·LEVITER·SVPER·OSSA·RESIDAS.
MATRIS·ET·FRATRIS·COMPRECOR·ECCE·SOROR.
PARS·IACET·IPSA·MEI·MATER·GEMINATQVE·DOLOREM.

(CÖ)MPRECOR·VT·VÖBIS·SIT·PIA·TERRA·LEVIS.

Blessed earth, I, as a sister, pray, rest lightly on my mother's and my brother's bones.

My mother, a very part of myself, lies buried there, and doubles all my grief.

I pray that the pious earth may lie lightly on you both.

The other one was found in 1852, at the Villa Codini, within Porta S. Sebastiano, at Rome, in a Columbarium, and was copied at the same time by the Austrian councillor, the Chevalier de Heufler, and sent to the Academy at Vienna. The inscription is in the possession of Signor Pietro Cerasi, at Rome. It refers to a woman who had lost her brother, her husband, and an infant son. She challenges any one who might be mourning, to a comparison with grief like hers. Here the names of the persons follow the verses.

CONIVGE·SI·QVA·CARET·FRATREMQVE·MISERRIMA.
SI·QVA.

FLET·RAPTV·ET·NATVM·PERDIDIT·A·GREMIO
HVNC·TITVLVM·ASPICIAT·FVNVS·NON·QVAERET·IN·
ISTO.

QVO·DOLET·ET·FLEBIT·TOT·MEA·DAMNA·MAGIS.

If any one has lost her husband, and if any most unhappy being is weeping for her brother, taken from her, and has lost the child of her bosom, let her behold this inscription; she will not seek a monument for him whom she laments; she will rather weep for my many losses.

Lord Byron, speaking of that inscription of Avenches, says, "I know of no human composition so affecting as this, nor a history of deeper interest." Now, in my humble judgment, I often fancied, that those few lines in prose were enough to reconcile the most ardent enemies of the great poet; and if not, let them wish in vain, "but for one hour of Byron."⁴³

Nearly eighteen centuries have passed away, since the origin of this tale has been again so beautifully alluded to.

Oh ! sweet and sacred be the name !
 Julia, the daughter, the devoted, gave
 Her youth to heaven ; her heart, beneath a claim
 Nearest to heaven's, broke o'er a father's grave.
 Justice is sworn against tears, and hers would crave
 The life she lived in ; but the judge was just,⁴⁴
 And then she died on him she could not save.
 Their tomb was simple, and without a bust,
 And held within their urn, one mind, one heart, one dust.

Of Byron, sometimes mention is made as to his being an enthusiast,⁴⁵ and whimsical,⁴⁶ alluding to his having imitated Leander.

Well, Byron verified, in 1810, the story of Ovid, by swimming over the Hellespont. But who can say that Byron was not under the same inspiration that animated Leander, particularly as he had no commentaries to hold above his head, like Cæsar ? Can it be imagined, that his

⁴³ He died at Missolonghi, on the 19th April, 1824, at the age of thirty seven.

"My native land, good night !"

⁴⁴ Here, it appears, Lord Byron did not consult historical facts ; else he would have said, that the judge was *unjust*.

⁴⁵ The sense of this word among the Greeks, *Entheos*, signified "God in us" (inspiration).

Sir Walter gives enthusiastic features to a Highlander (Montrose, cap. iv.)

⁴⁶ Richelieu fancied himself *beau garçon*, a gallant, a wit, and a poet.

lordship, at the age of twenty-three, and of whom also it might be said, that he was "le seul pöete, contemporain qui ait eu la figure de son génie," having accomplished the difficult task, that while stepping on shore, he was received by an old woman, holding in one hand a basin of water-gruel, and with the other a stick of barley-sugar, reciting the following lines of Göthe's Iphigenia.

Doch ach mich trennt das meer von den Geliebten,
Und an den Ufer steh'ich lange Tage,
Und gegen meine Seufzer bringt die Welle
Nur dumpfe Töne brausend mir herüber.

Many years ago, when I beheld the coffin of Juliet Capuletti in a garden at Verona, I also exclaimed "Ecco il luogo! Ecco l'urna!" One of Albion's fair daughters, of whom many would not have hesitated to say "Natura la fece, e poi ruppe la stampa," who stood near, observed how obliged she would be to me if I could procure for her a small fragment of that coffin, to have it set in a brooch. This was, however, easier said than done, although the coffin, the authenticity of which I certainly should not like to defend, was not much unlike a baker's kneading-trough, made of the Veronese marble, without the slightest ornament or inscription, and appeared to have been already much knocked about.⁴⁶ Of course, the first thing I did, was to address myself to the gardener's daughter, who showed the coffin, in the way Ulysses addressed himself to Nausikaa, daughter of Alkinoos, namely, how happy her father must be, possessing such a handsome daughter [she smiled], and that I hoped her lot in life would be happier

⁴⁶ Makes one think of the stone coffin of Princess Joan, wife of Llewelyn of Aber, in the great park near Beaumaris in Wales, which served for a long time as a horse-trough. About thirty years ago, Sir R. Bulkely ordered it to be placed in a grotto in the park, and had an inscription put on it by which we should learn the invalidity and transitoriness of all human affairs.

than that of poor Giulietta. The lady had come purposely from England to see this coffin, and how pleased she would be to possess only a small bit of it to be set in a brooch. Our cicerone made a sign of dissent, saying something like, "How could I make such a request?" and whether I was dreaming? I thought to myself,

Plaubern können sie, geben nicht Ruh',
 Haben schon Manchen betrogen (dreams of course)
 Reden und quälen und — greift Ihr dann zu —
 Qui! — sind sie blitschnell entflohen.⁴⁷

However, to show to the sylvan beauty that I was wide awake, I pulled out a number of zwanzigers, and bang! off flew a little chip of the coffin, which I had the pleasure to present to the lady, who might have been twenty-five years of age. *L'age de la perfection des femmes. Toutes les statues grecques ont vingt-cinq ans. Helen was twenty-five years old when she was taken away by Paris.*

Sometimes there is even cheerfulness observed on sepulchral monuments found at Aventicum; for instance, "They lived as we do; we shall die like them: thus do men drive each other through the world. Go passenger, and mind thy business." Thousands of travellers pass yearly through Avenche, on their way from Berne to Lausanne, but how few may ever have stopped at that interesting spot, which (in Switzerland) can afford to the antiquary, and the man of taste, some opportunity of forming conclusions as to the state of the people who occupied that country, at a period so long prior to modern civilisation. At Payerne, yes, the

⁴⁷ Frau, treue Frine, trüglich trüben Träumen nicht,
 Treib' trozig triumphirend fort das tolle Traumgesticht,
 Trockne die Thräne tragischen Trübsals tröpfelnd auf,
 Trink' trauten Traubentrankses Trosttropsen d'rauf!

SPRUCH DES GROSZEN CARABANEROS.

travellers generally stop, though little food for the mind, yet plenty for the body.

Varii son degli uomini i capricci,
A chi piace la torta, a chi, pasticci.

How few have taken the trouble to inspect the antiquities at the upper town of Nion (time of Cæsar and Augustus). At Martigny are likewise to be seen many fine and interesting specimens of sculpture of that period, as well as the remains of a Roman amphitheatre, generally called the Bishop's fish-pond.

The Emperor Vespasian was very favourably disposed towards Aventicum; his father, Titus Flavius Sabinus, who had been a receiver of taxes in Asia, and had retired to Aventicum where he carried on a profitable traffic, [a kind of bank], and where he also died, after having passed a great part of his life there.⁴⁸

Vespasian strengthened and also enlarged this, his favorite city of Aventicum by a colony of veterans, which then obtained the name of Colonia Pia Flavia. He established also a college of physicians, and other public seminaries. According to an inscription, the stones for building purposes were brought over the lake from Neuchâtel (Welsch-Neuburg, Novum Castrum), the Romanised Noidenolex Aventicus, as belonging to the Province of Avenche,⁴⁹ and which is evidently the Celtic Nvvid-din-Lech, of the Sequani, namely the New-castle, the Newtown, situated on a rocky tract⁵⁰ (in Maxima Sequanorum), as united with the

⁴⁸ Sueton in Vespas, cap. i.

⁴⁹ A Roman road passed from Noidenolex over places of the names of Campulus, Mons-Beli (Belmont), to Petenisca (Petinesca, Rutti near Buren).

⁵⁰ Le territoire autour de Neuchatel est tout de rocher et de pierre dure, et le pays est couvert en partie de bois, et en partie de vignes. It suffered much in the beginning of the reign of Honorius from the Alemanni, about A.D. 397, and was entirely destroyed by the Huns, about 451—453.

Helvetii in one province, and of which province, Vesontio (Besançon)⁵¹ became the capital probably in the time of Diocletian. From this change arose also at a later period, the origin of the jurisdiction which the Bishop of Besançon, as a metropolitan bishop, exercised over the Bishops of Basle and Lausanne.

As Aventicum was a principal place of the Helvetic district for important meetings, it was on that account sometimes also called Civitas Helvetiorum.

The Emperor Titus, according to an inscription, completed all the buildings his father, Vespasian, had commenced at Aventicum.⁵²

IMP. CÆSAR. VESPAS. AVG.
LAPIDIBUS. NOIDENOLICE. MVLTO. LABORE.
TRACTIS. AVENTICI. MCENIA. INSTAVRATA.
TIT. VESPASIANI. AVG. FIL. DEDICAVIT.

The colony of Aventicum, as well as the town, like the rest of Helvetia, was then under the exclusive authority of the prefect of Gallia-Lugdunensis. In Trajan's time it was comprised in the province of Maxima-Sequanorum.

Tacitus, Hist. i. 68, calls it the great capital of the Helvetii, which were a branch of the great Celtic nation. Cicero, in his speech, "de provinciis consularibus," delivered in the third year of the Gallic war, about B.C. 55, observes, that Cæsar not alone contented himself with a valorous defence against the Gauls, but that he also carried the war into their country, to subjugate them to the Romans, and that he had already given battle to some of the greatest and most courageous of those nations. "Cum acerrimis nationibus et maximis Germanorum et Helvetiorum."⁵³

⁵¹ Besançon was also taken by Attila in 451.

⁵² Lavade, in his Dict. Géographique du Canton de Vaud, gives a great many inscriptions found at Aventicum.

⁵³ A. Holtzmann *Kelten and Germanen*. Stuttgart, 1855, p. 37.

The etymology of the name of Aventicum is thoroughly Celtic, and indicates its position near a lake, as well as a river. Almost all the large rivers in Europe, have the sounds *Avan*⁵⁴ (Old-Brit. *Water*), *Avon*, *Uisk*, *Wye*, *Tau*, *Dur*, *Aa*, *Ac*, *Ag*, *Ach*; either in the beginning, like *Duro-corturum*, *Durance*, *Avançon*, etc.; or, at the end of their names, as in *Bojodurum*, *Aberdour*, *Dulciac*, *Sligeach* (*Sligo*, in Ireland), though often much disguised in the inflections, by Greek and Roman writers, according to the many different dialects of this language, diffused over all the European nations of the west and north. I remember to have met with the observation, that the Irish spoken by a Munster man, is scarcely intelligible to a Connaught man. Hence the name of *Aventiac* is composed of the Celtic *Avon*,⁵⁵ *Avan-üise* (in Gothic, *ahwa*), water and *tin*,⁵⁶ habitation, town; and again terminating by *ac*, water: that is to say, the town situated on a lake, as well as river.⁵⁷ For our purpose, other examples may be given, as in *Aveniacum*, on the *Marne*; the *Avanticorum* of the *Avantici*, in *Gallia-Narbonensis*, near the river *Vancon*. Further, we have *Avenio* (*Avignon*), *Avidonacum* (*Aunay*), the rivers *Avon* and *Avon-dale* (*Oundle*), in *Northamptonshire*; *Avon-Dhu* (the river *Forth*); *Avonmore*, i.e., the great river, near *Lismore*, in Ireland. *Aven-bach*, we have in *Würtemberg*. *Aweland*, *Aland* (*Waterland*). In *Wales*, we have *Avon-*

⁵⁴ Reminds one also of the name of the river *Abana* at *Damascus*.

⁵⁵ *Avon* is the name of the river at *Bristol*. In *Scotland*, rivers are frequently called only water. A *Glasgow* man says he is going down the water, meaning the *Frith* of the *Clyde*. There is also the *Dour-water*.

⁵⁶ *Baal-tien*, the house of *Baal*, a ruin near *Killa*, in Ireland.

⁵⁷ *Ravenna* (*Ar-avena*), which, according to *Strabo* i., p. 213, was situated in the midst of a number of marshes, and built entirely on wooden piles, and crossed on little bridges.

y-Llan, Avon-Gwawr—this river runs into the lake of Bala—and the fierce mountain torrent Avon-Twrch, which falls from the rugged and wild summit of Mount Aran.

An old chronicle of the Pays de Vaud, however, settles the matter in an easier way, by deriving the name of Aventicum from Aventia, a fair damsel at the court of King Helvetius.

The Itinerary of Antoninus gives the following stations to Milan. Aventicum, Minodunum, Bromago (Promasens Viromagus), Vibisco (Vevey), Octodurus (Martigny), Summo Pennino (Great St. Bernard), Augusta Prætoria (Aosta), Vitricio (Verrez), Eporedia (Yvrea), Vercellas, Novaria, and Mediolanum.

The most conspicuous public buildings of the epoch of Vespasian, of which one still sees the ruins at Aventicum, are the temple of Neptune and Apollo,⁵⁸ and the remains of an amphitheatre, over which the grass is grown; and which, in preservation, is perhaps not much better, if I remember well, than the one at Cirencester.⁵⁹ Not far from the amphitheatre, stands in a meadow (as at Samos), a pillar of the Corinthian order, thirty-seven feet high. It has been called *Le Cigognier*, from the nest of a stork upon it, for many years.

⁵⁸ NVMINIB AVG
ET GENIO COL. HEL
APOLLINI SACR.
Q POSTVM HVGIVS
ET POSTVM HERMES LIB.
MED [icis:] ET PROFESS
D. S. D.

Of this inscription, explanations are given by M. Bochat, *Hist. Ancienne de la Suisse*, vol. ii., p. 380, 381.

⁵⁹ Illustrations of the remains of Roman art at Cirencester (Corinium), by Professor Bukman. London, 1850, pl. i.

The plough passes over sculptures, altars, tombs, mosaic pavements,⁶⁰ and immense walls.

Was hemmt den Adersmann die Pferde?
 Bewegen steht und stoßt sein Pflug?
 Er wundert sich, sticht in die Erde,
 Und findet einen Todtenkrug;
 Den wirft er hin — als er zerbrochen,
 Ruft eine hohle Stimm' im Feld,
 Verschone meiner stiller Knochen,
 Ich bin ein alter Römerheld.

Or, as Virgil says,

Grandiaque effosis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

Everywhere are traces of ancient grandeur. The original pavement is, in general, ten feet under ground, and the coins found there, are from Augustus to Constantine.

However, traces of remains in architecture, or in sculpture of religious worship of the anti-Roman period in Switzerland, have mostly disappeared, except in the numerous sepulchres, and in the type of Celtic coins. I may, perhaps, yet mention the well known, so called *Pierre aux Dames* (aux Demoiselles), near Geneva, attributed to Druidical rites.

In days of old, the vessels of *Lacus Aventicensis* anchored beneath the walls of *Aventicum*, now about three miles to the east of the town. During the last century, strong iron rings have yet been seen on those walls, for the purpose, as it appeared, of fastening the vessels and barges which were in port. Now, all that part of the lake is dried up, as far as *Morat* (*Lacus Muratensis*), which circumstance reminds one almost of the name of the *Lake Mareotis* — *Mariout*, in Egypt, now an extensive plain, with dark shrubs and pasturage — camel browsing-ground.

⁶⁰ A description of different mosaic pavements is given by *Levade*, *Dict. Geograph.*, etc., du Canton de Vaud, pp. 24, 25.

Tigurini are mentioned as inhabiting the districts (Pagi) of Moratum and Aventicum.⁶¹ In later times, the lake of Aventicum, reaching now only as far the small town of Morat (Curtis Moratum), changed its name to that of Lacus Moratum, Muratum, Muratensis, Murten-See (A.D. 932), and Lac de Morat, which is evidently the Celtic Mor-i-dun, that is to say, the hill of defence on the lake, and not unlike Dunmore, on the west coast of Ireland. *Muir-gearr* means close to the sea; *mor, mer, merlach, marise, marais, morast*. There is likewise a Moradunum ad Ruram, which is the town of Werden, on the river Rhur; and the ancient name of Morges (Morsee), on the shore of the lake of Geneva, was Mor-i-ac, Moriacum; and that of the village of Meyri, was Meir-i-acum. In Mar-i-dun, we have also the town of Caermarthen⁶², one of the fine bays on the west coast of Wales; and in Scotland, is a Muirtown, situated, I believe, on Loch-Ness (Mor-ben and Penhryn for promontory). Marobudunum, is the old name of the town of Prague; and Agedunum (Gallia Aquit. Prima), the town of Ahun, on the river of that name: all of them derived from the same root.

Ammianus Marcellinus, A.D. 355 — 390, mentions Aventicum as a town that had much suffered, and that its ruins attest its ancient splendour. He says, "*Aventicum, desertam quidem civitatem, sed non ignobilem quondam, ut ædificia semiruta nunc quoque demonstrant*" (xv. 11, ed. 1693). It appears, that about that time, as well as towards the middle of the fifth century, attempts were occasionally

⁶¹ Professor Thed. Mommsen, in his learned treatise on Switzerland during the Roman period: "*Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit*," Zurich, 1854.

⁶² *Caer-mar-dun*: Caer, as well as Dun, a castle, a town. *Caer-leon*, Chester.

made to repair and rebuild at Aventicum, perhaps by order of the Emperor Constantius Gallus; but, Attila having defeated the Burgundian king, Gundicar, at Rauracum, in A.D. 447, it is stated that the ravages of his hordes extended also as far as Aventicum. In A.D. 476, we hear yet of the Alemanni having been in that neighbourhood.

Of a later period, some historians mention, that in A.D. 607, a count Vivilo, or Willi (Gulielmus?), of little Burgundy, built there a strong castle, and houses around; and, hence, Aventicum was called Willisburg, which town, now-a-days, the neighbouring German population actually call Wilfisburg. If so, then the name may, perhaps, refer to the Guelfs, Welfs. Williburg, we find as a family name in the tenth century, about that neighbourhood.⁶³ We may yet add, that in the time of Burchardt, Bishop of Lausanne (who was killed in battle, A.D. 1088, in the service of the Emperor Henry IV., against his opponent, Egbert, Count of Thuringia), the present Avenche was built on and from the ruins of the ancient town of Aventicum. By Gottfridus, of Viterbo, it was called Avenza, "nomen Avenza fuit;"⁶⁴ and in local documents of the twelfth century, again Aven-ticha. In 1473, we find it called Avanchiacum.

The time at which Aventicum received the first sensible blow to its prosperity, was A.D. 254 — 260, by an invasion of the Alemanni. Gibbon (cap. 10) agrees to that period (A.D. 254); stating, that the Franks and Alemanni devastated, in the most cruel manner, that part of Gaul to which Helvetia belonged. Another devastation, it appears, occurred in the time of Diocletian, about A.D. 294. Then, again, under Magnentius, 350 — 352, by Alemanni and

⁶³ Joh. von Müller, I., p. 269.

⁶⁴ Gottfridus Tioneosus, Chron. Univers. He was bishop of Viterbo, from 1184 to 1191.

Burgundians, which Gothofredus Viterbensis, in Chron., calls Suevi: "Marte Suevorum periit primatus eorum" (Aventicensium). Further calamities are noticed in A.D. 375; and the last ravages mentioned are in the time of Honorius, 395 — 423. When, in A.D. 407, the last hour of the Roman power on the Rhine had struck, then the Alemanni made again irruptions into Switzerland, and took possession of the northern and western parts. Swo n enemies of the Roman name, they also hated and destroyed all which preserved the memory of Roman civilisation. It is striking to observe, that in Switzerland, and also in England, scarcely any ancient family claimed a Roman descent. In France and Belgium, it appears different. M. Victor Hugo (Le Rhin) finds at Namur, a certain Janus, *boulangier*; at the faubourg St. Denis, Nero, *confiseur*; at Arles, even on the pediment of the ruins of a Roman temple, Marius, *coiffeur*. A few years afterwards, the Burgundians, in like manner, took possession of Western Switzerland. In England, it was the same. The state of the Roman buildings generally indicate the ravages of fire, and present devastation and sudden abandonment. The Northmen joined with the native British, trampled down the luxury and arts which the Romans had bequeathed to them.

However, Ammianus Marcellinus, who had travelled through almost all parts of Switzerland, had already, as mentioned before, seen Aventicum deserted, and its buildings half destroyed. "Aedificia semiruta," and "desertam civitatem." Hence, perhaps, also the name which the Teutonic settlers gave to that country, calling it Ochtland, Uchtland, and Od-land, in order to denote a deserted land; and the lake they called Uchtensee. Unti as late as the fifteenth century, many parts of the country were still described in public documents by the words "desertum,"

or the German Uechtland (die Uechtländische Wüste); and the Lacus Aventicensis is also mentioned as "Ucht-See."

On our road from Aventicum to Lausanne, we pass the little old town of Moudon, the Roman Minodunum (Minidunum), which is the Celtic Min-i-dun, namely, the town, the settlement on the smooth, the lovely or pleasant hill; reminding one also of the Minariacum (Merville) in Flanders, and the Mineriacum (Exeter) in England, as well as Min-wye, the smooth, the gentle river. In Austria, we have a Minnenbach; and in Bavaria, the small river, the Mintella (Mündel). *Min*, in Gaelic, means neat, pretty, gentle: in Irish, smoothness: and *min-vin*, in Welsh, means lip to lip, kissing: *mi* and *min* has also the meaning for small (Mignon). Minidunum has actually changed into the German "Milden," which indicates, also, the same as mild, gracious (Milford-Haven). At the town hall of Moudon, is built into the wall the following interesting Roman inscription.

PRO SALVTE DOMVS DIVIN
I. O. M. IVNON. REGIN
ARAM. Q AEL. AV. . . NVS IIIII. AVG
DE SVO ITEM DONAVID VICAN
MINNODVNENS. X. DCCL. EX
QVORVM VSSVR. GYMNA
SIVM INDERCI. TEMPOR
PER TRIDVM EISDEM
VICAN. DEDIT IN AEVM
QVOD SI IN ALIOS VSSVS
TRANSFER VOLVERINT
HANC PECUN INC COL AVEN.
TICCENSIVM DARI VOLO
L. D. D. V. M.

This inscription is thus read: —

Quintus Aelius Avienus, one of the six priests of Augustus, has erected this altar, at his own expense, to Jupiter, the greatest and best; and to Juno, the queen of the gods, for the preservation of the imperial house. Likewise he has presented to the

citizens of Minodunum, the sum of 75,000 sesterces, the interest of which is to be employed in forming a gymnasium, wherein they (the citizens) during three days, at different times, may hold gymnastic exercises: should, however, the community employ this sum for other purposes, in that case, he orders that this money should devolve to the members of the colony of Aventicum.⁶⁵

To trace the words of different origin to their respective sources, is a study of great interest. But who is infallible in these matters, and in the discovery of the successive meanings of words? The greatest philologists sometimes err therein.

The distinguished historian and archæologist, Chevalier Bunsen, in his late work, "*Aegyptens Weltgeschichte*," Gotha, 1856, vol. v., makes a suggestion very discouraging to etymologists. He says, p. 48, "Etymological research, and the comparison of words of different languages, appear in the history of the human mind, not unlike the vessels of the ancients between Scylla and Charybdis. Only the resignation and firmness of Odysseus, who had himself bound to the mast, and his ears stopped,⁶⁶ can protect from the seduction of the Sirenian song of a similarity in sounds, and of deceiving pictorial connections. Because, it is certain, that he who yields to it, is lost; and will be, sooner or later, dashed against the cliffs of folly."

It is certainly true, that many men have a rock on which they split; but others, to avoid shipwreck, set to work and split the rock. In fact, the pilot who sees a Scylla under his bows, must not, for the time, think of the more distant dangers of Charybdis.

With regard to the attempt at tracing the names of primitive Keltic settlements, Latinised during so long a

⁶⁵ Haller, *Helvet. unter den Römern*. ii., p. 240.

⁶⁶ It appears to me, Odysseus got himself bound to the mast for the purpose of hearing the song of the sirens.

Roman domination, we have now a great help and security in the (only of late) so successful study of the coins which were struck by the different people of the great Keltic nation, in England, France, Spain, and Germany. Those coins we may consider as steamers, which may carry us past the Charybdis and Scylla:⁶⁷ I do not mean to say without danger. But, only fancy Sir Charles Napier as Odysseus, in the Wellington (131 guns), passing before those renowned places! what a broadside he would throw into the monster, should she rise up to swallow some of his jolly tars! He might even splinter the very cliffs; and, with regard to the Sirenian song, those who have heard Madame Pasta, and the Siren⁶⁸ of Senigaglia, Catalani,⁶⁹ the Semiramis (Sammouramat) of songs, need not want any wax in their ears.

⁶⁷ Scopulus Scylla, Pliny 3, § 87. *Skyll, scill*, in one of the dialects of the Keltic language, means *rock*, and reminds one of the wild shores of Ski-an-ack, in Scotland. Among the screw steamers (corvettes), lately built by order of the Admiralty, is one which bears the name of Scylla (21).

Navis et a picta casside nomen habet.—*Ovid*.

⁶⁸ Siren is formed of the Phœnician word *sir*, song. *Suire*, in Irish, means sea-nymphs. Keating, in his ancient History of Ireland, described the *suire* playing round the ships of the Milesians, in their passage to Ireland. As a British female name, we find it under *Victi-sirana* (Gruter, 700—6). Under *Victesis* and *Vectis*, occurs the name of the Isle of Wight.

"If thou (Roland Græme) art won by the song of these sirens (the maids of honour of Scotland's queen), to aid that unhappy lady's escape from this place (the castle of Lochleven) of penitence and security, it is over with the peace of Scotland's cottages," etc.—*The Abbot*, cap. 25.

It is curious, that in Canton Uri, a myth is believed, that the "Bull of Uri," which was white, as benefactor of his country, vanquished the terrible monster, Surenen.

⁶⁹ I have seen lately, in a paper, that the municipality of Pisa has decided on erecting a monument, in the Campo Santo, to Madame Catalani.

Leibnitz has, with good reason, observed, that he considered the names of places as the most proper of all to preserve the almost lost idioms, and as traces of the existence of past nations. And it is natural enough that a place, a landscape, or country, cannot bear a borrowed name of a language now estranged, without having received it from a people who formerly spoke that language. But no country can secure a language altogether from the injuries of time, from the arbitrary power of fashion, and from the common fate of all things. In our etymological researches, of course, difficulties arise also from the use of the different dialects of the language of the great Keltic nation, which may be observed by and by in the many names of the elements, of mountains, of rocks, fortifications, etc. Here I may only say, by way of comparison, that it is long acknowledged that the Dutch language and the Flemish (*vlaemsche tael*) are one and the same in their origin. In Belgium, the provisionary government of 1830 (Oct 5th), ordered that the official Text of Government Decrees, should be drawn up and published in the French language, because "Les langues flamande et allemande, en usage parmi les habitants de certains localités, varient de province à province, quelquefois de district en district."

We may also observe, that the patois of the Roman part of Helvetia contains yet remains of Keltic; and so it likewise appears in all the Roman provinces of Gaul, where the people have preserved a patois. In Savoy, the foreign intermixture, it is said, has been small; the population being, in the more mountainous parts, simply Roman-Keltic and then more Keltic than Roman. In Spain, the Kelto-Iberian aboriginal language continues to exist to the present day, in the Basque dialect.

Until the fifth century, Switzerland was Keltic and Latin, as France was; and, at that period, mixture partially began.

The Latin language, though still partially preserved in monasteries, rapidly declined everywhere else, and was transformed into that sort of jargon, the patois which, on account of its principal source, was called *Langue Romane*, or *Romance*, of which the constituent elements were Keltic, clipped and disfigured Latin, and partly Teutonic introduced by the Frankish conquerors. This Romance formed itself under a hundred gradations, from Sicily to Switzerland, through Gallia, and to the other side of the Pyrenees. We will take, for instance, the word beauty, which is found in *bautad*, *beutad*, *beltax*, *belheza*, *belhaz*, *bellad*, *beautaza*, etc. The word *sir*, we have in *seigner*, *seigneur*, *senher*, *sengher*, *sen*, *ser*, *messer*, *mossen*, *mosser*, etc. The new Romance received, however, early in Italy the denomination of *Lingua Volgare*. The Vaudois says,

“Proutsche le gro, et le 'rio, ne boute pa te n'otto.”

[Build not thy dwelling near the great [the mansions of] nor beside the torrent.]

The primitive inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud were Kelts,⁷⁰ who in a remote period were domiciled between the Rhine and Maine and the Hercynian forest.⁷¹ In the time of Cæsar, the Pays de Vaud was the abode of the Latobrigi.⁷² He says “Latobrigi ad Lacum Lemanium, Allobrogum etiam finitimi quipp: Rhodanus et Lacus Lemanus. Allobroges et Provinciam Romanam ab iis separant.”⁷³ And also he says, that the Helvetii were separated by the Jura from those people in Gaul called the Sequani (Burgundy and Franche-comté). Helvetii continentur una ex parte, flumine Rheno latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium à Germanis dividit, altera ex parte, monte Jura altis-

⁷⁰ Tit. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 30. Polyb. lib. iii. p. 189.

⁷¹ Tacit. Germ. cap. 28.

⁷² Strabo, i. 4, mentions also Nantuates.

⁷³ Cæs. de B. G., lib. i. c. i. ii. viii.

simo, quæ est inter Sequanos et Helvetios tertia, lacu nostram ab Helvetiis dividit. Without any historical trace of a change in their situation, Tacitus mentions the Helvetii more than a hundred years afterwards.

With regard to the origin of the name of the Pays de Vaud, Vaux, Waat-land, Patria Vaudi, at a remote period, A.D. 517, Pagus Valdensis, so mentioned in a donation of land to the monastery of St. Maurice, by the Burgundian king, Sigismund. Comitatus Valdensis, we have in A.D. 814, and in 839, Comitatus Waldensis usque mare Rhodani.

Rudolph III., the last of the Burgundian kings (second race), was crowned at Lausanne, on which occasion he presented the Bishop Henry (A.D. 985—1019), with the Comitatus Waldensis (Vaudois). The act is of A.D. 1011, The land of Vaud was also called Pays Roman, it being the last district of Helvetia in which the declining power of Rome preserved a footing.

Now I venture to say, that at the invasion of the Burgundians who had broken forth from their settlements between the Oder and the Weser, and had overrun a great portion of Gaul, Helvetia, Savoy, etc., as likewise the part of Switzerland in question, they called the district, now the Pays de Vaud, the country of the Walen⁷⁴ (Gals, Gwals, Whal, Walah, Gallia, Wallia). Just as other Teutonic tribes after the fall of the Roman Empire did in other lands, wherein the Keltic language, more or less Romanised, was yet spoken analogous to the Walkish, Walish, and Weallas-land, that is to say, land of the Gaels, taking the name of Walhes, Waelsches, Wæches, Wallonnes, Gallons, Gauls of Welsh-Flandres (Flandres-Gallicant), the Chur-Wallen,

⁷⁴ At the time of Herodotus, Spain, Switzerland, the Tyrol, and the country south of the Danube, were the seats of the Keltic tribes.

Pagus Churwalaba (Canton Grisons), Welsh Tyrol, the Volci of Italy, the Wallaches of Hungary, the Wlochi and Gallicians (Galleika) of Poland and Spain. And so again to the Gaelwalli, the Gael-dun-seis (Caledonians) of the hills of Scotland,⁷⁵ Ireland and Wales. [Pays de Galles]; in old French we have Prince de Gaulles.⁷⁶ Inche Galle are still called the Western Islands (Innis) of Scotland.

Many places in Switzerland and Germany may be mentioned to have sprung from those so called Welsche like Walahischinga (Wilzingen near Zell on the Danube), Walapah (Wollbach in Baden), and so on, Walsdorf, Wallendorf, Walhausen, Welschenhausen. In Switzerland (Canton Turgau and Zürich), we have Wallenstadt, Wallensee, Walahwilare, Walasseldon, Wallenschwaden, etc. In Bavaria we have yet Walgengau, Walchensee, Walchenfluss, Frauenwalchen and Strasswalchen. And in Würtemberg Walahse, and Walohstetti, which have been transformed into Waldstetten and Waldsee, and especially the old Walah (*Wal-a*, a stranger, a traveller;⁷⁷ *Walisc*, belonging to strangers), being no longer understood, was changed into Wolla and Wald (forest), as we have also observed before the change from Weallasland into Pagus Waldensis.

After the Celtic Britons had taken refuge, about A.D. 950, in Wales, Cornwall (Corn-Weallas, Cornu-Gaules), and Armorica, the Saxons, conformably to their language, named them Walahise, Wilse, and Brit-Welsh. But all this does not, of course, identify them as being all of the same tribe, because each is called Welsh. However, all

⁷⁵ In the Highlands, Caeldock, an old camp, bears the name of Fortingal, the fort of the strangers.

⁷⁶ In a Swiss song of the fourteenth century, a duke is mentioned of the name of Ysso de Callis (Wales), who wore a gold cap, and commanded a troop of English cavalry.

⁷⁷ Walla, in Hindu, signifies man.

these appellations are yet synonymous, even now-a-days, in the language of Ireland, namely, equivalent to the word *Gaoillach*, which means the Irish people. And so it was with the word *Gaul*, abbreviated from *Gaoidhiol* (*Gaël*).⁷⁸ *Cæsar* says, "*ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra vero Galli vocantur.*"

From the venerable remains of these topographical names alone, may be traced the origin of nations. The last and heaviest check which the Keltic language received, was, that the Romish missionaries introduced, at the same time with the new and truly blessed doctrine, the Latin language in the celebration of divine service, and banished thereout the others as profane. "We have only three holy languages," is the saying in several monastic writings of the middle ages; "the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin, because, in these languages, did *Pilate* fix on the top of the cross, the words '*Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum.*'" However, it may be proved, both from ancient writers and older coins, that the Keltic language was yet spoken by the lower orders in the provinces, after the subversion of the Roman Empire, beyond the fifth century, particularly in *Noricum*, *Gallia-Mediterranea*, parts of *Switzerland*, and the *North of Italy*. And even now-a-days, the mountaineer of *Switzerland*, and the *Tyrol*, sends his son to *Milan*, to *Gallia Cisalpina*, to learn *Walhisc* "*Welsch.*"

⁷⁸ It is said, that the Irish language contains within it, the radices of the ancient Keltic, and the affinities can be better traced in the Irish, than in any of the other existing branches (for which see *Zeus's "Grammatica Keltica"*).

Stanishurst (*de Rebus Hibern.*) observes: "*Omnes insulæ locos et lucos Wallici nominis gloria implevit.*" The renown of the Welsh name hath filled all the ways and woods of the island.

Rei löset, wiener welsche cha!
Verstoßt men au ne Wörtli dra?

There is also an expression used in the South of Germany, namely, that of "Chauderwelsch," which has the meaning of gibberish, as likewise "Rotwälsch" (*Rot*, vagrant; and *Wälsch*, outlandish lingo), or "Gauner Sprache."

In Italy, a great number of names of cities, villages, castles, lakes, and rivers, may be traced to a primitive Keltic origin. Quintillian (lib. i., Inst. Orat. c. 5) also states, that among the words derived from other languages (in the Latin), those from the Keltic are the most numerous.

By so long a Roman domination, those primitive names of Keltic settlements (B.C. 593⁷⁹) had been gradually Latinised. In some places, the memory of the former domiciliation of the Kelts was remarkably preserved in names, as in Sinigaglia, the old seat of the Gaels.

quia relictum

Gallorum a populis traxit per sæcula nomen.⁸⁰

The name of Senogallia, or Senegallia, (Sena Gallica) seems to me to signify the old, or oldest, seat or settlement of the Gaels or Gauls, in Umbria.

Sena, is a Gaelic word, and means, old; *seanois*, great age; *senathair*, grandfather; *senaidh*, old woman. Also, the Druids appear under the name of *Senan* and *Sene*.⁸¹

One may likewise compare *senex*, *senatus*, etc. Furthermore, we have Forum Gallorum (Castel Franco), and

⁷⁹ In the North of Europe, the establishment of the Keltic States is beyond the reach of written annals. The traditions and songs to which they trusted their history, were lost, or altogether corrupted.

⁸⁰ Silius, lib. xv.

⁸¹ Martin, Rel. des Gaulois, i., p. 178.

Gallinaria Insula,⁸² and here we are reminded of *Inche Galle* (the Hebrides). In the beginning of our era, the countries inhabited by different branches of the great Keltic nation, such as Kelt-Iberi, Kelto-Germani, Kelto-Skiti,⁸³ Kelto-Liguri, etc., comprehended, according to Dionysius Halicarnasseus (xv. 2), the fourth part of Europe.

I often questioned why the English did not rather adopt the Italian name of Livorno (*Liburini Portus*) for Leghorn, until I found that it is the original Keltic name "*Llughorn*," signifying a lantern, a lighthouse (*Lucerne*). Why should Milan, founded by the Insubrian Gauls as their capital, not be the Gaelic *Midhe-lan* (*Mediolanum*), an enclosure, a town, situated in the midst of their territory, between the rivers Ticino and Adda? *Midhe-ia* Middleland: here the Saxon *utland*, *terra exterior*.

At Carrara, we have the Irish *car*, *caer*, *carren*, stone, rock. *Car-eis*, the quantity of rock, synonymous names in Scotland; and in Ireland, in Kerrera.⁸⁴ In Brittany, we have the great plain of Carnac, with its mighty *Dracontium*, or serpent temple, the stony folds of which extended eight miles.

But let us return again to Switzerland. Have we not the famous Karren (*Schratten*) fields, as constituting one of the rare features of Alpine regions? These are vast sterile fields of limestone rock, so rent and fretted by atmospheric action, that they sometimes look like ploughed fields of

⁸² Capture of Rome by the Gauls, B.C. 390. Beginning of the Gallic war, B.C. 225.

⁸³ Strabo (*Geogr. lib. ii.*) says: "*Veteres Graecorum scriptores universas gentes septentrionales Scythes, et Kelto-scithas appellarunt.*"

⁸⁴ *Carrick-a-Rede* (the rock in the road), an isolated rock of basalt, near the Giant's Causeway. *Carrasca*, in Spanish, signifies stony.

stone, sometimes like endless rows of sharp ridges set close together, etc. Travellers, hunters, and cowherds, avoid them, on account of their dreariness and the difficulty of walking over them: in fact, this Karren is a corroded desert of rock, without a trace of any spring, or trickling ice stream.

The Lake of Como, in Cisalpine Gaul, is formed by the waters of the river Adda; and more than one hundred and ninety small brooks and rivulets empty themselves into it. In the neighbouring Upper Rhaetia (Helvetii Gallica gens) the lake is called "*Legh-da-cum*." Those of the lower country, about Coire, call it "*Cummer sec*." *Cumar* is a Keltic word, and signifies a place where streams meet: *cumon*, in Irish, means union.

Lago di Guarda, at the foot of the Alps, the Benacus of Pliny, appears to me to have derived its name from the Keltic Ben-loch (Ben-lacus, Benacus, Ben-ac), namely, the lake surrounded (enclosed) by hills, the mountain lake; a comparison to *Lacus Dunensis*, in Switzerland.

In Wales, we have the famous rocky plateau "*Ben-glog*," from whence the waters of five lakes throw themselves, by a magnificent waterfall, into a profound abyss. In Scotland, we have a *Benval*.

The lower part is also enclosed by hills, the Colli Benacesi. The agitation of the lake is mentioned in a passage by Virgil.

teque
Fluctibus et fremitu surgens Benace marino.

This agitation is produced by violent hurricanes rushing down from the ravines of the Alps into the lake. A torrent has the name of *Brasca*. Here again, the Gaelic *bras*, sudden, and the name of the most furious wind, which gives the lake at times, as mentioned by Virgil, the terrific

appearance of a stormy sea (*imita coll' acque dolci il mar*), is *Sofero*: *sofar*, *sofaraith*, in Gaelic, means strong.

Another powerful wind often blows from the side of *Lonado*, called *Andro*. By *Andas*, in Etruscan, was meant *Boreas*.

Andras was worshipped as a fury, or infernal divinity, by the Gauls; who, at last, paid extraordinary honours to the winds, lakes, and mountains.

Augustus had created a temple for the wind *Circius* (N.N.W.) of the Gauls, because they were incommoded therewith, and had their houses blown down by it.

Even the present name of *Lago di Guarda*, appears to approach to this suggestion. *Garth*, in Keltic, means an inclosure, a yard; as we have it in *Cunning-garth*, the king's camp; *kirk-garth*, churchyard; *deer-garth*, deer-park. In Wales, we have it in *gaer*; for instance, in *Moel-y-gaer*, the hill of the camp; and a magnificent rock has the name of *Maes-y-gaer*. In Scotland, we have the *Gare-loch*.

The greatest contribution to the *Lago di Guarda*, comes from the river *Mincius*. The head of this lake is between *Monte Baldo* (*balach*, in Irish, is a giant) and the mountains of *Brisano* (*breisan*, in Celtic, signifies break, crack, tear), which rise perpendicularly, with a rugged, broken appearance, from *Gorgona* to *Riva*.

In the Alps of Switzerland, of the thirty-two different named winds, the most conspicuous are the *Foehn* (south), *Typhon* by the Egyptians (*Ti-ube*, the opponent, enemy);

“The blast that brought me hither now, did sweep Egyptian ground;”⁸⁵

The fiery cloud, on which I ride, for Araby is bound.”

⁸⁵ The *Simoon* (*Simum*), which blows near the Red Sea, raises *Fahrenheit's Thermometer* from 110° to 130°.

and in Syria, as god of hurricanes and tempests, *Ventus Malignus*.⁸⁶ The Chinese have the word *Ti-foon* for great wind. The *Transmontanus*, or North wind, is called by the Swiss, the *Bise*. About the Lake of Geneva, the most violent wind is the *Vaudaire* (*Vulturnus*?), S.E., which rushes out of the mountain gorge of the Valais.⁸⁷ The *Foehn* (*Favonius*⁸⁸), sent over from Italy,⁸⁹ is the most treacherous: its strength is sometimes extraordinary, and no wind in the Alps combines so many air-gushes and tornadoes, and it is therefore much dreaded. Avalanches rush down, open new paths, and crush every thing before them; glaciers fall, rocks slide down, and mountains fall; and then brooks, rivers, and lakes overflow, and all around is desolation. It wrecks vessels and barges upon the lakes, unroofs houses, and tears down trees.

In the high valleys of Uri and Glarus, according to an ancient law, as long as the *foehn* blows, no light, no fire, either in the stove or on the hearth, is allowed, on account of the dangers of a conflagration.

⁸⁶ Ovid places Typhon under Aetna.

⁸⁷ Perhaps this may also occasion that atmospheric current, on the Lake of Geneva, called "*Seiches*."

⁸⁸ *Favonius* brought also to the Greeks, generally storm and rain (*Hom. Od.*, xii. 289, xiv. 259). Other names of the principal winds of the ancients, we have in *Auster*, *Aquilo*, *Corus*, *Vulturnus*, etc. *Achilles* implores *Boreas* (*Etesios*) and *Zephyros*, and promises them pompous sacrifices, if they will awake the flame of the funeral pile of *Patroclus* (*Il. xxiii. 105*). The mention of a temple to the winds, illustrates a distich in Ovid.

"Te quoque, Tempestas, meritam delubra fatemur,

Cum poene est Corsis obruta classis aquis."

i. e., We confess that thou, goddess of the storm, deservest a temple, since the fleet has nearly been overwhelmed in the waters of Corsica.

⁸⁹ In the Mediterranean, the English sailors call this sort of hurricane, a "*levanter*."

Wenn sich der Foehn erhebt aus seinen Schlünden,
 Löscht man die Feuer aus, die Schiffe suchen
 Eilends den Hafen, und der mächt'ge Geist,
 Geht ohne Schaden spurlos über die Erde.

Often the sky is serene, with the exception of the Foehn-cloud (Foehnwolke), which, according to the expression of the Alpine people, "hangs on the top of a high mountain, lurking like an evil spirit, ready to precipitate itself into the valley." In Ossian, we find that, "The angry ghost moves before the clouds; the dark winds are in his hand; they begin to rise, and the dark wave of the lake resounds."⁹⁰ Fingal's first love, Agandecca, departed, in his dream, on the winds of Lena. Also the Psalmist sings, "Thou, Lord, makest the clouds thy chariot, and walkest upon the wings of the wind." In Tyrol, the Foehn was worshipped under the name of Fonion, as a deity which caused destruction and war,⁹¹ probably from the aboriginal German, Fôna, fire, in the signification of wind and fire, that is to say, the heated wind (Favonius).

As the Romans established their laws in all the conquered countries of the Kelts, and rewarded with the privileges of Roman citizens and the toga, at first, perhaps, only some serviceable persons and towns, but afterwards entire provinces, so also many of the Britons in the time of Agricola, exchanged the garb of their fathers for the dignified toga. In like manner the Latin language introduced itself into all courts of justice, and all public transactions, whereby the language of the country lost its estimation, being only considered as that spoken by the populace, and at last became removed within the Glens of the Pyrenees,

⁹⁰ A sailor who is quick in what he does, is said to be "as active as the devil in a gale of wind."

⁹¹ Hormeyr. Geschichte Tyrols. i. p. 52.

the Highlands of Scotland, Ireland, Wales and Basse-Bretagne. It appears that even Livy, lib. v. c. 33, observes that the Rhæti did not escape from having their language corrupted. The Emperor Antoninus, A.D. 138—161, had ordered that the Gauls should chaunt their hymns at their sacrifices in the Latin language. A similar reason must be given for the disappearance of the Etruscan language in Italy, and in other countries, conquered by the Romans. One would suppose that St. Gallus and St. Columbanus could have addressed the Helvetii in no other language but the Keltic. Of the Gallo-Greeks (Galatians), St. Jerome observes, that in his time (fifth century), they spoke nearly the same language as that spoken at Treves, by the Kymro-Belgae. “Unum est quod inferimus, et promissum in exordio reddimus, Galatas excepto sermone Græco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam Treviros (St. Jerom. Comment. lib. ii., in epistolarum ad Galatas, cap. iii.). According to Giraldus in the *Itinerarium Cambicum*, p. 848, a chief ecclesiastic, near Haverford, proclaimed the word of God to the heathen assembly, in the Gaelic and Latin languages.

On the borders of the lake of Geneva, particularly in the environs of Lausanne, several Keltic burying-grounds have been discovered, and already some hundred graves have been opened. They appear to have been partly hewn in the rock, and partly dug out, and then mostly lined and covered over with slabs of stone, brought, apparently, from the opposite, or Savoy side of the Lake. Sometimes these graves contain several layers of skeletons, belonging to different periods; and it is mostly in the lower or oldest layers that urns occur with the skeletons; however, in all the different layers, objects of bronze are often found, and others of iron with fine inlaid work.

The stone coffins found in the cairns, barrows of the

Highlands in Scotland, are likewise made of flag-stones set on edge, with another by way of cover.

It happened during the summer of 1842, while inspecting one day the coins of the Cantonal library of Lausanne, that I had the pleasure to become acquainted with M. Frederic Troyon, proprietor of an estate called Belair, situated a few miles above Lausanne, on which place many Keltic sepulchres had been discovered by him only a short time before. M. Troyon had the goodness to invite the librarian and myself to inspect some of these tombs, and, at the same time, the interesting and valuable museum he had formed of the great varieties of objects found therein. Because in those days, the pious and liberal hand deposited with the beloved dead in the earth often fine and valuable things, and considered nothing too dear to gladden the defunct in the other world.

Bringet her die letzten Gaben,
Stimmt die Todtenlag!
Alles sei mit ihm begraben
Was ihn freuen mag.

Legt ihm unters Haupt die Beile
Die er tapfer schwang.
Auch des Wären fette Keule,
Denn der Weg ist lang.

But, now-a-days, too many already contend for the property, at the death-bed of him who is about to quit this world; and, although they give him a winding-sheet, that he may not seem utterly neglected, yet take care to bury with him nothing that could, in future, expose his remains to the violation of antiquarians; — following, hereby, Lycurgus, who suffered nothing to be buried with the corpse, except the red cloth and the olive leaves in which it was wrapped. I may, however, observe, that in the

Chronicles of Erin, no mention is made with regard to placing any other thing with the dead than the shroud.

“Awhile, the weight of Ith was borne to the land, and laid within the wrapper; the fires were lighted, the circle was formed, the night-watch set; and, on the morrow, it was moved to the place where his heap was to be raised. And Ardac, and I, raised the death-song;⁹² and the bards, and the matrons and damsels, and the harps, poured forth their voices to the praise of Ith. And the stones were rolled to the entrance of the house of darkness.”

The careful and correct manner in which these antiquities were displayed by M. Troyon, shewed an erudite knowledge of archæology.

The removing of the lid of one of those graves, where lay “the mighty bones of ancient men,” had disturbed a large toad, which crawled about in all directions round the skeleton. It was a sight not easy to be forgotten; and we were pretty well tempted to muse on the vanity of human hopes in this world, and draw a mournful lesson from this tomb of Keltic barbarism. No inscription or tombstone has yet been discovered, and, perhaps, it is just as well; for if some men of our days could come out of their sepulchres, and read the inscriptions on their tombstones, they would think they had been placed in the wrong grave.

Some of the Menhirs (*men-hir*, stone long) may have marked the resting places of eminent chiefs.

By Ossian, one may support the opinion, that lofty grey stones were placed over the tombs of chiefs. “Our eyes are full of tears on the fields of the warrior. This stone, with all its moss, shall speak of other years.” And again:

⁹² Lamentation for the dead is called, by the Irish, *keenning*; and in the Highlands of Scotland, they sing the *coronach* for the dead.

"A stone was raised on high to speak of future times, with its grey head of moss." In the lamentation of Fingal's death, we hear of "Six grey stones mark the green mound, where sleep the heroes in dust."

Lycurgus would not suffer the relations to inscribe any names upon the tombs, except of those men who fell in battle, or of those women who died in some sacred office. And, in fact, the legends on most tombstones of remote periods are inscribed with names utterly unknown, and form a certain type of the uncertainty of fame.

Now, in some parts of the Highlands of Scotland, it was the custom, in days of old, to pile over the stone coffin, kist, or chest, of a distinguished man, chieftain, or famous bard, the cairn, or heap of stones (*tuaim, tumulus*).⁹³ Cairns are still to be seen on the banks of the Brahan; and there is still a proverbial expression in the Highlands to this day: "Curri mi cloch er do charne," i.e., I shall add a stone to your cairn; that is to say, "I shall do your memory all the honour in my power when you are no more."

Ossian wishes that the bards should prepare his tomb, and lay him to the fair Evir-allen. It seems that the Romans, in particular, wished to chain themselves by a surviving memory on the world, in consequence of their wavering view of a future life.⁹⁴

⁹³ "Funerum nulla ambitio—sepulchrum cespes erigit." Tacit. de Mor. Germ. xxvii. "It is a custom still preserved among the Indians, to throw a stone or handful of earth upon the grave of the distinguished dead, as a tribute to their memory. The more these contributions, the higher the tumulus, which is thus gradually accumulated. By the Siamese, the body of the dead is carried in procession to some temple, where it is burnt. The bones are collected and placed in an urn, which remains in the family dwelling. The garb of mourning is white."—*Siam and the Siamese*, by Sir John Bowring. London, 1857.

⁹⁴ Sylla is said to have been the first Roman whose body was buried.

The Kelt gave place to the Roman, the Roman to the Ostrogoths (Wala-goth-ih) and Burgundians (Burgua-ih, Burgii, Burgundiones); the Burgundians to the Franco-Merovingians, whose king, Clothaire, chased them from the country of the Allobroges, A.D. 534.

All has disappeared, and every thing else has changed. Even the kings of Egypt, says a French writer, "n'ont pas osé graver sur leur pyramides toujours."⁹⁵

The present Allobroges go to mass, "présent du tabac de contrebande, et beuvent Kirsch de la Forêt Noire"; and the Veragri will soon be carried by the locomotive from the vale of the Rhone, through the tunnel of Menouve (3½ kilometers long), under Mount St. Bernard to the Val d'Osta. Some even suppose, that the lasses of the Salasi in the vale of the Doria were formerly more tidy, more active, and "moins goîtreuses" than now-a-days.⁹⁶ All this is a strange contrast to the unchanging face of nature. Bel-air is situated on the last undulating elevations of the Jorat, and thence, fertile countries extend themselves over hills and vales towards the bluish chain of the Jura, the Mons-Jovis, Mont-Joux (here still the Celtic Jou for Jupiter,⁹⁷ hence also Di-jou, jeu-di, Jovis dies, Thursday). In Brittany, Mont St. Michel, where the Sun (Belenus) was worshipped, also changed its name into Mont-Jan, Mont Jovis, where the Romans raised an altar to Jupiter. We are also reminded of the lofty conical mountains of Jura, in Scotland — of which two are named the Paps of Jura.

⁹⁵ "Do you know," once said a Montmorency to a Basque, "we date from a thousand years back!" "And we," replied the Basque, "have left off counting!" The borough of Montmorency was the ancient Mauroniacum.

⁹⁶ According to the latest investigations in the Canton Valais, there is one Crétin to every twenty-five inhabitants.

⁹⁷ Reminds one of the French town of Jouarre (Jovis ara).

A further prospect expands towards the extremity of the **Leman**, with its towns, woods and elevations. Then the Alps of Savoy, with Mont Blanc, dominating over the horizon of a long range and heights of mountains.

Fest stehen die Berge in der Zeiten Wogen;
Den Silberscheitel beugt das Alter nicht.

The same hills arise, the same beautiful lake, the same sky looks down, as when this was inhabited by the individual whose grave we had just opened. Although one cannot help thinking, on such occasions, with sadness upon the fleeting generations of mankind, a sort of gratification arises in the mind from the recollection, that the priests of the great Keltic nation thought the immortality of the soul a recompense for virtue and a punishment for vice (*Cæsar B.G. lib. vi.*). Even the most learned of the Greeks confessed themselves to have received the rudiments of all sublime science from strangers, namely, from the priests of the Kelts. And Socrates mentions to Axiochus, tables of brass existing at Delos, which had inscriptions referring to the immortality of the soul, and which tables had been brought there by the Hyperboreans. When Abaris I. (i.e. High Priest), a Hyperborean, was on his travels in Greece, he collected everywhere gold, for the purpose of ornamenting the temple of Apollo in his native land, and, coming to Agrigentum, he learned that Pythagoras was imprisoned there by the tyrant Phalaris, on account of his doctrines. Abaris defended him, and endeavoured to shake the resolution of the tyrant by the thought of a future life. The Germans, under Ariovistus (Fragment of the Keltic Wars, by Appian, *Rom. Hist. lib. iv.*), are praised for the trust they put in reanimation after death, and Appian also observes, that this confidence gave them encouragement to run all hazards, and disregard death.

We were called away from the place of the dead to some enjoyment of the living — namely, supper was announced.⁹⁸ The father of M. Troyon had placed some old Vin d'Yvorne on the table, and with a smiling countenance invited us to partake of it. He was a tall handsome looking elderly gentleman. I thought I never saw a finer specimen of a man; he appeared to me, while standing in the midst of his family, like a patriarch of old; I permitted myself to give the following toast: —

„Die Großen lassen sich im Tode balsamiren,
Um desto länger tod zu sein
Wir aber balsamiren uns im Leben mit Wein,
Um desto länger lebendig zu sein.“

Cæsar tells us that, such men as those whose graves we had just visited, drank out of the horns of the aurochs (Ure-ox, Uri),⁹⁹ and that on their greatest festivals they used them as drinking cups. “In amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur” (D. Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 29).

In A.D. 743, cornua and cochleae were prohibited; but when three crosses were painted upon them, in that case the monks permitted their use. The English king, Wiglaf

⁹⁸ I could not refrain from thinking of a passage in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, when Monsieur le Chevalier Saint Priest de Beaujeu says, “Qu'est ce que nous avons à faire avec le temps passé? — the time passed did belong to our fathers — our ancêtres — the time present is to us — they have their pretty tombs, with their memories and armorials all in brass and marble — we have the petits plats exquis, and the soupe-à-chevalier, which I will cause to mount up immediately.”

⁹⁹ “Uri enim Gallica vox est, qua feri boves significantur” (Macrob. Saturnal. lib. vi. c. 4, p. 484, Lugduni. 1584). It appears that the Uri existed in Scotland, a skull of that animal was dug up at Moulin, and is still to be seen at the castle of Blair, says Campbell, in his *Journey through North Britain*.

(825 — 839), left his drinking horn to the monks, to drink out of it, at great festivals, to his memory. In A.D. 787, it was forbidden in Holcot (Northumberland), to celebrate the Eucharist with horn cups. In the castle of the late Lord Penrhyn, in Wales, there still exists the drinking horn, called "hirlas," of the hero Piers Gryffyd. It consists of a mighty ox-horn, and is mounted with silver, and suspended by a massive silver chain. An old song says

" Fill the Hirlas Horn, my boy,
Nor let the tuneful lips be dry,¹⁰⁰
That warble Owen's praise," etc.

It is singular, that no description of the eternal snow of the Alps, when tinged in the morning or evening with a rosy hue; of the beauty of the blue glacier ice, or of the grandeur of any part of the scenery of Switzerland, have reached us from the ancients, although statesmen and generals, with men of letters in their train, were constantly passing through Helvetia into Gaul. All these travellers think only of complaining of the badness of the roads; the romantic character of the country never seems to have engaged their attention. It is even known, that Julius Cæsar, when returning to his legions in Gaul, employed his time, while passing over the Alps, in preparing a grammatical treatise, "De Analogia."

¹⁰⁰ From the year 1801 to the year 1846, the people of Great Britain and Ireland spent £800,000,000 on spirits; £176,445,060, on wines; and £505,904,000, on malt liquor. The duty on the above articles, during forty-five years, amounted to £644,968,553.— *Statistics on the Consumption, etc., of ardent Spirits and Malt, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, from 1801 to 1846, by Dawson Burns.*

How the heart of any true Briton must rejoice who may happen to read this. He may confidently exclaim, another triumph gained! We have *done* the famous beer-drinkers of Bavaria — *done them brown!*

VOL. XIX.

X

Silius Italicus, who died in the reign of Trajan, when Switzerland was already in great measure cultivated, describes the district of the Alps merely as an awful barren wilderness, although he elsewhere loves to dwell in verse on the rocky ravines of Italy, and the wood-fringed banks of the Liris.¹⁰¹

Ammianus Marcellinus, who was still alive A.D. 390, and who travelled through most parts of Switzerland in the suite of Julian, whilst yet Cæsar, is the first who gives an account of the fall of the Rhine. He speaks also of Aventicum, as a place at that time abandoned, but whose former greatness might be justly inferred from the large and extensive ruins that covered the site. Livy, speaking of the Alps, says: "*Nives coelo prope immistae, tecta in-formia imposita rupibus, pecora jumentaue torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaue omnia rigentia gelu, omnia confragosa præruptaque.*"

"In many places of the Alpine land," says Dr. Tschudi (*das Thierleben der Alpenwelt*), "hollows or rocky vaults are numerous; and in the interior of some of these rocky dwellings, Roman and other ancient coins are found, as signs, that in former times, they were used as dwellings or hiding places."

Most of the oldest settlements about Lausanne, and on the lake, testify by their etymology, a Keltic origin. With regard to the name of Lausanne, I have formed the following opinion. By the name of *Lis*, *Leasa*, *Leos*, *Liys*, *Llys*, *Laus*, *Luss*, *Luz* (in the Pyrenees) and *Loss*,¹⁰² terms which occur in Ireland, Wales, and elsewhere, is understood, an earthen enclosure, a court, a palace, a house, strongly for-

¹⁰¹ Liri, in one of the various Keltic dialects, signifies *river*.

¹⁰² In the Rhætian and Provençal dialects, *Loss* remained in Leug and Leuc.

tified. Let us mention places as Lisburne, Liscarrol, Liskeard, Lismore,¹⁰³ Listowel. In Queen's County, there is also a district called Leix, or Leas. In Wales, we have Llys-Bradwen, the palace of Ednowain (Brawdwr-Llys means a judge of the court). At Aix-la-Chapelle, we have the Lausberg; in Canton Turgau, Lausenbüchel; and in Canton Basle, we have Liestal, which was formerly important by its strong situation in the Siggau.

Others we have in Losheim, Losdorf, Lonsheim, Lusberg, and Losberg (in Wurtemberg). Hence this Lis or Lios, occurs as a high artificial entrenchment, surrounded and defended by outworks; it may also be considered nearly synonymous with Dun. The difference seems to be in the situation (artificial); and so, Lios-suna, Laosuna, Losonna,¹⁰⁴ signify the fortified town, where the sun, as at Geneva, was worshipped. It appears, also, that in the time of Cæsar, a fortified Keltic Dun, Lios-dun,¹⁰⁵ Lausodunum, existed already, situated on one of the slopes of Mont-jorat, and probably where the castle of Lausanne now stands.

The name of Lios-dun, or Losdun, may then be also, in some respects, compared to places where Castel is annexed to Dun, as we have it in Casteldun, Dunnis Castello, Duno-Castro (Chateaudun), etc. We may also mention the Allobrogian town of Losdunum, the present St. Loudun¹⁰⁶ (Department of Vienne), as well as the German town of Sun-dun (Sölden), and many other places, such as Sonnenberg, Sonnenfeld, Sonnenstein, etc., named in honour of

¹⁰³ In the fine valley of Lismore, a "Lis" — an old castle—is still to be seen, built on a precipitous rock, on the black water.

¹⁰⁴ Lus-na was the Etruscan spelling of the port, and town of Luna. It was entirely destroyed by the Normans in A.D. 857.

¹⁰⁵ The same affinity is found in the name Dunmore.

¹⁰⁶ Agathopolis (Italy), has also now-a-days the name of St. Agata.

the sun. Then, again, the Celtic Sul and Soul, Di-Sul, Day of the Sun (Sunday), Sollus likewise for light, and also the Teutonic Sunno the Sun. At Rome, the Sabinian Deity, Sol, was adored, appertaining primitively only to the Sabinian Gens Aurelia. His sanctuary was near the temple of Quirinus. The worship of the sun revived again in Rome after the death of Adrian, who abolished human sacrifices. Commodus himself sacrificed a man to Mithras. From about the time of Probus to Constantine the Great, the inscription, SOLI INVICTO COMITI, and similar expressions, relating to the worship of the sun, appear on coins. Here and there, in Southern Germany, altars and other stones have been found, having the inscription, SOLI INVICTO MITHRAE. To the Christians, our Saviour appeared as a spiritual sun, the Sol Novus, as the fathers of the church call him.

At the old Lausonna, there was certainly an altar consecrated to the sun (Soli Genio), which is testified by the following important inscription, found in 1739, at Vidy, the position occupied by that ancient town, and which is inserted in the inner wall of the Town Hall of Lausanne.

SOLI GENIO LVNAE
SACRVM EX VOTO
PRO SALVTE AVGVS
TORVM P CLOD CORN
PRIMVS CVRATOR VIR
NOR LAVSSONNENSIVM II
IIIII VIR AVGVSTAL CCR
CONVENTVS HEL D S D.

It is a vow addressed to the sun, as tutelar genius¹⁰⁶ of

¹⁰⁶ The powers of nature, the Genii, were classed into benign and maleficent, into good and evil. It appears that, by this word genius, the ancients denoted a quality, a generative power; for the following words, which are all of one family, convey

Lausonna; and also to the moon, by Publius Clodius, of the family Cornelia, for the preservation of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus. This Clodius bears the title of first warden (curator) of the inhabitants of Lausonna; for the second time Sextumvir Augustalis. He had set up this monument at his own expense, and by the consent of the Helvetic Diet. This inscription corresponds with A.D. 161.¹⁰⁷ At the old Lausona, or Lausonium, a terra-cotta urn has also been found, with the inscription, FOR. BEL., which was explained Forum Beliorum.

Hard by Lausanne is still a more elevated spot than the castle, called Sauvbelin, or Bois de Sauvabelin, which is the Celtic Seve-Belin, Silva-Belini, Abelio, Apollo, Sol, Baal-Shamaim, Lord of heavens, namely, a forest formerly sacred to Belenus, and on which spot there still remains a wood. Many of those groves of the Celts were situated on hills,¹⁰⁸ in conspicuous positions, commanding a wide prospect opposite either to the plain country or to surrounding mountains, also on places which, by a bold mighty rock, or

this meaning, *genos*, *genesis*, *genus*, *gens*. There were the *genii* of places, towns, colonies, provinces, fountains, etc.; to them sacrifices were made on certain days in the year. On coins we read, *Genio Populi Romani*, *Genio Augusti*, *Genio Senatus*, *Genio Exercituum*, etc.

¹⁰⁷ Among the silver coins of the family Claudia, there is one which bears a similar name, P. CLODIUS. M. F. (*Marci Filius*), and represents the sun, the moon, and five planets. The period of the coin may be the time of Augustus. The British Museum possesses two specimens in gold; and gold coins of Roman families being generally extremely rare, seems to shew how much this family was honoured. In Rome, as I have already observed, the Sabinian Deity, Sol, was adored, appertaining primitively only to the Sabinian Gens Aurelia.

¹⁰⁸ The hills have been at all times the temples whereon rude faiths have piled up their altars, Poet, psalmist, and prophet, have found in them the truest symbols of God and His might.

groups of rocks, mysterious caverns, and cascades, produced a sentiment of holy awe, still strengthened by ancient and lofty trees. This reminds one of the cluster of ancient trees that remain on the secluded heights of Lebanon, celebrated by the poets of Israel as the trees of God.¹⁰⁹

The worship of Baal, or Bel, as the sun was called in the East, is probably of Chaldean origin, and was carried to the North and the West by the merchants and mariners of Sidon, Tyre, and Carthage. The Phœnicians made also of Baal, or Bel, a female deity, Baaloth, Baaltis,¹¹⁰ and Beltis (Baaltis as his sister).

The old idea in the East, of thinking the eternal Deity to be the first light, the primary elemental fire, led to the question, How can this Deity manifest himself otherwise but in the light of the sun? "Thou shalt call me no more Baali" (God of fire), Hos. ii. 16.

The Kelts had their sanctuaries in woods, as well as on high elevations. There they met in the open air, pouring forth their vows and their thanksgivings. In Scripture, we find, also, that when the King of Moab wanted to obtain an answer from God, he took Balaam the prophet, and brought

¹⁰⁹ We may likewise mention the famous oak grove of Mas-silia, and that of the temple of Apollo, in the Peloponnesus, which stood among plane trees. Under the oak of Moreh, at Shechem, and the oak of Mamre, at Hebron, an altar was built by Abraham.

¹¹⁰ Baron de Behr, in his "*Recherches sur l'Histoire des Temps Héroïques de la Grèce*," Paris, 1856, p. 260, observes, that when the present inhabitants of Erdek, of the old Phœnician colony, have need of a block of marble, to serve as a bench, or as a threshold of a door, they go to seek it in that, which they call the ruins of Baaltis. Hence the memory of an Assyrian divinity has survived that of the commercial metropolis of Greece.

him to the height of Baal. Also, Hosea (iv. 13) says, "They sacrifice on the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks, because the shadow thereof is good." And again (1 Kings, xviii. 19), "Now therefore send, and gather to me all Israel, unto mount Carmel, and the prophets of Baal four hundred and fifty, and the prophets of the groves four hundred."

There are villages of the name of Belmont (Beli-monte); one about Lausanne, the other near Yverdon, of which the Latin acts have *Bellus-mons*. In Shropshire, is a round insulated rock, called the *Belin Mount*; and in Scotland, the *Ben-Grian* (*Grian*, the sun, *Apollo*). According to an inscription,¹¹¹ *Belenus* was worshipped near *Riom*, on *Mons Belenatensis*; and among the people of *Gallia Aquitanica*, *Pliny* mentions the *Belindi*, and their capital, *Belinum* (*Belin*, a small town in the district of *Bordeaux*), as worshipping *Belenus*. The *Marquis of Lagoy* has published coins of the *Belindi*, which show the head of *Apollo*; and on the reverse, appears a galloping horse, and the inscription *BELINOC*. The symbol of the horse is connected with the worship of the sun. *Herodotus* (i. 42) informs us, that the *Scythians* sacrificed horses to their gods; and the *Persians*, likewise, sacrificed horses to the sun. I may yet observe, that a priest is still called by the *Bretons* "*Belech*" (*Balak*, *Bel*). The *Irish* had, also, *Beal*, for the sun.

At the great cataract, at *Schaffhausen*, horses were sacrificed — generally those of conquered enemies; and horse-shoes have been found in the clefts of the rocks, which still remain at the great fall. In *England*, the *Vale of the White Horse* had a *Cromlech*; and it was only at

¹¹¹ Published by *Simeoni*. See also, *D. Martin*, *Relig. de Gaulois*, liv. ii., c. 22.

the time of William the Conqueror, that the White Horse of the Britons gave place to the Lion standard. Penant, in his "Tour in Wales" (ii. p. 336), mentions a Holy Well, at which the British Mars had his offerings of horses.

With regard to the present town of Lausanne (Lausodunum), it derived its name from Losona (Lausonio, Lausanium), a town of a very remote period, which stood beyond Montbenon (scarcely two miles west of the present Lausanne, twenty Roman miles from Equestris Nion), in the plain of Vidy (Vuidi), near the borders of the lake. The foundations of buildings, and various remains, as coins, small bronze statues, etc., that have been discovered on the site of the old town of Lausanne, namely, about the village of Vidy, and elsewhere in the vicinity, all indicate an opulent town.

Many of these antiquities are preserved in the Cantonal Museum at Lausanne. The remains of a Roman road are also observable, still bearing the name of Estras (via strata), leading towards Ouchy¹¹² and Vevey. It was situated on the great Roman road from Octodurum to Geneva, namely, from Octodurum to Agaunum (Tarnais), Pennolucus, Vivisco, ad Lacum Lausonium (Arpentin?), Noviodunum (Equestribus), to Geneva. The former Lausonium, or Losona, occurs, however, under the still more ancient Keltic name of Arpentin, which name may then refer, in my opinion, to its situation. It is well known, that the Kelts, and other early inhabitants of Europe, as well as in other parts of the world, gave names to places according to their situations, gene-

¹¹² In the Pas de Calais, there are several small towns of the name of Auchy, the Keltic Alciniacum. In the name of the little town of Coppet, near Geneva, we have the Keltic Kop (Kimri), which means a head, or the top of a thing, top of a hill. Cupola the old French Cope. In Keltic, Kuff means also, sometimes, a hill.

rally alluding to water, to the sea, to lakes, rivers, mountains, or rocks, fountains, etc.

When one of the Libyan tribes settled around the world-famed fountain of Cyre, about B.C. 650, they returned thanks to the god (Apollo) under whose auspices they had found a new home in the midst of a fertile tract, where they founded Cyrene, which became the capital of the country.

Among the Kelts, everything is indicative of the most simple manners. The cares of men were few; whatever was beyond the necessities of life, was known to them only as spoil: "the gold of the stranger," "the light of the stranger," "the steeds of the stranger," etc.

Suppose, in the name of Arpentin (Losona), we have the *ar* as the preposition for near (by the Romans, *ad*); *ar-avern*, near the elevation (the Averni); *ar-avena*, near the water (Ravenna); *ar-mor*, Armorica, the land on the North (the Gallic) Sea.¹¹³ In Ireland, we have *Ar-magh*. *Ar-aveitu*, in the Umbrian dialect,¹¹⁴ signifies, to bring towards, to bring near. Then, we have *pen* for hill, elevation; and *tin* for town, and so rendered into Arpentine, namely, the town situated near the hill or elevation (Montbenon).

In the Alps of Savoy is a cascade of the name of Arpenaz, and I remember having seen somewhere the name of Ar-penas given to a cascade in the Highlands of Scotland. The Itinerary gives the name of a town, which existed near

¹¹³ We may here compare the Slavonic *po-mor*, Pomerania.

¹¹⁴ The Umbrians are mentioned as a Gallic race. "Umbroni quaedam gens Gallica" (sic Pompon. Fest.i.). "Umbri Italiæ gens est, sed Gallorum veterum propago" (Isodor. Origin. lib. ix., cap. 2). Ombri, Ombriki, by which the Romans and Greeks designated this people, is said to be from a Gaelic word, *ombra*, or *ambra*, which means brave.

Augusta Rauracorum (Augst), in some respects similar, namely, Artalbinum, Art-al-benn (on the high elevation). Others we have in Amberg, Arberg, Arelat (Ar-Llaeth, marshy, the town on the marsh), Armorica (Ar-mor, on the sea), etc. By the Kelts, the summit of a mountain was generally named Pen, Penne, Pin, and Pinne, from hence the Latin Pennæ, Pinna, Pinnaculum. In Spanish, we have still the Peña de el Cid, the rock of the Cid; in Wales, the Penn-rhyn, Pen-caer; and in Cornwall, the Penn-Dennis (Pen-mark means the head of a horse). In names of families, occurs Penn-Davis, Penn-Nennt, etc. In time, the name of Arpentine was changed into Losun (Lausonna, Losane-lacus, Lacus-Lausonnete), and it appears to have been, for a long time, one of the most considerable towns on the borders of the lake. According to the Chronicle of the Pays de Vaud, it was for a time the capital of the Helvetii. Many such singular changes in the names of ancient cities appear in all countries. In Italy, we have it, for instance, in Agylla, which was transformed into Caere, Felsina into Bononia, Kamars¹¹⁵ into Clusium, etc. Also, the Saxons in Britain gave new names to those places, or altered those, which, in their language, were unintelligible. In Ireland, we have the primitive name of Waterford as Cuan-na-Grian (Harbour of the Sun) changed into Gleanna-Gleodh, i.e., Valley of Lamentation (from a great defeat from the Danes). The word Granus (Apollo), which we

¹¹⁵ It appears to me that the four brass coins (quadrans) published by Carelli (Edit. Caredoni Lipsiae, 1856), and which he places among Campania incerti, belong to Kamars (Carelli, however, in p. 4, alludes to that name). These coins are inscribed KAM., and represent a pig. I may here observe, that, according to Herodotus (ii. 47), a pig was sacrificed to the moon by the Egyptians, at a festival held at the full moon; and the Arabs have still the word Kamar for the moon.

observe in the primitive name of Waterford, we trace also in the ancient name of Aix la Chapelle, "*Aquis Granum*," where the hot springs, as at Aix in Savoy, "*Aquis Gratiæ*," were consecrated to that great luminary. In Ireland, the name of Gran, Grian for the sun (associated with star worship), we trace in names of ancient buildings; for instance, we have it in the primitive name of Clare, *Altair-na-Greine*, i.e., the Altar of the Sun.¹¹⁶

Granard, a town in the county of Longford, is composed of "*Grian*," the sun, and "*ard*," on high. There is also a *Loch-Greine*, and Ben Grianan in Scotland, as likewise between the districts of Badenoch and Strathspey (county of Inverness) there is a very extensive and barren heath, through which the river Spey runs. On this heath, many Druidical circles of stone are still to be seen entire. The name of the heath is *Slia-ghrannas*, i.e., Heath of Granus. At Inverness, an altar had also been found, dedicated to Apollo Granus; at Aix la Chapelle, an old tower bears still the name of Granus Tower.

On the lower Rhine, a tribe of the Catti had a holy grove, sacred to the sun, which they called Grinnes.¹¹⁷ Sometimes the name of Apollo occurs also in the appellation of *Cra-neüs*, probably here the Irish "*Grian-üisg*," i.e., River of the Sun (*Granicus*). The most solemn oath of the Gael was by the sun; of their women, by the moon: "And all the chiefs of Ib-Er, and all the Gael raised their right hands, and swore by the sun, invoking the name of Ith. And all the matrons, and all the maidens, lifted up their hands, and they swore by the moon and stars; and all swore to go to the land of Ith's wounds, and take vengeance for

¹¹⁶ Grana, in Italian and Spanish, signifies cochineal, scarlet.

¹¹⁷ Perhaps the name of the Isle of Grain, in the Medway, with its little old village church, may allude to the same meaning.

his death" (Chronicles of Gael-ag). In O'Flaherty's curious, though rather eccentric work, "Ogygia," I found an interesting passage (vol. ii. pt. 3, p. 119) which appears to refer to Ith, who was killed by King Breas, and that Ochý Optach, the son of Ith, avenged his father's death, by slaying King Breas, at Carnconluain, and that he succeeded him. In another passage, it appears that Ith had commenced a dynasty. It says, "King Forby, the son of Finn, of the line of Ith." But the custom of swearing by the sun and the moon, we find was practised in Assyria, in the eighth century before Christ. To those who place the construction of the greater number of the round towers in a remote period of Ireland's halcyon days, and also understand the "bearla Feni," to those the following observations may be interesting. In the cuneiform inscriptions on one of the great bulls, which stood before the palace of King Sargon (Balpatis-assur, king of Babylon, B.C. 709 to 704), at Khorsabad (Kirsi-Sargon), and which is now in the Louvre, Dr. Oppert¹¹⁸ reads, "He who attacks the works of my hands, who effaces my sculptures, who carries off the jars containing my riches, who strips my treasure — may the moon (Sin), the sun (Samas), AO (the god of light,¹¹⁹ Saturn), and the gods which inhabit the heart of this man, exterminate in this land his name and his race, and may adversity place him in the hands of his enemy." Another inscription says, "May the Sun, the great arbiter of heaven and on earth, judge according to the measure of his justice, may he overtake him in the very act (of stripping the

¹¹⁸ Chronologie des Assyriens et des Babyloniens. Extrait d'un rapport au Ministre de l'Instruction Public. Paris, Mai, 1856, p. 39, 41.

¹¹⁹ This name of AO, as god of light, suggests to me, that I may refer reverently to the words of our Saviour, "I am the Alpha and the Omega" (Rev. i. 11).

treasures, etc.), may Sin (the moon), Nannarou (the luminous), who inhabits the heavens of images (zodiac), the most powerful agitator, oppress him with fatigue in the season of the Hyades (vernal equinox), may he make him shake with cold at the extremity of his town, in the season of the capricorn (autumnal equinox)."

The remains which were yet habitable of the old Losuna, spared by the barbarians, were destroyed during the great physical calamity of A.D. 563, when the rest of the few inhabitants who had time to escape, emigrated to the elevation of Lausodunum. Bishop Marius mentions in his chronicle in the following manner, this dreadful calamity, occasioned by the fall of a mountain (les roches de Meilleraie: *mal*, a rock, a stone) into the upper part of the lake. "Ad annum, 563. Mons validus Tauredunensis in territorio Valensi ita subito ruit, ut Castrum, cui vicinus erat, et vicos cum omnibus ibidem habitantibus oppressisset, et lacum in longitudine LX. milium, ad latitudine XX. milium ita totum movit, ut egressus utraque ripa vicos antiquissimos cum hominibus et pecoribus vastasset, etiam multa sacrosancta loca cum eis servientibus demolisset, et pontem Genevacum, molendinas et homines per vim dejecit, et Geneva civitate ingressus plures homines interfecit."

This reminds one of a passage in the Chronicles of Gael-ag (i. 7): "And all that went forth from Mahg-sean-ar (i. e., the old desolated town of the forefathers), dwelled in Ard-mionn (the summit of the height); and Ard-fear (chief of the people), ruled that land as aforetime, but in person."

It is curious, also, that in the ancient Persian language, *art*, or *arta*, signifies high, great; *Arta-Xerxes*, the great king. In Sanscrit, the word *artha* bears the same sense as in Persian, indicating height, loftiness; and reminds one, likewise, of the Irish *Ard-Riagh*, chief monarch (*reg*, to judge; *Regs*, Rex, Raja).

This meaning may also be found in the name of the Ardennes (Ard-Enna, the high mountainous land, forest). *Arda*, in Irish, high, haughty. *Aruin*, in Gaelic, means a forest. In the life of St. Remalcus, who went into the forest of the Ardennes, in the time of King Childebert, about A.D. 570, they were called "Arduennan¹²⁰ sylvam paludibus et montibus impeditam." Under the name of Arduina, we have also a Keltic divinity of the Treviri (Diane Gaulois), Artemis, Luna, Hecate. Near Sion, in the Valais, is the old village of Ardon¹²¹ (Ardona, Ardonium); it is situated high on the Rhone. There is also the small town of Art (Arta¹²²), situated between the two mountains, the Rigi (Regius mons, Regina montium) and the Rossberg. In the Highlands of Scotland, we have Loch-ard, and a place called Ardnamurchan; and the mountain of Dochart, which towers in lofty grandeur above Loch Tay, as well as Bein-Ardlanich, 3,000 feet above the sea. In some of the highest passes of the Alps (Summæ Alpes), we have the Gott-ardh — *art* having been Germanised into *hart*¹²³ — where (at Mons Jovis), according to Cæsar (de B. G. lib. iii., p. 56; Venet. 1605, 8vo.), the Taurici worshipped the sun.

Hence, the name of *Gotard*, signifies God (adored) on the summit. *God-ardh*,¹²⁴ which corresponds to Jupiter-Penninus¹²⁵ (Poenus, Pennus, Pen), and to the Latin *sum-*

¹²⁰ Ardu (Punica Maltese), the end of a summit.

¹²¹ In Ireland, we have a mountain called Donard.

¹²² Artabriga, in Spain.

¹²³ Probably referring also to the Hartz mountains.

¹²⁴ Here, again, the Irish "Ard-Riagh," chief monarch. Ard-magh, is the Metropolitan See of Ireland. In the Isle of Man, is seen a large stone, supposed to have been erected as a monument to an early king of the Isle of Man. It is called "Goddard Covan's Stone."

¹²⁵ Iovi Apenio (Muratori, viii. 5). Iovi Vesuvius (Muratori x. 11).

mus, which means the Great St. Bernard (Summus Penninus), where the Veragri worshipped Hercules; *bern-ard*, great man.¹²⁶ We may here allude to Mount Donard, Dunard (Mourne mountains in Ireland), about 3,000 feet high, and on which, likewise, a St. Donard, disciple of St. Patrick, lived as a hermit, and built, towards the close of the fifth century, an oratory on the top of it.

Livy says:¹²⁷ "Neque Hercule montibus his a transitu Poenorum ullo Veragri incola jugi ejus nomen inditum norunt, sed ab eo, quem in summo sacratum vertice Penninum montani appellant." M. Martin¹²⁸ gives an inscription, found at the great St. Bernard, which reads, "Lucilius Deo Pennino. O. M. donum dedit." It is interesting, that Polybius¹²⁹ mentions a people, which he calls "Arduyegalli," who lived about the pass of the Furká (from Martigny to Chamounix). The most ancient name of Martigny (Martiniacum), was Octodurum, and appears to me, to have been derived from the Keltic words Og, Ogh-min, the Keltic Hercules, chief of the heroes;¹³⁰ and *Dur*, for water.¹³¹ We learn from Lucian, that this Ogh-min's attributes were similar to those of Hercules (Ogo-sacer, consecrated to Hercules). Here we are reminded of Og, king of Bashan, who was of the race of giants (Josh. xii. 4). A similar application appears in the Phœnician deity, Okh, or Och — by the Greek writers called *Okos* (Og-minos) — who, with his children, was considered a founder of colonies, which, in a figurative style, were called his daughters.

¹²⁶ We have an Irish king, whose name is "Bern-gal."

¹²⁷ Livy, lib. xxi., cap. 38. Also, Pliny, iii. 17.

¹²⁸ Relig. des Gaulois, vol. ii., p. 402.

¹²⁹ Lib. iii., c. 47.

¹³⁰ In old French, *ogre* means a wild man; and the English have a proverb, "He eats like an ogre, like a Gaul."

¹³¹ In the Indian dialect of Brahui, water is called *dir*.

Hercules, as tutelary deity of Tyre and her colonies, the Melkarth, Melek-Heracles, whose power principally depended on commerce, became a god of commerce, a mixed Keltic divinity of Hercules and Mercury, by the name of Og-min. The twofold character of Hercules, as a god and as a hero, is acknowledged even by Herodotus.

The name of Ogyges has been preserved to us as that of the most ancient colony which came and established itself in Attica.¹³² Hence, Och-o-dur, or Octodurum,¹³³ signifies, the habitation, the town on the water, on the source consecrated to Hercules, similar to Aquis-Granum, the spring of Apollo (Aix la Chapelle), and others, like Aquæ Solis, the ancient name of Bath. Moreover, we have Solonacum, Solonaco, Solodurum, etc. The sacredness of sources and

¹³² In the excellent critique of the distinguished M. Anatole Barthélemy, on the valuable work of the late M. Duchalais, "Description des Médailles Gauloises," I found the following observation on this Keltic divinity of Og-mi (Revue. Numismat. 1847, p. 159):—

"Il nous semble que le mythe d'Albaris vient jeter une certaine lumière sur un passage de Lucien qui jusqu'à ce jour à dû paraître d'autant plus bizarre que rien dans les Gaules ne nous a encore fait soupçonner quelque divinité qui rappellât celle que le philosophe grec dépeint sous les traits d'Hercule Ogminos (Lucien Hercul. i., et 3; Amm. Marcl., xv. 9; Pomp. Mela, ii. 5; Plin. H.N. iii., v. 4). A nos yeux Ogminos, dieu de l'éloquence, entraînant ses auditeurs avec les chaînes, qui s'attachent à ses Lèvres, Ogminos armé d'un arc, un carquois sur l'épaule, doit être le même personnage qu' Abaris (Abæus, surname of Apollo), d'ont le carquois et l'arc scythes avaient aussi attiré l'attention des Grecs. Comme Apollon, Hercule combattant Géryon dans la péninsule Ibérique se confond avec le soleil; remarquons encore que Ogminos se rapproche de ὄγμος qui est quelquefois synonyme de ὄδος et qu' ainsi Hercule Ogminos pourrait fort bien n'être qu' Hercule voyageur, ce qui est une ressemblance de plus avec Abaris."

¹³³ Ptolemy gives also an Octodurum in Hisp. Tarraconensis. The former name of the town of Youghall, in Ireland, was Ochella.

springs, is unquestionably a universal feature in the character of all early mythology,¹³⁴ from the Indus to the Nile, from the Parnassian source of Alpheus to that of the Tiber, or the Apennines. In fact, the worship of rivers, brooks, and springs, lasted until towards the sixteenth century. The Abbey of Belle-Fontaine, near Beaupreux (Maine and Loire) is built over a holy well, which is yet supposed to maintain to this day, as in antiquity, its efficacy. Many convents in France have been named after springs sacred in the time of the Druids. The Keltic deity, Borvo Tomona, left his name to Bourbonne les Baines. Some lakes in the Highlands of Scotland are, according to popular tradition, still haunted by the Elfin people (Else, Ilse, Ailse, Aillse-næ).

“Where nymphs from hollow oaks relate,
The dark decree and will of fate.”

Christianity transferred the healing power of springs of wells to her saints. The well of St. Ælian, in Wales (Caernarvonshire), has been in great repute for cures of all diseases, by means of the intercession of the saint. In Ireland, the name of a Cistercian monastery is Melli-font, and at Dublin we have the St. Patrick's Well. Ogmin was also considered as a deity of eloquence, and named in an old Irish codex as the inventor of writing, Ogma, Ogmagrianan (Oggam, a species of old Irish character). The Greeks, by the expression “Ogygian times,” meant the epoch of their most ancient traditions, as we now say “The Biblical times.” Statues of Ogmin were represented sometimes gilt, sometimes, according to circumstances, only

¹³⁴ Odyssey (xvii. 211), and Tacitus (de Moribus Germanorum, c. 16), observes: “Colunt diversi ac discreti, ut campus, ut Fons, ut nemus placuit.”

painted yellow — applicable to the sun. By the ancient Egyptians, saffron was called the blood of Hercules. At an early Roman period, the idol of Jupiter, at the Capitol, was painted red on holy days. In the old Christian symbolism, our Saviour is generally painted in a red garment, symbolical of dignity as well as red being the colour of fire. To the early Christians, Christ was a spiritual sun, the "Sol Novus," the Sun of Righteousness, as the fathers of the Church call him, and is sometimes symbolized by a lamp or candle, as "the Light of the World" (John ix. 5).

Even as late as A.D. 612, the eminent Irish converters of the Swiss from Paganism, St. Columbanus (†. 615) and St. Gallus (†. 640), found near Bregenz three idols of gilt bronze, which were in particular veneration. And on the Lake of Zürich, St. Gallus met with similar idols, to which offerings were made, and whose figures he broke, and cast into the lake.¹³⁵

In the collection of the late Mr. Woodburn, of London, I saw, some years ago, a bronze gilt figure (life-size, it might be Apollo), which, in my humble opinion, belonged to that kind of Romano-Keltic idols, and is probably the only one still in existence. It was found in France, and is now in the Louvre. In Rome, a colossal statue of Nero (111 feet in height) was made by the brass-founder, Zenodorus; this statue was consecrated to the sun, in A.D. 75.

Mention is made of the restoration of a temple of Belesus, in the third century, which had a gilt statue. This temple stood at the old town of Julium Carnicum (Noricum).¹³⁶ From the country of the Kelts, which was sacred

¹³⁵ It appears that in Ireland, St. Patrick had done the same; he pulled down a brazen idol, which was standing near the river Gothard; and so it appears he did at Cashel, the seat of the Kings of Munster.

¹³⁶ Muchar, *Das römische Noricum* ii. p. 268.

to Apollo (Galeus, son of Apollo), votive presents were sent to Delos, where the Hyperborean Apollo was worshipped, and whose temple was spared by Xerxes,¹³⁷ (480 B.C.) and who, according to the assertion of the Greeks, sacrificed several times to the sun. The last account we have of these embassies, of which history still makes mention, came from the utmost North, from Scandia, i.e., Land of the Sun; according to Pliny, "Solin," Apollonius Rhodius gives it as the Land of the Sun.

The name of the town of Octodurum has been, at a later Kelto-Germanic period, transformed into Martiniacum; Ochmin being changed into Mars (Dies Martis, Martin) and *dur* into *ac*, hence Martinac. (The Romans assimilated Ogminus to Mercury). The third and present appellation, Martigny, dates from the invasion of the Burgundians, who changed the *ac* into *ay*, like Tourniac into Tourigny, Ambroniacum into Ambronay, Cartiniac, Cartigny, and Ageium into Ay. A temple of Mars, which formerly stood at the town of Verwick, in Flanders, was replaced by a church of St. Martin; there are also the "Pierres-Martin."¹³⁸ The town of Famars, near Valenciennes, was a Fanum Martis, and so St. Maux, a village in Lorraine, where stood a temple of Mars.¹³⁹ It appears also, that by some Keltic tribes, Mars was often confounded with the sun, and that the divinity by the name of Belatucadrus was at the same time the sun and the god of battles.

Every nation has her heroes, which, in many points accord, if masculine power becomes ideal and symbolised.

The Ochmin being changed into Mars, puts it out of the

¹³⁷ Herod. vi. 97. 118.

¹³⁸ Tailliar, *Essay sur l'Histoire des Institutions du Nord de la France*, p. 211, Douai, 1852.

¹³⁹ Beaulieu, *Archéologie de la Lorraine*, vol. i. p. 139. Paris, 1846.

question to suppose that the etymology of Octodurum means the site of the eight waters, or rivers, as in the names of the towns of Sebendunum, or Bedunia, which may refer to the seven, or to the two heights, or hills. On a large brass coin of Vespasian, we observed the personified Roma, seated on seven hills. In Perthshire we have the Ochil Hills; and, I believe, the word Ochiltree signifies the high hamlet or dwelling.

The worship of Hercules appears to have been introduced into Gaul by the Phœnicians: and here one may allude to an affinity of the Etruscan myth, to that of the Phœnicians; and also observe, that the famous Hercules-road over the Alps (Summus Poeninus) the Great St. Bernard, which was used from a time older than any historical records, is a Phœnician one,¹⁴⁰ passed and repassed by merchants and travellers, and where Jupiter Poeninus was worshipped (Lucus Poeninus) Julius Cæsar punished some of the Veragri and Seduni, who lived thereabout, and had disturbed the traffic by brigandage (de B. G. iii. 1—3). In the year 57, B.C., Cæsar ameliorated the roads over the Alps, to facilitate the commerce.

In the name of Lacus Lemanus, we have the Keltic Loch-le-aman, the lake of current waters (Ar-naman, the ravaging river), reminds one of Loch-na-n Gasan, in Ireland, i. e., the Lake of Springs.¹⁴¹ We have, also, the Lemanus Portus, which is Lymne, near Hythe.

¹⁴⁰ Shewing the presence of these enterprising mercantile people of the old world, in Gallia, Cis and Transalpina, M. Thierry (Hist. des Gaulois) also observes, that the communication from Spain to Italy, by the Romans, the Aurelian and Domitian roads, had evidently been founded upon passes of the Phœnicians. I have also seen it stated somewhere, that the Phœnicians introduced the cultivation of the vine into the south of France.

¹⁴¹ It is stated, that in the time of King Æneaus, many people were employed in cutting down a great deal of wood; in consequence of which, several lakes appeared, or formed themselves, and among them was Loch-Gasan (Loch-na-n Gasan).

Ausonius calls the Lemanus the source of the Rhone : "qua rapitur princeps Rhodanus Genitore Lemano." In olden times, people believed that the Rhone (Rhodanus, Rhedeg, Redecq, running with rapidity, Rho-dan¹⁴²) was not absorbed by the waters of the lake, and continued to run directly through the lake to the opposite end of Geneva, where it again reappears. Homer mentions a similar occurrence of the river Titarésios (Ilias ii. 750) ; and I recollect having read, that in Wales exists also the belief, that the river Dee runs through the lake of Bala, unmixed with its waters.

Towards the borders of the Lacus Lemanus, we encounter Kelto-Germanic terminations of the liquid element in *ac* and *ag* (*aha*, *aches*), namely, in Lustriacum (Lutry), Polliacum (Beleno aquæ — it is, now-a-days, Pully), Corsiacum (Corsier, near Vevey), Culiacum (Cully), Luliacum (Lully), Modernacum (Mornay), Bactiacum (Bex¹⁴³), and Agaunum (St. Maurice, Monasterii Agaunensis). On the Rhætian frontier, we have also an Agaunum (Inichen), on the river Drau (Dravus), and similar idioms we encounter in France and Germany. In Ireland, I may mention Corc-ach, the city of Cork, surrounded by the river Lee. The ancient Irish called the harbour Beal-ach, Conliach.

In Welsh, the sea is called Aig. However, in the name of Vevey, Vibiscum, Bibiscum, Viviacum, and its inhabitants, the Vibisci, we observe another of the so frequent Keltic word, Uisge, Uisk, and Üis ; which was, in the course of time, transformd into Aesch, Asch, Asq, and

¹⁴² Reminds one of the names of the rivers Rhadamanthos and Acheron, in the kingdom of Pluto.

¹⁴³ Bay, Beium, Baja, — Bayonne, Beke; and in the Gaelic, *bádhdh*, *bagh*, signifies an inlet, a bay. We have also the town of Bagacum (Bavay).

Aix. We have, also, the Bituriges Vivisci, on the Garonne ; the Uisippi (Usipedes), who lived near the hot wells of Wiesbaden¹⁴⁴ (Aquæ Mattiacæ).

Wo Söhne der Katten und Römer,
Ginst Genesung geschöpft, quillt noch heilende Kraft.¹⁴⁵
Kochend sprubelt der Born, aus tiefen vulcanischen Klüften,
Wo das Leben beginnt, hüllt die Natur sich in Nacht.

Martial (xiv. 27) recommends the soap balls made by the people of Wiesbaden (pilas Mattiacas) to ladies of a certain age (which, of all ages, according to Byron, most uncertain is), much as, now-a-days, the oil of Macassar is recommended.

Part of the name of Wiesbaden may have been derived from the Keltic Üis, the lively, the moving element, water. In Scotland, we have a mountain called Ben-vish, which harbours snow throughout the year. One might perhaps here allude also to the words of Hosea (ii. 16), "Thou shalt call me Ishi, and shalt call me no more Baali" (god of fire). And again, "My people have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters" (Jer. ii. 13). In Vishnu, among the Indians, we have water as a first element of all things.

There were also the Istævoni, near the Rhine, and the Danube appears as Ister, i.e., water, Istria, waterland (tir, terra, land). We may as well also mention the celebrated

¹⁴⁴ Mancher der es nicht gedacht,
Hat dort schon sein Glück gemacht ;
Denn es führen oft die Lahmen
Fort die allerschönsten Damen !

¹⁴⁵ But mineral waters ought not to be made use of as a cure, without proper medical advice, as it may become dangerous. On an old grave-stone in the churchyard of a fashionable watering-place in England, we read —

"Here lie my wife and two daughters.
Is this your cure? G . . . d . . . n your waters."

watering place, Ischl, in the Styrian Alps. It is curious that the mighty flood, the "Mississippi," signifies "Father of Water."

In the Guiana language (South America) "Wunni-bishi" means a small river.

Some kind reader may perhaps, now and then, smile at my far-fetched comparisons; but if we accept, that the different races of mankind sprung from one pair, why should not the different languages have been derived from a primitive one. "The human language," says Professor Müller, in Art. vii. Oxford Essays, 1856, "forms an uninterrupted chain from the first dawn of history down to our own time." We have the words father, mother, sister, and daughter, given in parallel columns in Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Slavonic, and Irish.¹⁴⁶

Let us resume again our inquiries into the Keltic settlements on the Lake of Geneva. In the time of Augustus, when the Roman power had already spread out in Helvetia, Vevey, Mouton, and Avenches, had become places of some importance, on account of their situation on the high road over the Summus Penninus from Italy to Germany.

The Roman Penno-Lucus (Ville-neuve), on the Lemán, alludes to its situation, namely, on the head of the lake (*pen* or *ben* means also a head), as we have it in a similar meaning at a place called Pen-Llyn, on the Lake of Bala, in Wales; Pencinwyd, a chief huntsman. In the Tyrol, Lueg signifies a lofty mountain; and Lugu, in Brittany, means a tower: Lucus (Lucus Augusti) may be of similar origin. During the time of the Burgundian occupation of parts of Switzerland,

¹⁴⁶ I have, myself, noticed in the Guiana language (South America) *Abba*, is father; *Amma*, mother; *Papa-acyeweni*, grandfather. In some Indian dialects (Brahui and Tamil), we have *Umma* and *Amma* for mother, *A-pa* for father.

some places did change the termination of *ac* or *ag* into *ay*, as in Cosonay, Blonay, Arnay, Poligny (Poliniac, Apolini aquæ), Martigny (Martiniac), and Coloniacum into Coligny. In Scotland, we may mention the village of Eyemouth, near the sea-shore. Perhaps we may also allude to Guerns-ey, Orken-ey, and whoever may have been near the shore of the Red Sea, may recollect the name and place of "Ain-Moussa," i.e., the Fountain of Moses. In other places, the Franks have changed the *ac* into *ax* and *aix*.

The termination of places in *Dun* or *Tun* (for, in compound words, it was written both ways) is very frequent. The primitive Romans also named their towns only Montani,¹⁴⁷ which may be compared to Dunum, the town of Down, in Ireland, to Dun-Tay (Dundee), on the river Tay; the Swiss town of Thun, where Lacus Tunensis was yet called, in the eighth century, Dunensis.¹⁴⁸ Hill alone, used in the Psalms, figuratively signifies sometimes the Temple, or the high place where the Deity was worshipped, "That God did make His residence on hills." Even now-a-days, "Monte della Citta" is usually given in Italy to sites formerly occupied by cities. And so the Greek Pyrgos, the German Burg, the Briga of the Spaniards, the Arx in Latin, etc., all signify the top of a hill, as well as in later times, a town, or castle, in the plain, such as we observe in the Italian *Rocca*, a castle, a fortified place.

"L'anno 1435, Sigismondo (Malatesta), comincio in Rimini la fabrica della Rocca, che fu chiamata castel Sigismondo, colla dove era il palazzo vecchio."¹⁴⁹ In fact, Casa,

¹⁴⁷ Bunsen, Descript. of Rome, vol. i. p. 34.

¹⁴⁸ Fredegari Scholastici Chron., p. 420. Eo anno (iv. regni TheudERICI) aqua calidissima in Lacu Dunensis, quem Arula flumen influit, etc. The Gothic was "idun" for dun.

¹⁴⁹ Sansovino della Origine et de Fatti delle famiglie illustri d'Italia. Venezia, 1582, p. 234.

Castrum, conveys again the idea of enclosure and protection. Cassis, in the Etruscan language, signifies a helmet, so likewise Castris, or Castris-ager is an enclosed field, like the old English *town*. Dun, is allusive likewise to the Keltic *Dan* and *Don*, which signifies high,¹⁵⁰ as well as *al* and *el* (Alps, Al-pen¹⁵¹), as we have it in El-burga, Eliburga, which, in Irish, signifies the high, the mighty town. This *dan* and *don*, reminds one also of the German "Tanne," the high fir or pine tree. The *al*, *el*, *tall*, *tell*, may have been understood in the sense of tall, as well as mighty, strong; we have only to allude to the torrent, "Talla," in the Highlands of Scotland, which, with great fury, dashes over a number of small cascades, and there, the spot is called "Talla-Linns" (lin, a pool, a lake, a channel), and the *tell* remind us of William Tell, which is merely the tall, or the strong William, and hence, of course, the several Tell's or Töll's in the traditions of some northern countries.

Ans Wilhelm Telle Freiheits-Hut
 Sangt menge Tropfe Schweißblut.

In the ancient language of Scotland, Alp, or Alb, signifies, also, an eminence. The Highlanders are still accustomed to call the country they inhabit "Alabin," or Alpin; and their own language they denominate "Gælic-Alabinish." There are, also, some wild hills called "Bread-Albane."¹⁵² Hence, the Albanich of Britain, or the Albani

¹⁵⁰ In the Highlands of Scotland, a Dun-Shie, is a fairy mount.

¹⁵¹ Al-pennines, and the Irish "Bruaidh al-ben," the region of lofty hills.

¹⁵² Albanach means Scotch, a Scotchman. One of the greatest proprietors in Scotland, is the Marquis of Breadalbane. The North Bristol Mail stated, that on the 25th of March, 1857, the

of Italy, seem names founded on the same characteristic reason — the height or roughness of their respective countries.¹⁵³ It was natural enough for men who had been once settled in the lower plains of Gallia Belgica, to give the name of Alba, or Alpin, to Britain.

. However, we have more to say about the term Dun. Dinn-Rich was the hill of kings.¹⁵⁴ Edinburgh may have been occupied first by one of the Pictish tribes, merely as a Dun, a fort (donjon¹⁵⁵). The dictionary of the academy, defines the word Dun, in place, ville de guerre, fortress piazza, fortezza, città di guerra¹⁵⁶ (Alberti). On mediæval coins, we still read, sometimes, Castel annexed to Dun; Castel-dun,¹⁵⁷ Dunis-Castello, Duno-Castro (Chateaudun,

fishermen belonging to the Marquis of Breadalbane, caught in the Loch Tay, at one draught, no less than 49 salmon, which weighed nearly 900 lbs.; on Friday, 15, weighing 300 lbs.; and on Saturday, 14, weighing 250 lbs. Now talk about poor Scotland!

"And this other collar — to what country does this fair jewel belong?" "To a *very poor one*, my love," replied the Earl; "this is the Order of St. Andrew, revived by the last James of Scotland."—*Kenilworth*.

¹⁵³ "The Albanese," says Lord Byron, "struck me by their resemblance to the Highlanders of Scotland, in their dress, figure, and manner of living. Their very mountains seem Caledonian, but a milder climate. The kilt, though white; the spare, active form; their dialect, Keltic in the sound; and their hardy habits, all carried me back to Morven."—*Notes to the second chapter of "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage."*

¹⁵⁴ The ancient Scots called the Sovereign, Ri; and the Britons, Rhuy and Rhy (Rhea), which corresponds to the modern French Roy, and the Spanish Rey; and so the Rex of the Latins is derived from the Keltic.

¹⁵⁵ Ducange alludes, also, to the derivation of Dungeon: "in duno sive colle aedificatum." This would remind one, at once, of the Mamertine prison under the Mons Capitolinus.

¹⁵⁶ Baxter (voc. Londinium) observes: "Din, Don, Dun, Arx est, et Oppidum, sive civitas atque etiam Collis."

¹⁵⁷ The chief town in the Isle of Man (Mona), is Castle-Town.

A.D. 840), Exolduno-Castro (Isodun). In Derbyshire, we have Castleton. The fort of Dundermot, county of Antrim, is an oval of sixty feet by thirty, and perfectly level on the top. This is enclosed by a very deep fosse, and below this fosse is another, into which the river Maine runs in flood time. This Dun is ascended by a steep winding path. In the same neighbourhood, stands Dun-Baught, on a high, rocky hill, nearly inaccessible. Dun-Gorkin, in the county of Londonderry, is called "The Fort of Famine," probably having held out till reduced by starvation. Within that fortification have been dug up hatchets of basalt, spear-heads of grey granite, and arrows of flint; and from these examples it is evident that the Dun was a military fortification (in Wales, Din, Din-Colyn); and that, in its construction, some engineering skill was displayed. In the Slavonian countries, the wooden buildings on eminences, which were secured, as far as possible, against the attack of enemies, were called (Hrady) Gradi, or Castles.¹⁵⁸ It appears that, sometimes, Duns were given up for the erection of churches. In Ireland, a church is mentioned of the name of Cill-Benen, which was erected within the Arx, or fortress, called Dun-Lughaidh, from a lord of the country, who, with his father and four brothers, having been baptised by St. Patrick and St. Benen, gave up the Dun, or fortress, for that purpose.

In the great Isle of Arran, is Dun Aenguis, i. e., the fortification of Angus. Another is in the middle isle, the Dun Concovair. The isles of Arran abound in remains of Druidism. However, as fortified habitations, during the middle ages, arose out of Roman castles, so were the latter often built on Keltic Duns. And so were Christian

¹⁵⁸ K. J. von Bienenberg : "Ueber die Alterthümer im Königreich Böhmen," vol. i., p. 87. Königgratz, 1778.

churches erected on places where heathen temples stood. And here and there, some of the porches of the Roman temples are yet preserved, like those of the cathedral of Aix, and Avignon; and, if I recollect well, at Trieste and Naples also. The church of St. Martin, near Canterbury, is said to be the first building of Roman origin (*Deus Mars*) that was devoted to Christian worship in England.

Besides the Dun, Din (Welsh Dinas), we have, also, the Rath, and the Lis, Lios, Leasa; i. e., an earthen enclosure, court, or fortified place. The Dun and Lis, are nearly synonymous: the chief difference seems to be in the situation, that of the Lis varying in the mode of protection, the earthen entrenchment and the wattle-hedge being employed for the Lis, while the Dun is fenced with thick walls of great strength;¹⁵⁹ and is also invariably placed upon a commanding spot, often on a rock; and, hence, many have the name of Carrodunum. These fortifications have given names to many places in Ireland, which begin with the word Rath, Lis (see my argument about Lausanne), and Dun. As we have it in Rathbarry, Rathcormuk, and Lismore; then in Dunmanway, Dunmanus, Dundeedy, etc.

There are, also, many circular buildings, of inferior dimensions, on the west coast of Scotland, and in the Hebrides, called Duns (Dunadh, a dwelling); but, in Zetland, they call them Picts-houses, and Burghs.

It was a great usage among the Irish, to make assemblies upon Raths, or hills, to parley about matters of wrongs between township and township.¹⁶⁰ Hence, it was a place of assembly, as well as also the residence of the

¹⁵⁹ Cæsar describes such a fort of a German tribe, the *Atuatici* (de B. G. ii., p. 76, Ed. Elzeviriana).

¹⁶⁰ I should not wonder if the German word "Rath" (council), was derived from these Raths. The Bohemians actually have it in "Rada."

chieftain.¹⁶¹ I have already observed, that in Transylvania, the Rathes were called "Hrady." The castle at Prague, the capital of Bohemia, is called "Hradschin;" and another old castle in the neighbourhood is called "Wischerad." Aircealtair (Arras-Keltair) was the name of the large Rath at Downpatrick, in the county of Down.¹⁶² Then we have the Keltic word of Daingean; expressing, also, a close, a fast place, and a fort. In fact, the Daingean was the primitive Keltic fortification, which was made by digging a ditch, throwing up a rampart, and, on the latter, fixing stakes, which were, of course, a temporary defence used by all nations.

The Rath, the Dun and the Daingean, with their fosses, ramparts and palisades, were the forts among the Irish antecedent to the Norman invasion (A.D. 1169). N.B. When the inconveniences of such high situations appeared, places of defence were built on low ground; but they often retained the names of Duns, Rathes, Burgs, or Berghs, as we have shown already in the case of the Italian Rocca. Often we observe in flat countries as a termination, the word *mag* (town), as in the names of Borbetomagus (Worms, *beor Teutonic*, for corn, fruit of all kinds, i.e., the town situated in the fruitful country), Noviomagus, Niomagum (the new town), Argentomagus, Rigomagum (Remagen, on Mediæval coins Rigimago), etc., etc. In scripture, we observe

¹⁶¹ Perhaps one of the last of this sort of national assemblies of days of old, of which mention is made, took place, A.D. 554, at Tara (Teagh-mor-Ragh, the great house of the king), during the reign of King Diarmid.

¹⁶² In the will of St. Patrick, the Rath is mentioned as Raith. "Dun a mbiam 'eis erge a Raith Chealtair mhic Duach:" that is, "Down, where my resurrection shall be, in the fortification of Keltair, the son of Duach." St. Patrick died in A.D. 493. — *Jucelin, in his "Life of St. Patrick,"* c. 56.

Magum as urbs Judæa (Jos. xv. 55), and Baal-magon, as urbs Moab (Ezek. xxix. 9).

The Scots retain the Dun in the use of the word toon, meaning a place of habitation. Mansions or farm-houses, environed about with paling or hedges (the German Zaum, the Dutch Tuin, enclosure), got the name of Tunnes, afterwards pronounced towns. Hence the rather old English "hedging and tining" (tine, to divide a field with hedges). A dwelling situated in the country is a Landward-town. Hence, also, Cote-tun, North-tun, South-tun, Cingestun, etc., (Colton, Norton, Sutton, Kingston), and so on, the British Segodun (Seton). From the Augustodunum remained Autun, and as we have observed of our Swiss Minodunum, Mouton, etc.

The Avari, A.D. 557, in Pannonia, called their residences, which were protected by trenches, ramparts, and many folding fencing, "rings," and Charlemagne had there to encounter a strong resistance, until at last these sheltering dykes fell, and threw immense treasures into the hands of the Franks.¹⁶³ I may here observe, that the Kelts had a particular veneration for the circle, the "ring," retaining the form in their ornaments (which practice, it appears, reached down to the early part of the Mediæval period),¹⁶⁴ making use of it in holy symbols, and therefore they built house and temple round, and rounded their forts.¹⁶⁵ At a somewhat later period, they built in those

¹⁶³ Stålin, Wirttembergische Geschichte, vol. i. p. 246.

¹⁶⁴ Let us only allude to the ornaments of the Anglo-Saxons.

¹⁶⁵ Here, I am unable to refrain from alluding to the round towers of Ireland.—In Shetland, the Burgh of Mousa is a circular building, of which the stones are of uniform magnitude, and well laid together, without any cement. It is 42 feet high, and the walls are 15 feet in thickness (see Hibbert's Description of Shetland, p. 251).

"rings," temples (*fana*), in which the gods were venerated at times when the weather made it difficult to do so in the open air. Tacitus speaks of the destruction of such a sanctuary of the Germans, which was probably constructed of wood, as many churches still are in the northernmost parts of Europe.

Near Penrith is a circular enclosure, called Arthur's-Ring; and in Westmoreland we have Arthur's-Table, a circular one, consisting of a high dike of earth, and a deep foss within, surrounding an area of twenty yards in diameter, and which may also be numbered among those rings or encampments. In Yverdun (*Eburodunum*, *Castrum Eburodunense*, situated near the Lake of Neuchatel, on the mouth of the river Orbe), we have the town, the fort on or near the shore of the lake, or the harbour, Abor, Aber, Old Brit., the mouth of a river, a bay, hence Aberteen, or Havre, and the Eburones. In Wales, we have Aber-Maw (Barmouth), seated very near the sea; Aber-geleu, Aber-ogwen, Aber-menai (Anglesey), etc. There is also Aber or Inver, Invernethy, Abernethy, Aberystwith, Aberglasslyn, etc.

If we take it as Ib-er-dun, then *ebur* or *aber* is only abbreviated, and the Ib is considered as a general topographic denomination,¹⁶⁶ like Ib-ern in Irish, which means the stronghold of the Gael. Ib-arra, the strong home residence, assimilating to the Scotch Ard-ib-er, Ard-gael (Argyle, Attacotti), high seat of the Gael; in the sons of Ivor, we have the sons of Gael. The height of Ireland is Ard-Eri, and in Ard-mag, Innis-Alga, we have the Holy Island; one lofty peak in the wild and rugged district, forming the boundary between the King's and the Queen's Counties, bears this proud title.

¹⁶⁶ Here the Latin *ib-i*, there, the very spot.

Our Swiss Eburodunum appears to have been destroyed by fire, from the quantity of corn reduced into a mass of coal found among its ruins. This may have happened in A.D. 363, at a renewed irruption of the Alemanni, when Rauracorum, Vindonissa, and many other great places, which were yet in some degree inhabited, were plundered by them and laid in ruins, because the Roman troops in Gaul were no longer strong enough to drive back the furious assault of the advancing Alemanni.

It is stated, that St. Prothasius,¹⁶⁷ a bishop of Aventicum, A.D. 501 — 530, had already begun to erect some houses of wood, and also a church, near the castle (the Losodun), probably with the intention of rendering the Episcopal See of the Aventici in future more secure. He died during the progress of the work, A.D. 530, and was buried on the spot where stands the church, or rather chapel of St. Prez (Prex), at the small town of that name (St. Prothasii Oppidum), which is situated on a point of land near the Lake of Geneva, at the mouth of the river Boiron.

The successor of St. Prothasius was St. Chilmegisile, A.D. 531. In A.D. 885, the church of St. Prez was given to the bishoprick of Lausanne, by Reginald, lord of that part of the country, forming, in olden times, the high road between Lausonium and Equestris. In the deed of the donation, no mention is, however, made of the tomb of St. Prothasius. With regard to the wooden buildings erected by St. Prothasius, we may reflect on the rustic

¹⁶⁷ On some coins, struck at Milan, by the Emperor Henry VII. (1308 — 1313) we observe the representation of two Saints, St. Gervasius and St. Protasius: the latter passes for a hermit of Venetia. And I have also read, somewhere, that the relics of the bodies of these two saints are in the church of St. Stephen's, at old Breysach (Mons Brisacus). These relics were transported hither by the Emperor Frederick I. (1152 — 1190).

architecture of wood, which, in days of old, was usual, of course not merely in Switzerland; it was general, even throughout Greece. The temple of Poseidon Hippius, at Mantinea, was of wood (Paus. viii. 10, 2). Oak columns were in the Heraeum (v. 16). At Dodona, the image had its place in a hollow tree. The temples of the Etruscans were, probably, also of wood.

Potter, in his Grecian antiquities (speaking of the buildings of Athens), says, the Pelasgi taught the Greeks the art of building houses of lime and stone. In the time of Cræsus, the houses of Sardis were built of clay and straw.

The royal palace of Zengis was of wood; and so the house of Fingal, where the heroes prepared their own repast, and sat around the light of the burning oak,¹⁶⁸ the wind "lifted their locks, and whistled through their open halls." The first bridge in Rome (Pons Sublicius) was of wood. Strabo (IV. i., p. 56) tells us, that the Gauls inhabited large houses built of planks and clay, and finished in a rising roof, upon which they heaped a quantity of thatch. The Irish had splendid buildings; but these structures were of timber, and so it was among other Keltic tribes.

An interesting description of an old Irish timber house, discovered about sixteen feet below the original surface of a bog, in the county of Donegal, is given in Fraser's Magazine, January, 1854. It is observed, that the tool marks on the wood, indicate that it was wrought with the rudest implements, and the labour bestowed upon it must have been immense. Even as late as the thirteenth century, distinguished citizens lived in wooden houses, at the town of Schaffhausen.

However, it by no means follows, that houses were al-

¹⁶⁸ So it was in the palace of Ulysses (Odys. xviii. 305).

ways erected of this material in those days; for where wood was scarce, and stone abundant, they were made of stone.

When St. Patrick went up to the place which is called Foirrgea, to divide some territory among the sons of Awley, he built there a quadrangular church of clay,¹⁶⁹ because wood was not at hand. In England, before Alfred's time (who died A.D. 901), few royal palaces, or houses for divine worship, were built of any other material than wood. I believe there is still one in existence in Essex — Greensted church, near Chipping Ongar.

When St. Patrick (who died A.D. 492), who is said to have introduced the Latin alphabet, erected the church of Saul, in the county of Down; it was called Sigibol Phadruig, or Patrick's Barn, a name at once conveying to us its shape and materials. The old chapel of Monenna, at Kilslive, in the county of Armagh,¹⁷⁰ A.D. 630, was made of smoothed timber, according to the Irish fashion.

At Ravenna, there was also the church of St. Andrew, built in the fifth or sixth century, which had pillars made of the walnut-tree, like those of a saloon in the Episcopal palace. And there are still many very ancient wooden churches in Norway.

The erection of the first stone castle, is recorded by the Irish annalists as an extraordinary thing (it was called the Beautiful House) even as late as the year 1161. It was the castle of Tuam, erected by Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught; the ruins are still to be seen. I do not know

¹⁶⁹ *Teagh-uire*, in Irish, means a house of clay.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. The Book of Armagh, fol. 14, a MS., written between the years 660—680.

A chair of literature was founded at Armagh, in the twelfth century, by the brave King Roderick. In A.D. 444, St. Patrick fixed his See at Armagh.

whether this castle is one of the five ancient castles in the county of Antrim, considered as the first stone and lime buildings in Ireland. Such constructions, however, as the well-known round towers of a remote period of Ireland's halcyon days may be exceptions to this remark. They might have originally served for different purposes, as well as, at a later period, for places of worship,¹⁷¹ and also for nocturnal observation of the celestial bodies, to watch the bright-eyed "Ull-Frin,"¹⁷² the guiding star of Ireland,

„Der Irländer folgt des Glückes Stern,"¹⁷³

as well as places of defence, containing a small garrison, to watch, and to give information of approaching danger to the surrounding countries, and also to communicate in a telegraphic manner, either by fires, or otherwise, with other similar towers, placed in sight in different directions, such as I have observed of great size and strength, in the canton of the Valais, as having served for similar purposes. It is even at present the custom of the canton of Berne to communicate, in dangerous times, from the heights, in the night by fire, and in the day by smoke. Considering these towers also as places of worship, it may here be observed, that there is scarcely a country in the world, where some traces of the adoration of fire are not to be found. Fires were preserved in most of the principal temples, both Greek and barbarian. The sacred fire was called by the Irish "Ur," and also "Adur" (Urian). A title given by the Egyptians to the sun was Orus (Aurora). Fires were lighted in Ireland on the summits of hills, in honour of the sun, and many hills still retain the name of

¹⁷¹ At Aix-la-Chapelle there still exists an old tower, which bears the name of Granus Tower (Grian, in Irish, the sun).

¹⁷² I believe "Ull" means lovely (qy. Ulles-water).

¹⁷³ Schiller, Wallenstein's Lager.

"Conc-Greine," i.e., hills of the sun; on many are yet seen ruins of Druidical altars.¹⁷⁴

In Switzerland, I have particularly inspected that fine specimen of a round tower, upon the rock near Martigny, and which possesses the singular feature of the original entrance being towards the middle of the tower, which is also not uncommon in the Irish round towers,¹⁷⁵ and which added to the security of the inmates.

One who had been accustomed to roam about many of those round towers in Ireland in his boyhood, as well as having seen them in his later years, told me that some of them have their own wells inside, and in others he observed recesses cut into the thick walls to serve probably as sleeping places;¹⁷⁶ and if you ask any of the country people about such a round tower, they, in general, answer you, it is the castle—arguments in favour of the theory that these round towers were built for defensive purposes. With regard to the circumstance, that some of the round towers in Ireland exhibit Christian symbols sculptured upon them, we may as well allude to those upright stones, sometimes so finely sculptured spread over great part of Ireland, which also have representations of Christian symbols. Now, I believe, that many of these are the remaining "Menhirs" of the Druids, which (Men-hir, stone long) were afterwards used by early Christians for that

¹⁷⁴ Cæsar ascribes to the Germans three principal Deities they worshipped, namely, the sun, the moon, and fire.

¹⁷⁵ The very fine round tower at Devenish Island, about two and a half miles from Enniskillen; which is exactly circular, 69 feet high to the conical converging at the top (which is 15 feet more), and 48 feet in circumference, has the door elevated 9 feet above the ground.

¹⁷⁶ There is also a sort of chamber within the concentric walls of the round tower (Burgh of Mousa) in Shetland. Hibbert, *Descript. of Shetland*, plate 6, fig. 8.

sacred purpose, where their situation was convenient. Some of them have on the top fixed a cross formed of four equal lengths.

Several other similar round towers may be seen, on elevations more or less distant up the Rhone, towards Sion, the Keltic Sit-dun, Sittin, Sead-im, i.e., high seat. Sithve in Irish, means an establishment, a city—reminds one also of the British Segodum, Seton. Sion (the German, Sitten), was the Roman Sedunum, and the capital of the Keltic Seduni. In Sithblein; we have the name of one of the round towers in Ireland, and Sithdrum was the ancient name of the town of Cashel (Caisiol, implies also a house built of lime and stone), forming, with three other towns, an episcopal See; and as the word “Sith” expresses places established by the Druids for devotion, and is pronounced See, hence from that, perhaps, the English See (the Diocess, Diœcesis) of a bishop may have been derived. In Sitomagus, we have the town of Dunwich. By the way, I may yet observe, that in the country of the Hauts Valaisians is a glen, or small valley, called Val d’Erin, and a fine conspicuous snow-peak has the name of Dent d’Erin.

With regard to the name of the town of Sion, and the people Seduni,¹⁷⁷ it is well known, that by the name of such and such a city, the ancient as well as the modern Swiss (as likewise other people) did not only comprehend habitations of men enclosed by walls, but also all persons living in the environs, under the laws and protection of the city, as the Bernese, the Genevese, the Zürcher, Basler, etc.

Of Sion, we have Tremissi aurei, from the fifth and sixth century, of the time of the Burgundians, who, as early as A.D. 411, had already made an incursion into the Valais,

¹⁷⁷ Pliny iii. 20.

where they martyred Florentine of Sion. These Tremissi are inscribed SIDVNIS. One in the British Museum has SIDVNENSIVM CIVITATIS, and MVNVLFVS MONETARIVS.¹⁷⁸ Sion is situated in the widest part of the Valais, on the Rhodan, where a strangely formed rock rises, on which were pinnaced three castles, mostly in ruins, named Valeria, Turbilon, and Majorica. The old walls, towers, and gates, bear evident token of their past importance. Sion became a Roman fortified boundary in that part of Helvetia, after Cæsar had made himself master of the pass over the Great St. Bernard, and had subdued the primitive inhabitants, the Seduni, Veragri, and Nantuatæ. But the incessant attacks of those wild mountaineers had challenged again the superior arms of the Romans. Augustus, B.C. 16, sent his step-son, Nero Claudius Drusus, who successfully forced the passes of St. Gothard and the Brenner.

Apollonius of Rhodes (B.C. 200), seems to have had notice of that part of the country : he says that the Rhodan issues from one of the most hidden corners of the earth, precipitating its waves into boisterous lakes, in the midst of sad, melancholy Cantons, inhabited by the Kelts. The Massilians had explored the course of the Rhone, as far as its junction with the Saone (Herodotus) ; and, still guided by the Rhone, they discovered this melancholy abode of the Kelts, on the banks of a great lake, which they called the Lake of the Wilderness. Some of the lofty mountains they compared to the pillars of the sun (*solis columnæ*). It may be observed, that at Massilia, three different languages were spoken — the Greek, the Gallic, and the Latin ; not unlike, as now at Brussels, where they speak Flemish, French, and Walloon.

The Romans never came up as far as Brieg (*bricca*,

¹⁷⁸ Formerly in the Pfister Collection.

Keltic; a wild country, Brich-Alpe) into the Valais. The wall they had built across, in order to shut out unsubdued barbarians, stood six miles below Brieg, and Sion was their last fortress.

In Roman history, the Helvetians are noticed for the first time, little more than a century before our era.

Sion is an old bishoprick, of the period of the introduction of Christianity into that part of the country. It was then under the bishop of Vienne (VRBS. VIENNA. CAPVT. GALIE. on her coins); and, at a later period, it was under the authority and supremacy of the Archbishop of Lyons, which extended over all the churches of the vast countries between the Alps and the Rhine; and hence, again, the well known inscription, PRIMA. SEDES. GALLIARVM. on the episcopal coins of Lyons. The Archbishop of Lyons is still styled "primas primum."

The earliest bishop who resided at Sion, seems to have transferred his residence from Martigny, in A.D. 600; perhaps, as early as in 580, as I have observed before. At the synod of Aquileja, in A.D. 381; and at another, held in Milan, in 390, appears the signature of a Theodorus Episcopus Octoduriensis (Martigny). In A.D. 802, Charlemagne gave to St. Theodule, Bishop of Sion, the sovereignty of the Valais. At a later period, the Bishop of Sion received the title of Prince of the Empire, Bishop of Sion, and Count and Prefect of the Valais. However, by degrees, the bishop lost the greater part of his consequence; his power was much restricted, and his succession was determined by public election. The land is divided by the population into the Upper and Lower Valais. The Upper, a few miles above Sion, is German: "quæ ad Peninum ferunt, obsepta gentibus semigermanis fuissent. Veragri incolæ jugi ejus" (Livy, xxi. 38); and became a gift of the Burgundian king, Rudolph II., towards the tenth century, to the Bishop

of Sion, as *tenant par-avail*. The arms of the Canton count seven stars, in an oblong divided field of red and silver, alluding to the seven tithe offices in the Upper Valais, namely, five German, Gombs, Brieg, Visp, Raron, and Leuk; and the two (called by the Germans, Welsh) Siders and Sion. The Lower Valais (including Siders and Sion), Martigny; and St. Maurice is Welsh. It was held by the Counts of Savoy as an imperial fief, the donation of Henry IV. (1056—1106). In 1475, the Germans from the Upper Valais, obliged the Count of Savoy to evacuate the country. From that period, the mint of Sion revived under some of their princely and warlike bishops, of which, one of the most renowned was Matthew Schiner. His abilities as a politician were only equalled by his courage as a soldier, of which honourable mention was made at the sanguinary conflict of Marignan.

Now, the immense round tower at Martigny (Forum Claudii Valensium Octodurensium, third century), according to my humble judgment, really appears as a work of that Keltic tribe, the Veragri, the present Bas Valaisians. Strabo (iv. 5) says that these mountaineers of Keltic origin, were already provided with fortified castles, before the Roman invasion.¹⁷⁸ Here I am reminded of the well chosen Keltic fort of Ardoch, in Scotland, county of Stirling, which was also occupied by the Romans in the third year of Agricola. Hence, it appeared to me, when on the spot, at Martigny, that the Roman Castrum, of which I observed several fine remains of arches, built of

¹⁷⁸ An interesting account of remains of Keltic fortifications in the territory of the "Ubii," about Cologne, etc., has been lately given by M. von Waldbrühl, in the Cologne newspaper, 21st March, 1857. The British Museum possesses a Solidus, in gold, of Theodebertus, king of Austrasia, A.D. 534—538. It shows, on the reverse, the letters COL. V., which I read "Colonia Ubiorum."

tufo, was joined by Augustus to that round tower, to secure the road over the Pennine Pass (the Great St. Bernard¹⁷⁹). Cæsar mentions the place as "*Vicus Veragrorum positus in valle, non magna adjecta planitie, altissimis montibus undique, contentus* (de B. G., lib. iii. 1).

In the whole circuit of the former Octodurum, one meets many and considerable ruins of old walls and buildings, capitals of columns, and other fragments of fine workmanship. Coins of all sizes and metals; Roman Imperial, from Julius Cæsar to Honorius, as well as Consular, Greek, and Punic are found there.¹⁸⁰

There exists still the greater part of the outer wall of a Roman amphitheatre, of which the area was sown with corn when I was there, and by a successive vegetation raised far above its original level. I obtained, on the spot, several Roman coins, from some labourers; one was a large brass of Faustina Junior. The great round tower at Martigny reminds me of the tower at the town of Cork, which surely was not built as a belfry for the ancient little church of Finbar (founded in the sixth century) but that the church was annexed to the tower. Another one of these granite-built round towers we have in the vale of Glendalough, its height is 110 feet, and its circumference 51! Now, will any body make me believe that this mighty structure was also built for a bell tower of one of those little early Christian churches of the sixth and seventh centuries? Besides, the masonry of most of these round towers is greatly superior to that of the little church annexed to it. The stones of the towers are large, regular, and well dressed, and those of the churches are the contrary. I may yet allude to the well-known fact, that the

¹⁷⁹ The Little St. Bernard, Mons Graius, the Graian Alps, from the Keltic "*grai*g," a rock.

¹⁸⁰ Haller, *die Helvetier unter den Römern*, ii. p. 530.

early Christians built their churches, if not generally, at least very often, on places occupied before as places of worship by the Gentiles.

I refer those who propose to convert the mighty round towers of Ireland into belfries, to M. Victor Hugo, for a curious description of an ancient bell-tower (*Le Rhin*). He says, "*Le brave architecte a pris un bonnet carré de prêtre ou d'avocat. Sur ce bonnet carré il a échafaudé un saladier renversé; sur le fond de ce saladier devenu plate-forme, il a posé un sucrier; sur le sucrier une bouteille; sur la bouteille un soleil emmanché dans le goulot par le rayon inférieur vertical; et enfin, sur le soleil, un coq embroché dans le rayon vertical supérieur.*" Of the round martello towers, an Irishman said, that they were built for the purpose of puzzling posterity.

Early Christian churches have bell-gables, such as I have seen in the Pyrenees. However, it is known that bell-towers in Europe were already built in the ninth century. The ringing of church bells (being consecrated objects) kept off the Devil and witches in those days of superstition when old women gave suck to young devils.

One of the bells¹⁸¹ of the cathedral of Geneva has inscribed "*VOX MEA CVNCTORVM FIT TERROR DÆMONIORVM,*" date 1407. Plutarch observes, that there was a belief that the sound of the *Sistrum* frightened away *Typhon*, and warded off the evil principle.¹⁸² In the in-

¹⁸¹ To the English "Bell," I may compare the German "Schelle"; and to the Irish "Chloca" (plu. *Chlocaibh*) again the German "Glocke."

¹⁸² Lord Lindsay, on *Christian Churches*, vol. ii. 10, observes, the monsters that support the pillars of the porch on Lombard churches, stand there as talismans to frighten away evil spirits. The architect of the Cathedral of Berne, had the satisfaction to see it finished during his lifetime. Now, in order to frighten away malignant criticism (which had arisen), he had sculptured in bas-relief, on the north side of the building, these words, "*mach's nach.*" They still remain as sharp as ever.

terior of Switzerland (the Waldstetten), the churches had no bells; the parishioners were summoned by the sound of the wooden horn of the Alps, until towards the thirteenth century. Mahomet adopted the human voice for summoning Moslems to prayers.

The castrum at Martigny has been restored and occupied again and again by Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, until it was occupied by the house of Savoy. I may here also mention, that in the beginning of the tenth century, bands, indifferently called Saracens, Arabs, or Hungarians, invaded some parts of Switzerland, and committed dreadful ravages. During the predatory incursions of the Saracens, who occupied, from A.D. 929 to 978, most passes over the Alps into Italy, they built or restored castles, and many names in the country, such as Maurmont, Mauro-forte, and the Mur des Sarasins, near Avenches (A.D. 926—927), still testify of these eastern visitors.¹⁸³ The Tour de Gorge, on the neighbouring hill of Cully, is attributed to that period. The student of history will remember the manner in which the Saracens fortified themselves in the Roman amphitheatre, at Nismes, against Charles Martel.

For the etymology of the name of the Veragri, we may refer to the Irish *Fear*, warrior, the Caledonian *Vergobretus* (Fear-go-breath), the chief of the expedition, *Vercingetorix*, etc. In lower Bretagne, *Ver*, great; *Vergobretus*, the highest judge.

These Veragri venerated Hercules in their town of Oc-to-dur (Octodurum Veragrorum, Octodurus, Civitas Valensium). When Cæsar was in Gallia (B.C. 57—56), he sent Servius Galba with the twelfth legion and some cavalry to the Nantuates, Veragri, and Seduni, under the

¹⁸³ Dr. Ferdinand Keller, *Der Einfall der Sarazenen in die Schweiz*, Zurich, 1855.

pretext of opening and facilitating the pass over the Great St. Bernard to the merchants who were accustomed to travel at great risk, and on payment of great tolls.

Galba, successful in different engagements against those mountaineers, who fought desperately for their liberty, "*Devota morti pectora libera*" (Horat. Od. iv. 14, v. 18), had determined to make his winter quarters in Octodurum, backed by the high road over the Great St. Bernard (Summun¹⁸⁴ Penninum), towards Ivrea and Milan. He had sent two cohorts into the country of the Nantuates, intending to winter with the remaining cohorts at Octodurus,¹⁸⁵ which town is situated on the left bank of the Rhone, near the great bend which that river makes after descending the longitudinal valley between the Pennine Alps (Vallis Pennina, Valesia). It has no great extent of level ground near it, and is confined on all sides by lofty mountains.

Cæsar says, that the town of Octodurus was divided into two parts by a river (Drance, Dur-ance); but he does not mention the river's name, a branch of which rises at the foot of the Great St. Bernard, and joins the left bank of the Rhone at Martigny. The lower part of this valley, between Octodurus and the head of Lacus Lemanus, into which the Rhone flows, was occupied by the Nantuates, with Agaunum (Tarnais, St. Maurice), their principal town, and other places, such as Bactiacum (Bex), Ala (Aigle) and Hibernum (Yvorne). The following important in-

¹⁸⁴ Summanus was a Deity, to whom nocturnal lightning was attributed, and Augustinus de Civit. Dei, iv. 23, says, that the Etruscans honoured him more than Jupiter. Near Aguvium (Eugubium, Gubbio), was a famous temple, dedicated to Jupiter Penninus. Lanzi, iii. p. 638.

¹⁸⁵ "Constituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus collocare; ipse cum reliquis ejus legionis (Duodecimæ) cohortibus in vico Veragorum, qui appellatur Octodurus, hiemare" (Cæs. de Bell. Gall., lib. iii. cap. 1).

scription had been found at Agaunum, erected by the Nantuates, to the Emperor Augustus, B.C. 23.

IMPER. CAESARI.
DIVI F. AVGVSTO.
COS. XI. TRIBVN. POTES.
PONTIFICI. MAXIMO.
NANTVATES. PATRONO.

By the word Nantuates, was understood a people who live in an aqueous, marshy country. Nant is a Keltic word for a brook in a wood: the word exists yet in the patois of Savoy. We find the Nant d'Arpenas, a cascade near St. Maurice, also, Nant-Orli. About Chamounix, are numbers of brooks of the name of Nant; as Nant de la Griez, Nant de Borgeat, Nant de Taverau, and Born-Nant. The diminutive of Nant is Nántyn. In the Canton Neuchâtel, we have yet the Val de Nant. In Wales, again, we have the beautiful vale of Nant-Gwynant (the vale of the waters), Nant-Beris, Nant-Colwin, Nant-Frangon, Nant-Conwy, Nant-y-Flint, Nant-y-Bela, Pen-nant-melengell, and Pen-nant-Llan-vehangel.¹⁸⁶

There are, also, the French towns of Nantuacum (Nantue), Nantuates (Nanteuil), Nannetes (Nantes), etc.

Galba fortified himself with a ditch and rampart, and thought he was safe. However, the united Seduni and Veragri, anxious for the safety of their sons, or friends, who were in the Roman camp as hostages, suddenly attacked Galba before his defences were complete, and all his supplies brought in. The Romans obstinately defended themselves in a fight of six hours; when, seeing that they could not longer keep the enemy out, they set fire to the town, and made a successful sortie. After this escape, Galba

¹⁸⁶ More such native Welsh rabbits, or rare bits, we have in Llanfairmathafarneithaf, Llangristiolus, etc.; Sesquipedalian words which rival long German names.

prudently withdrew his troops; and, marching through the country of the Nantuates, reached the land of the Allobroges (Savoy and Dauphiné), well known for their fidelity to the Romans, where he wintered. In the following spring, Galba completed their subjection. They, retained, however, the privilege of being governed by their own magistrates, and enjoyed, also, the advantages of Roman citizenship. "Sunt Latio donati incolæ Octodurenenses" (Pliny iii., c. 20). It seems the Valesians retained their warlike disposition: few conquests were more dearly purchased by the French in 1798 and 1799, than those of the Valais.

The more we go on gathering together words of Keltic origin, which subsist in the different dialects, or idioms in the names of provinces, mountains, rivers, towns, and boroughs, the more we are convinced, that most habitations, towns, etc., were built or established by the Helvetians, and not by Romans.

In Zürich, we have the Dur-i-ac, Turiacum, Turicum which alludes to its situation (like Aventicum) on the lake, as well as on the river.

With regard to the name of the great Roman Vitodurum, Vitudurum, the town of Winterthur, situated, as well as Solothurn, in Maxima Sequanorum; we have the Keltic Vito-dur, which according to some signifies spring water. For my part, I beg to suggest the still preserved name of the small river on which that town is situated, namely, the Eulach, i. e., the Owl-brook, or water.

Now, in Gaelic, we have *Fit-he-ach*, the raven,¹⁸⁷ Raven's-

¹⁸⁷ In Scotland, plain of Murray, a sort of hooded crow, is called *feannag*; and *lochlanach*, in Gaelic, is a sort of wild goose. It appears, that to a Dane, a nickname was given, calling him *lochlanach*.

brook? Of course, this can also be considered as *Fit-he-dur*, the Romans transforming the *f* into *v*, as we have it in *Fetluna* and *Felatri*, in Etruria, etc. Hence, this would give us in *Fit-he-ach*, or *Fit-he-dur*, the name of Vitodur, which signifies the town on the raven's brook. Strabo (lib. iv., c. 6, p. 198) alludes to a lake in the Keltic Alps, joining the ocean, which was called the "Lake of the Two Ravens." A rivulet, near Richterswiel, bears the name of *Kräh-bach*, i. e., crow's-brook; another is called *Wolf-bach*.¹⁸⁸ We have, also, a *Bärenbach*, in Nassau; at *Hamburgh*, the *Alster*; and at *Leipzig*, the *Elster*, which signifies the magpie. In England, we have the *Ravens-bourne*, which runs into *Deptford Creek*.

Besides, many other rivers have the name of animals; such as *Biber* (beaver) -*ach*, *Ur-ach*, *Ram-ach*, etc.; and, hence, castles, villages, and towns, situated on them, bear often the same name. The *Tigris* is now called *Chazir*, i. e., wild boar; the *Rumelus*, a mountain torrent, is termed by the Kurds, *Chazir-zu*, wild-boar water.

The Roman town of *Vindonissa* (*Windisch* in the Canton of *Argau*), appears to me the Keltic *Fin-dun-uish*, that signifies the town, the fort, on the white, the light-coloured water, or stream. We have only to instance the name of the capital of Ireland. What does its etymology signify but its situation, namely on the black or dark water "*Dubh-linn*?"¹⁸⁹ There is also the *Dhu-lough*, the black lake, near *Fairhead*. In *Wales*, we have a *Rhos-Vynach*, and a *Fynnon-Vair* (well of the lady). Many rivers in

¹⁸⁸ "Die Ortsnamen des Kantons Zürich," by Dr. Heinrich Meyer. Zürich, 1849. Nos. 661 and 704.

¹⁸⁹ The Welch have it in *Du-lyn*. I should not wonder if the name of *Dover* has the same meaning in *Devonia* and *Dubris*, namely, "*Dubh-avon*," or "*Dubh-uise*."

Switzerland are distinguished and named by their colour, either black, grey, or white.

In Uisc, Uisg, Ushg (diminut. Uisgean), we have another of the many names for water in Keltic, as observed already by the names of Vevey and Wiesbaden, as well as in the river Wisper (Nassau), and the little port of Lausanne, Uchy.¹⁹⁰ Wyske is a rivulet in Yorkshire; and a large stream in Monmouthshire, goes also under the name of Wysk. Wyske was the ancient name of the river Wise, in Baden, so beautifully sung of by the poet Hebel.

Then we have the foaming torrent of the Wisp, in the valley of the Fée, in the Alps. Comar-tri-n-üisge, is the denomination of the three waters, the rivers Suir, Nore, and Barrow, near Waterford. With regard to the Keltic word Fin, it stands for white, or light-coloured; we have only to compare the Fin-gals¹⁹¹ (Irish tribes, Fenic¹⁹²) to the Dubh-gals (of Scotland), namely, the fair and the dark Gaels.¹⁹³ Some Highlanders call themselves Na-fian; and between places of the names of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, we have the river Fin. The Teutonic "Doove" is for dark, or heavy-coloured, and the Keltic is Dubh,¹⁹⁴ Duv, Dev; in Wales, and in the Highlands of Scotland, it is Ddu and Dhu. These cognate words have given the name of Deil, Tiel,¹⁹⁵ Teufel. We may here as well refer again to the

¹⁹⁰ In the Pas de Calais, the small town of Aucht was the Keltic Alcinicum.

¹⁹¹ Fin M'Caul, Fin-mac-gaul, Fingal. In the East, the "mac" appears in "ben," Ali-ben-yusuf, Ali, son of Joseph.

¹⁹² The Irish dialect, "Bearla-Feni."

¹⁹³ In Ireland now-a-days, a favourite (boy of the family) is called the White-headed. Black-a-vised expresses a dark featured person.

¹⁹⁴ Dabrona, black water (Ireland).

¹⁹⁵ "Methocht, the Devil's as black as pik" (William Dunbar, The Swearers and the Devil).

We may yet mention the Davos Lake (black lake) in the Alpine region.

name of Dublin (Dubhlin), because we read on its coins of the tenth century, "Difli" (time of King Anlaf). Dublin was partly destroyed by the Danes, in A.D. 944.

In the oldest documents of the Convent de St. Gall, occur many names of Irish monks, such as Dubwin, Dubslan, Dubduin. The name of Fin we often observed in the list of early Irish kings;¹⁹⁶ and the patron saint of the cathedral of Cork is Fin-bar, i.e., white headed (his real name was Lachan, about A.D. 630). We have also an Irish monk of the name of Findan, who regulated the convent of Rhinau, in Switzerland. The Irish called the Norsemen (the Danes) white strangers; this reminds one of the Finländers.

In the name of the Swiss town of Solothurn, Soleure, the Roman Solodurum (Solodurense, Castrum, Vicus Solodori, Solodurus Pagus), which is situated on the river Aar (Arula), we have the Keltic Sol-dur,¹⁹⁷ or Solidur, by which is understood the Aqua-solis, corresponding again with the French towns of Sol-acum (Sonnai) and Soli-acum (Souilhac); it expresses likewise a similar meaning in the name of Bellach (Bellay), a village near Solothurn, and known by the Romans as Bellæ aquæ, A.D. 219.

We have a Beleniacum in the south of France (Lot). Other varieties are in the Keltic Bel-ain-uisg, Polliniac, Polligny (Apollini aquæ). There is a Sanodurum on the Rhine, a Solona (Citta del Sole) in the Romagna. In the environs of Atri is the river Salinello, the ancient Helvius.

¹⁹⁶ Finchad, Fiatach-Fin, Olil-Fin, Aengus-Finn, Aid-Fin, Fiach-Finnschothach, etc.

¹⁹⁷ Plato has observed, that the names of fire and water (ῥῑδωρ), as of many other words, came from the Barbarians, "multa nomina Graecos a Barbaris habuisse" (Plato in Cratylo. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i.).

The Irish have also the Sol in Hiol and Hiaul. In Castile, is the town of Solis. Soillse corresponds with the Gaelic Săóellsh'-sha, which means light of the sun.

Tremisses aurei of the sixth century, struck at the town of Sonnai, are inscribed SOLONACO, and ERNOALDVS MO (Monetarius); others have SOLNACO.¹⁹⁸

On Bracteate coins of Solothurn, of the thirteenth century, the head of St. Ursus is represented as patron saint. In an old Italian book, the name of which has slipped my memory, I found that St. Ursus was an officer in the Theban legion, and that he was martyred before the Temple of the Sun, at Solothurn (fu martirizzato innanzi al tempio o torre — del sole a Soleure).

At Bellay, near Solothurn, many antiquities have been found. And, in the summer of 1854, in the same neighbourhood (at Granichen, Granus, god of the sun), extensive and solid mosaic floors have been dug out, together with some Roman utensils, and bricks bearing the cipher of the 21st legion. To the Aquæ Bellæ, near Solothurn, we may compare inscriptions which occur at Autun, such as Fonti Beleno, whence, it appears, that this god had a temple over a warm medicinal spring, which was consecrated to him as the giver, or restorer of health. We have also the warm bath of Belluno (Apollo Belenus), in the district of Treviso (Apollo was believed by the Celts to heal diseases).

Near Solothurn is also a forest, called Attisholz (i.e., Attiswood, Attis, Atys); Belenus—Adad, means, in old Persian, the sun, and the Egyptians had Sal-Atis.

M. Bochat (ii. p. 369) gives quotations from Arnobius and Macrobius, to shew that under the name of Attis, the sun was also worshipped, "Attidem cum nominamus, Solem

¹⁹⁸ Revue Numismatique, 1847, pl. v. fig. 8.

significamus;" and again, "Sol nominibus Attinis sive Attidis colitur" (Saturn. lib.i. cap.21).

There is likewise an elevation near Solothurn called *Hermes Bühel*.¹⁹⁹

Es zog die alte Kunde;
Tief liegt in jenem Walde
In grüner Eichen Kunde
Ein Steinbild, hehr und alt.

I may, perhaps, mention the formerly large town of Solimariaca (Solicia, Solencensis Pagus), near the village of Soulosse, situated on the borders of the Departments de la Meurth and des Vosges. The Keltic coins of this place represent on one side a female bust, the tutelar genius, Solima, Solimara, of the town; and on the reverse, a galloping horse; they are inscribed SOLIMA.²⁰⁰

Some of the bas-reliefs found at the old Solimariaca, which are said to have formed the anterior part of Keltic tombs, have been destroyed, and the reason is given in the following excusable manner:—"Il y a quelques années que des femmes du village de Soulosse, ayant mis au monde des enfans fort laids, en cherchèrent la cause dans les regards qu'elles avaient jetés durant leur grossesse sur ces bas-reliefs. Leurs époux s'en émurent, et d'après l'autorisation du magistrat, on envoya sur les lieux un maçon qui, a coups de marteau, détruisit entièrement les figures des personnages."

With regard to Roman inscriptions, bearing also the name of Salodurum, we have only to reflect, that in the East, the most common name for the sun was San, and Son, Zan, Zon. The Babylonian name was Saon, and

¹⁹⁹ Reminds one of Odyssey x. 471.

²⁰⁰ Beaulieu, Archeologie de la Lorraine, vol.i. p.174—177, Paris, 1840.

Samas²⁰¹ (Sama, Punic, the heavens). In Ireland, the name of the sun occurs also as "Samb" (Sambra, summer). By the Phœnicians, it was Zaunam, under which name they worshipped Adonis, or the sun, Bel-ador, Ador-san, Sol, the Lord of Light. Bel, or Belin, here considered as Lord, may be found in the names of the British Kings, Cuno-beline and Cassi-velan, as well as in the name of several Assyrian Kings, like Belitaras, Bel-Kat-irassou (the Lord has strengthened my hand); or, Irib-akhi-Bel (the Lord has multiplied the brothers).

The Philistines fastened the body of Saul to the wall of Beth-san, the house or temple of the sun (in Gaelic, Tuir Beil, Tower of Baal). We have also the name of San-sannah, as a city in Canaan (Joshua xv. 31). The fine waters at Ænon, where John was baptised, were called Salem. The same name occurs as a town in Palestine, which was rendered Sonam by Eusebius.

The Kelts feared and worshipped the physical powers of nature. Thus the ideas of God and Religion sprang from physical objects. In Caledonia and Ireland, as well as by other branches of the great Keltic nation, that universal god of the heathen world, the Sun, was worshipped, even as late as the sixth century. "The sun," says the apostle of Ireland, Saint Patrick, "which we behold, is ordained by the will of God to rise daily for us, but never shall it rule, nor shall its splendour endure, but all those who adore it shall, in misery and wretchedness, descend into punishment" (Confess. p. 22).

With this idolatry, the early Irish divines had to struggle in Switzerland, when converting the Helvetii to Christianity, and their forests into fertile lands. For these par-

²⁰¹ Samdan, the Assyrian Hercules (Sam-u-el).

ticular merits, are mentioned St. Columban and St. Gallus, the latter of whom died A.D. 640, at Arbon, in Thurgau (Arbona, Arbor-Felix), at the age of ninety-five. It is said that he was the son of Ketternach, a king of Scotland. Both these distinguished men came to Switzerland, or were already at Zürich, in A.D. 610. The Convent of St. Gall was founded in A.D. 614.

Of those Irish monks, it is stated, that they seldom travelled alone in Switzerland; that they were provided with long staves, leather wallets and bottles (flasconnes), and made use of wax tablets (pugillares Scotorum) for writing.

Christianity had already spread out in Gallia, since Constantine the Great (308—337); and it is pretty nearly ascertained, that in Helvetia, also, a good many disciples and preachers of the Gospel, as likewise different communities existed, whose administrators were called *Episcopi*. It may be mentioned, that at Aventicum alone, there had been already twenty-two *Episcopi* before St. Marius. From this number of bishops, we may conclude that they had begun to bear this dignity under the Roman Emperors, at least, since Constantine the Great. They lie all buried under the ruins of Aventicum.²⁰²

At the synod of Aquileia, in A.D. 381, there was the signature of Theodorus *Episcopus Octodurensis* (Martigny), as stated before.

The Christians succeeding the Druidic hierarchy, conformed rather too readily to the prejudices of their converts, and consecrated the circuit of the grove anew to religion, and called it simply "Doir," the oak. Thus Columban founded, towards the end of the sixth century, two cele-

²⁰² Müller, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, i. p. 149.

brated monasteries; one in the oaken grove, in the town of Derry; the other at Doir-magh (the field of oaks), in the Kings County. There are many others, as Doire-more, Dore-arda, etc. Some were named Kil-doire, Kil-derry, from being constructed in groves of oak. Bishop Unwan, of Bremen, transformed in his diocese, twelve of those *silvæ sacræ* into churches.²⁰³

The Romans supposed that Jupiter was worshipped by the Kelts, under the symbol of an oak. "*Jovem Keltæ colunt; Jovis autem apud eos simulacrum alta quereus est.*"²⁰⁴

The Highlanders of Scotland, however, go to the *clachans*, meaning the stone circle, when they are going to the church or kirk.

It may be observed, that it was from national assemblies, *Ecclesia*, *Kyriace*, that the *Christia Ecclesia* (*Eglise*, *Chiesa*, *Kirk*, *Church*), etc., took its name. In Hebrew, *kiriah* means, that which is surrounded by a wall. I noticed in the Grissons, in the word *baselga* (*Basilica*), an exception. More towards the interior of Switzerland, in the *Waldstetten*, there were, previous to the twelfth century, very few churches or chapels, and those were only visited ten or twelve times during the course of the year.

The Burgundian king, Sigismundus, had founded, in A.D. 515, at Agaunum, the famous monastery of St. Maurice,²⁰⁵ upon the ruins of a temple of Isis. It appears that the most ancient name of Agaunum, which, by-the-by, extended as far as the little village of Mason, was Taranais,

²⁰³ Adam of Bremen, *Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 33.*

²⁰⁴ Maximus Tyrius, *dis. 38.*

²⁰⁵ Sigismund may have only enlarged or restored it; since the name of St. Severus, as abbot of this monastery, occurs as early as the year 506. The lance of St. Maurice was kept there: it was the ensign of the Burgundian state.

Taranda; and later, also, *Castrum Taurodunense*. In Tyrol, we have the Tarantsberg, Donnersberg; and the Pass of the Splugen (*Spelunca*), had also the Keltic name of *Tarvesedun*. It is generally supposed, that this most ancient name of *Taranais*, or *Taranda*, for the present *St. Maurice*, alludes to the Keltic god of thunder and lightning, *Taranydd*, the thunderer;²⁰⁶ *Taranais*; *Thor*; the Egyptian *Or*, light; the old Phœnician *'Ur*, god of light; the Hebrew *Urim*. However, as the abbey of *St. Maurice* was built upon the ruins of a temple of *Isis*, we may just as well allude, also, to the name of *Tar-anis*, a female deity (an *Artemis*), of which *Lucan* (i., v. 439) speaks, and who could be pacified only by human sacrifices.²⁰⁷ “*Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus, Et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae.*” The statue of *Diana Taurica* was brought by *Orestes* to *Lacedaemon*. Human sacrifices were offered to her, which, it is pretended, *Lycurgus* abolished. It is curious, that in another name given to this *Diana 'Taurica*, we meet also with the allusion to *Och*. When *Medea*, after her flight from *Colchis*, arrived at *Ithaca*, she announced to the assembled people, that the goddess *Oreïlochia* (*Diana*), had arrived from the country of the *Hyperboreans* (*Chersonesus Taurica*), for the happiness of mortals (*Anton. Lib. c. 27*).

The name of *Agaunum* is also Keltic, and alludes to its situation between steep and lofty precipices. *Coun*, *gaun*, signifies a rock (in ancient *Brit.*, *cwn*), as well as a castle,

²⁰⁶ In Welsh, *taran*, thunder; *taranu*, to thunder; in Gaelic, *torrun*.

²⁰⁷ In some of the South Sea islands, the name of God is *Artua*; *Boora-Artuas*, pray to gods.

a fort, where the Rhone (*ag*) gushes forth from the Valais,²⁰⁸ and enters the swampy plain, formed by the deposit of its retarded current; and, hence, the name of Agaun. Agaunum is comparable to Gaunissa, Gaun-uisge, fortification near the water, the river. In Canton Appenzell, certain rocks are still called Gauno, Gaundor. We have, also, the town of Agenum (Agen), in Guienne.

At Pavia, an altar has been found, dedicated to Jupiter Agganai; which name may be allied to Ag-deas, Agdis, the Kelto-Iberian Baal of the holy river.²⁰⁹

The monastery was founded in honour of St. Maurice, and his companions, the martyrs of the Theban legion, sent from Egypt, by Diocletian, towards the Rhine, in aid of his associate in the Empire, Valerius Maximus (286—305). The building was considered, at that time (A.D. 515) a "mirum opus," to which erection, the bishop Maximus, of Geneva, largely contributed;²¹⁰ and among all the religious houses in Helvetia, none can boast of so remote an antiquity as that of St. Maurice.

Sigismund endowed it with corn-fields and vineyards in the Pays de Vaud, in the plain of Geneva, and as far as Vienne, on the Lower Rhone; as, likewise, with the town

²⁰⁸ The Romans built the bridge over the Rhone, at St. Maurice; and which was, in former times, the only carriage way into the Valais.

²⁰⁹ The Water Deity of the Kelts was ever regarded with alarm, on account of his destructive propensities. A Teutonic name was awarded to him of Nocka, Nicur (old Nick — necare), or Necker.

Altini refers the name AGGANAI to the Latin *agger*. — See *Sulle Antiche Lapidi Ticinesi*. Pavia, 1831.

²¹⁰ This bishop appears to have been kind and generous in general. I have observed, somewhere, that Avitus, Archbishop of Vienne, who died in A.D. 525, in a letter, thanks his friend Maximus, Bishop of Geneva, for the good fish of his lake, which he had sent him.

of Salins, in Upper Burgundy, and several woods and pastures in the Valais, and in the Vale of Aosta.

According to the golden Tremisses, struck at the Abbey, in the sixth and seventh century, it is possible that the king gave also to the monks, the privilege of coining. Sigismund, who had been the assassin of half a score of near relations, was himself at last taken prisoner at the Abbey, in A.D. 527, and put to death. His queen and two sons, were taken by Chlodomir, and beheaded at Orleans.

After the death of Sigismund and his family, Godomar, his brother, took refuge in the mountains of Helvetia; and, after the Franks had retired, he took possession of a great part of that country which was under the rule of his brother. Chlodomir, in an attempt to extinguish this reaction, was killed by Godomar in battle, at Vesperonce, near Vienne. Godomar maintained himself in his kingdom for several years; until, in A.D. 534, a new invasion of Franks, directed by Chilbert and Chlotair, destroyed the power of the Burgundians.

Tremisses aurei exist of Godomar, struck at Lyons. It was Sigismund who established the royal residence and Mint of Burgundy, at Lyons. In A.D. 419, the Pennine Valais, at that time called Valinsa, with Octodurum as the principal place, had been annexed to the Province of Vienne.²¹¹

The monks of St. Maurice, thus richly endowed, gradually relaxed from their strict discipline, and the habits of frugality and industry that became them: they preferred bounds and hunting to the duties of the choir, and the inspection of their domestic concerns; and each lavished, individually, the revenues of the convent. Amadeus III.,

²¹¹ In A.D. 439, the Burgundians were already in Savoy (time of Valentinian III).

Count of Savoy, who had, in A.D. 1136, acquired a great ascendancy in these parts of the country, undertook to correct these disorders.

Part of the Lower Valais, St. Maurice, Thonon (Dina), Evian, and including also, on the other side of the lake, the town of Nion, had been erected into the Duchy of Chablais (Caballiacensis Ducatus, Caballicus Ager, alluding probably to the former Equestris, or Nion²¹²).

In A.D. 1032, Count Humbert de Maurienne, received of the Emperor Conrad II., the Caballicus Ager, which, in 1064, was subject to the illustrious House of Savoy. In 1138, Amadeus IV., was created a Duke of Chablais, by the Emperor Frederick II. In 1239, Amadeus V. presented the territory of St. Maurice to his sister, Margherite, Countess of Kiburg, but not the right of the Mint.²¹³

To Louis II., of the House of Savoy, who styled himself Count de Vaud, the town of Nion belonged, in right of the ample freeholds and feudal rights which, in 1260, the House of Savoy possessed in the Pays de Vaud, under Count Peter,²¹⁴ to whom the castle and town of Nion had been given as an inalienable fief, by the Archbishop of Besançon, in A.D. 1272.

In 1295, the Bishop of Lausanne, Guillaume de Champ-

²¹² The Spanish Caballero, heavy horse cavalier, from the Keltic *caballus*, Gaelic *capull*, or Irish *capall*. The ancient name of the town of Châlons-sur-Saône, was Caballodunum.

²¹³ (Cibario, della Economica Politica del Medio Evo. p. 487.) The British Museum possesses a coin of Chablais of that period: it is inscribed CHABLASII. DVX. Reverse: a temple, and PIANA RELIGO (Christiana Religio). [Formerly in the Pfister Collection.]

²¹⁴ He died at the Château Chillon, in 1286, at the age of sixty-six. When he was called away to his old dominions, the Pays de Vaud was governed in his absence by his lieutenant or bailiff. A French writer observes: "Quand le Comte surnommé le Petit Charlemagne fut demandé d'exhibiter ses titres sur le Pays de Vaud, il montra son épée."

vent, was at war with Louis I., Count de Vaud.²¹⁵ Coins which have the title as Seigneur de Vaud, still exist; but M. le Chevalier Promis,²¹⁶ seems rather inclined to attribute them to Louis II. (1302 — 1350). They are inscribed LVDOVIC DE SABAVDIA DOMINVS VAVDI TVTI (tutoris).

Spon, the worthy historian of the town of Geneva, observes: "L'année 1308, fut remarquable par quelques brouilleries, qu'eurent ensemble Loiys de Savoye, Seigneur de Vaux, avec l'Evesque (of Geneva), Celui là faisoit battre monnoye dans Nion, diocèse de Gèneve; ce que l'Evesque ne voulut pas souffrir," etc.

The monastery of St. Maurice (as stated before) also possessed estates in different parts of the Pays de Vaud, intermixed with others belonging to the Counts of Genevois (Gebennensis Ducatus), of which Annecy (Annesiacum) was the capital, situated on Lacus Annecius, about seventeen miles north of Chambry.²¹⁷

In 1011, Eldegard, Countess of Genevois, made a donation to the church of Versovy, which was situated in Pagus Equestricus; and, in 1124, Aymon, Count de Genevois, founded the abbey of Bon-mont, near Nion. In 1257, Versovy, St. Loup, Commanies, and other places, are mentioned as having been exchanged by them on Savoy, in 1350. It appears, that Catherine, Dame de Vaud (the only child of Louis II., who had no children by her three husbands) sells her feudal rights, in 1359, to Amadeus VI. (Comte Vert), for the sum of 160,000 gold florins.

The earliest coins of Lausanne which we can trace, are

²¹⁵ He died at Naples in 1302, at the age of fifty-two.

²¹⁶ Promis. *Monete dei Reali di Savoia*; vol. ii., pl. 3, fig. 1, supplement. Torino, 1841.

²¹⁷ The British Museum possesses some coins struck by the Counts of Genevois, of the fourteenth century. [Formerly in the Pfister Collection.]

the golden tremisses of the Burgundians, of the sixth century, and which are inscribed LAVSONNA FIT GVGGIOMV. M.²¹⁸ (monetarius). Vevey, we have in VIVATI.²¹⁹ Those of the town of St. Maurice are inscribed AGAVNV. FIT.²²⁰ A Tremissis of that period, in the British Museum, struck at the monastery of St. Maurice (Fanum S. Mauricii religiosissimum) is inscribed S. MAVRICI,²²¹ and represents the bust of that saint, however, without the nimbus—which generally is not found on well authenticated monuments earlier than the sixth century. The reverse of this interesting and rare coin is inscribed NICASIO MONET (arius). [From the Pfister Collection.]

The well-known Denarii of Lausanne, were first struck in the tenth century, by the bishops, not bearing however any of their names. They exhibit the primitive Christian temple, namely, still of Roman design, and named in the oldest documents "Opus Romanum." These coins are inscribed SEDES LAVSANE. The reverse shows a cross and CIVITAS EQVESTRIS. In my opinion, these coins were issued from the mint of Lausanne till the end of the twelfth century. Others have considered this in a different way, and say, that these ecclesiastical coins, inscribed Sedes Lausanne, have been struck at the town of Nion, the Colonia Equestris.²²²

²¹⁸ Revue Numismatique, 1840, p. 223.

²¹⁹ Mader, Kritische Beyträge zur Münzkunde des Mittelalters. Prag., 1803, 8vo., vol. iii. p. 16.

²²⁰ The Marquis de Lagoy. Melanges Numismat. Aix. 1845.

• ²²¹ On a tremissis, of the town of Mauriac (Auvergne), we read, MAVRIACO VIC. Revue, 1846, p. 281.

²²² It was the oldest Roman colony in Switzerland. Cæsar, 58 B.C., having established it at the Keltic Nivi-dun (New-Castle, New-Town), Romanised into Noviodunum (the name of the town of Soisson was also Noviodunum), a Roman military colony (Colonia Julia Equestris), which was composed mostly of a certain number of Chevaliers, alæ Equitum singularium (different from Equites singulares Augusti) which stood generally on the frontiers under prefects.

To this I beg to observe, that Lausanne had already enclosed within its diocese, at an early period, the greatest part of the worldly dominions of the abolished Episcopate of Nion (the episcopal jurisdiction and the castle and town were made over to the Bishop of Besançon), and likewise that part of the country still called after the destroyed town and Roman colony, *Civitas Equestris*, and also *Pagus*, or *Comitatus Equestricus*. It was situated between the two small rivers, the Versoy and Aubonne,²²³ (Albona) from the town of Rolle along the Lake to Satigny.

In A.D. 1080, the emperor, Henry IV., gave all the country, between the Alps and Mont Jura, which belonged to his adversary, King Rudolph, of Burgundy, to the Bishop Burchard, of Lausanne. It is true, that during some part of the Mediæval period, Nion had a mint, and the coins struck there resemble in type the episcopal denarii of Lausanne, but we have no knowledge, no proof, that the Nion mint was in activity before the occupation of part of the Pays de Vaud, by the Counts Peter and Louis, of the House of Savoy, during the thirteenth century. In fact, we know only of certain coins of Louis II. (1302—1330), as I have stated before, struck at Nion. Though Louis I. had already

²²³ The Itinerary places Nion on the road from Geneva to Lausonium, *Lacus Losuna*. Ptolemy (ii.9) assigns it to the Sequani. It seems to have been Cæsar's intention, by colonizing Nion, to keep, in that part of the country, the Helvetii in check, and guard the passes of the Jura.

It is, perhaps, of that cavalry (*alæ Equitum singularium*) drawn by Cæsar from Gaul, to make war upon Pompey, that Lucan speaks in the line "*Deseruere cavo tentoria fixa Lemano.*"

Niviodunum was devastated by the Alemanni, at the beginning of the reign of Honorius (A.D. 397). Two years afterwards, Honorius ceded that part of Eastern Gallia to the Burgundians, who firmly established themselves in the country about the Lake Leman.

received, from the Emperor Rudolph, of Hapsburg, the right of striking coins in any part of his dominions (1284). This right was confirmed in 1297, by the Emperor Adolphus of Nassau, to strike silver and gold coins.

I consider, therefore, with regard to the coins inscribed SEDES LAVSANE CIVITAS EQVESTRIS, that in proportion as the opulence of Lausanne and Geneva increased (they being the most important towns in Roman Helvetia), that of Nion declined, occasioned by the Episcopate of Lausanne having spread out already at an early period,²²⁴ and so, in consequence, having thus made all these acquisitions, Lausanne assumed to herself the boasting title of Civitas Equestris on her coins.²²⁵ As much as to say, that her ecclesiastical coins were first issued at her mint, at the period when the greatest part of the Civitas, or Pagus Equestris, belonged to the Sedes Lausanne.

Besides, we have observed, that the town of Nion was already included in the new created Duchy of Chablais, in the eleventh century. Furthermore, in favour of my argument, that these ecclesiastical coins, inscribed Civitas Equestris, were struck at Lausanne, and not at Nion, is, that Levade, in his Dict. Geograph. du Canton de Vaud (p. 162), tells us that there was formerly written over one of the gates of Lausanne, "Lausanne Civitas Equestris."

²²⁴ A.D. 517. The signature of a Bishop of Nion is mentioned at a most important electoral synod, held by King Sigismund, at the Burgundian town of Epauna (Epaonensis, Epauni), the site of which is supposed to be occupied by the hamlet of Epenassey, built on the debris of the mount Tauredunum, or Taurus, near Agaunum, which fell down in A.D. 562, because a very ancient Missal of St. Maurice mentions the locality of that council, under the name of Epona Agaunorum.

²²⁵ Compare a paper of mine on the coins of Sienna. *Literary Gazette*. London, October 12th, 1850, No. 1760.

Advancing from Switzerland towards the Rhine, which the Romans called "Rhenus Superbus," many Keltic names might be traced to prove that the number of places whereon Drusus (who died B.C. 9) built his fifty castles.—"Drusus in Rheni quidem ripa quinquaginta amplius castellis direxit" (Florus, lib. iv. 12)—were already either towns or habitations occupied by different Kelto-Germanic tribes.

Negeres Leben ist hier am alten Rhein; es bewegt sich
Leicht und behende der Mensch, wie es erfordert sein Thun.

It may be here observed, that the army of the Rhine, which was charged with the keeping off the Germani, was the strongest of all the Roman forces serving on the frontiers, and, in fact, was the flower of the Roman army. It consisted of eight legions of militia, to which, according to Roman usage, was generally added a similar number of auxiliaries, that is to say, troops gathered from the subjected provinces. The total force may be rated at 100,000 men, of which the chief portion were stationed in the two head quarters, namely, Cologne (at that time the Oppidum Ubiorum, Tacit. Annal. i. 1, c. 36), and Mentz, the Roman Moguntiacum (Aurea Moguntia) that is to say, the Kelto-Germanic Mo-gunti-ac. I am not aware that an attempt has ever been made to explain the meaning of this name. The etymology of this primitive appellation of Moguntiac, the city of Mentz, I conceive signifies merely conflux, confluence, namely, the habitation, the town, where *Mo* (Ma), water, *Gunti*, joins, *ac*, water; hence, Moguntiac signifies the river Main (Moenus) joining the Rhine, like the Moselle (*Mosa*) joins the Rhine at Coblentz.²²⁶

²²⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, in his Lives of Constantius and Julian the Apostate (A.D. 360) alludes to Coblentz.

Mogunzla ! Dir sei mein Gruß entboten,
 Und deinem Strom mit seiner deutschen Flur
 Und deinem Dom mit seinen großen Töbten!²²⁷
 Geweihte Stätte, wo dem Troubadour
 In Abenddämmerung sein Mädchen lauschte,
 Wenn er im leichten Rañn vorüberfuhr.

The Keltic Mo, or Ma, reminds us of the English moist—we have the Moësa, a torrent which falls into the Ticino. Alci-moenis was the name of Ulm, on the Danube. The river Maine, in Ireland, flowing through the Barony of Troughamacy, was also called *Mang*. Ossian (speaking probably of the fair Evir-ellin) says, "Her arm was white like Gormal's snow, and her bosom whiter than the foam of the Main;" and again, "Lulan's warriors fell in blood, or rose in terror on the waves of the Main."

We have, also, the Egyptian words *Ma*, *Mô*, and *Môû* for water²²⁸ (in Hebrew, *Mayin*). Lepsius observes, that in the desert of Nitria is a plain, which has the name of *Bahr-bela-ma*, that is, river without water. *Mageritt*, was the name of Madrid, as late as A.D. 930, and it is supposed alludes to the environs, which were formerly rich in water. It is known that the small river, Mazanares, near Madrid was formerly navigable.

The Sanscrit has *yukti*, for joining, from the word *yui*, to join; from which, also, the Latin *jungo* may have been derived. The Hindoo *yonî*, i. e., female nature, is also derived from the same root, *yu*, to mix;²²⁹ *jani*, a mother.

²²⁷ The Emperor Louis I., the Pius, died in A.D. 840.

²²⁸ We find *Ma* in the meaning for water in five East African languages. See proceedings of the Philological Society, vol. iv., 1850, p. 11.

In the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, Dr. Oppert (p. 41) reads "Mi" for water, "Mi-Kaldan," the water, the river of the Chaldeans (now-a-days Diala.)

²²⁹ The symbol for *yonî*, is the triangle, which, in the hieroglyphics of Egypt, is supposed to signify, joy, pleasure, prosperity.

We may observe, that the country about Moguntia, was inhabited by the Catti, the present Hessians (Hessus Mars), which reminds one of the Cathac-Gaali of Scotland,²³⁰ who called their stone enclosures "Caisel" (Cashel). In Gaelic, *caistul* and *chaistel*, means a tower (the round towers in Ireland are generally called the Castle by the country people), a castle, or fort, which, singularly enough, corresponds also to the name of the Hessian capital, Cassel (A.D. 913, Chasella).

Marcus Agrippa, the favoured general and son-in-law of Augustus, originally erected some strong fortifications against the Germani. Drusus Germanicus afterwards built the extensive fort of Moguntiacum, or Moguntia. He built, also, a magnificent aqueduct, and a stone bridge over the Rhine. A Roman monument, still existing, of that early date, is the Drusus-stone (Eichelstein, better Adlerstein — Eagle-stone), erected to the honour of Drusus, who likewise built a fort or castle on the opposite side of the river (Castellum). In A.D. 70, Moguntiacum was garrisoned by the XXII. Legion (Primigenia Pia Fidelis), which had been engaged with the army, under Titus, in the conquest of Judæa, and the destruction of Jerusalem. The Emperor Trajan erected a fort on the point of land by the Rhine and Maine. Adrian strengthened the outer works of the town by two forts. In A.D. 233, Alexander Severus was murdered at Moguntia by his own soldiers, in consequence of the rigour of his military discipline.

The town was eventually laid in ruins by the Germani.

²³⁰ Among the ancient Scots, the common soldiers were called *Catherni*, *Caterans*, or fighting bands: *cattun*, warrior. In the Highlands, the Clan Chattan were once a powerful people. The name of a strong mountain pass towards their habitations, was *Starshnach-nan-ga'el*.

It was restored by the Franks; and Charlemagne built a convent and school at the neighbouring Albansberg.

At Mentz, a fine museum is now established in one of the former palaces of the Electors, and contains many important Roman antiquities.

Bingen (Bingium, Pingua), the Keltic Bingiac, still so inscribed on coins of Charlemagne, seems to allude, likewise, to Bin-d-inis, which signifies an elevation of land nearly surrounded by water. In Scotland, we have a mountain called Ben Nevis, whose summit is seldom free from snow. Pen Val (Penn-fhail), in Welsh, signifies the head of the enclosure. Others have it from *binn*, elevation; and *ca*, house; *bin-ga*, house on the elevation.

Bingen is beautifully situated on the point of land formed by the junction of the Rhine and the Nahe (*naos*, running). Behind the town, rises a lofty hill, on the summit of which are the ruins of the ancient castle of Klopp, standing on the site of a Roman castrum.

The Roman Bingium, or Bingiacum, was destroyed by the Alemanni, in A.D. 410; and again, in 883, by the Normans. Tacitus, in his description of the war against the Treviri, mentions a bridge over the river Nahe.

It is said that Charlemagne planted the vine near Bingen.

Wo jezt der Durstige seinen Brand
In wenig Geld ertränket;
Dieweil daß kleine Heffenland,
Die größten Schoppen schenket.

The etymology of Bacharach was considered, for more than a century up to the time of Victor Hugo, as derived from Bacchi Ara.²³¹ "Le nom," says M. Victor, "semble

²³¹ We have a Thronus Bacchi in the former name of Tarbach, a town between the Rhine and the Moselle. Bachia, the small town of Bach, in Hungary; Bachi, a village in Switzerland; Bachy, a borough near Tournay. There is a Bagacum (Bagacum Nerviorum), a town of the Nervii, in Gallia Belgica, now a small place of the name of Bavey, near Mons.

un ancien cri des bacchanales accomodé pour le sabbat;" namely, the Romans having either found there the vine, or planted it themselves, and erected an altar to Bacchus; or, as the old edition of the Rhenish antiquary has it, "der Heiden Wein und Saufgott." Even the omnipotent newspaper, the *Times* (September 15th, 1849), thought it worth while to mention it. It says, "The water of the Rhine is at present so low, that the sunken rocks, known as the Ara Bacchi, near the town of Bacharach, which, it is supposed, takes its name from them, are visible. The opportunity will be seized to destroy them by blasting; but they are first to be carefully examined, to discover whether, according to tradition, they bear any inscription."

I am not aware that any attempt has been ever made to give a different meaning to the etymology of Bacharach. I consider this name altogether Kelto-Germanic, and that Bacharach signifies the position of the town, where the river (the Rhine) turns in an eddy, or whirlpool, which dangerous pass is called "Wildes Gefohrt." The distinguished writer, M. Victor Hugo, also observed, that on this spot, "le Rhin s'engouffre et tourne sur lui-même dans un entonnoir de rochers. Ce mauvais pas s'appelle le Wildes Gefohrt."²³² He continues: "Bacharach est dans un paysage farouche. Des nuées presque toujours accrochées à ses hautes ruines, des rochers abruptes, une eau sauvage enveloppent dignement cette vieille ville sévère qui a été Romaine, qui a été Gothique, et qui ne veut pas de venir moderne." And here the gay Frenchman continues: "Je dois pourtant dire, en historien fidèle, que j'ai vu une

²³² *Beulach*, among other significations, is a term amongst mariners for the ninth wave, said to be much higher than the intervening eight.

"Altior insurgens decimæ ruit impetus undæ." — *Ovid*.

charmante marchande de modes installée avec ses rubans roses, etc., sous une effrayable ogive toute noire du XII.^e siècle. Dans ce vieux bourg-fée, les goîtreux et les jolies filles, ont dans le regard dans le profil et dans la tournure, je ne sais quels airs du XIII. siècle.”

Reading these observations, I thought M. Victor might have made great progress in the study of mediæval coins.

But, returning to our etymological researches in Bacharach, we have *Bach*, the river (the Rhine), *ar*, quick or rapid,²³³ and *ac*, water. *Bacarrach*, in Gaelic, signifies threatening, denouncing evil, and *Bachlach* means curled in ringlets. Bachra (now Baghra) is a townland, in the west of the parish of Clonmacoise, King's County, Ireland. The French town of Bavay, we have in the old name of Bagacum.

The word *Bach* occurs in hundreds of places and rivers everywhere, as well as the termination in *ac* so often noticed already, and which the Roman writers expressed through *acum* (*acus*), as in Moguntiacum, Antoniacum, Bachacum, etc. In Switzerland, there are the rivers Steinach, Roschach, Fischach, Salmach, Goldach, and the Schwarz-ag, in the Black Forest.

Ar, *Aar*, *Are*, occurs likewise in the names of many places and rivers, which, according to their nature, are rapid; and therefore *ar*, in Keltic, occurs also sometimes in the signification of havoc, desolation. *Arre*, or *Araforce*, is the name of a waterfall, near Ulleswater, where the echo of dashing and gurgling waters never dies. *Arran*, in Keltic, signifies the current, and *ragra*, the rushing, roaring. The Irish *Arrachtach* means mighty, powerful. *Ar-Avan* is the name of the river at St. Jean de Maurienne,

²³³ In old Spanish, *vir-ar*, *bir-ar*, signifies turning, turning a ship.

the rapid Arc is a torrent from the Cenis, near the small town of Modano, which hurries soundingly on among masses of opposing rocks. In "Agara," I believe we have the river Moldau.

We may even allude to the name of the Garonne, Garuna, i.e., Garu-avon, rapid river,²³⁴ which takes its source in the Pyrenees, at a vale called Aran. In Ireland, we have the small town of Dungarvan, i.e., Dun-gar-avan. In Scotland, the foaming Garry, and the falls of the Garr-Valt, and I believe the rough waters of the eastern coast of Norfolk are called Garruenos. In some districts of the South of France, we have the river Var. *Var*, in Sanscrit, is water, and *Varuna*, God of Water. In Egypt, *Iaro* and *Ior* for river. We may yet mention the Ag-ar-ana,²³⁵ Agernthal, through which the river Elan runs (Canton Valais).

Near Loch-Fin (white lake), we have the Ar-ay. I have before observed, that *ar*, when not connected with the word water, has sometimes also the different meaning of *on*, or near.

And so, we have the Aar (Arola, Arula), which attains a considerable size, by means of tributary streams from all the dark icy valleys through which it passes, and finally rushes over the granite rocks of Handeck, a precipice of a hundred feet. The Ar-ve,²³⁶ near Geneve; the Arbach, in

²³⁴ A noted river in Persia has the name of Kárún. In New South Wales, not far from Sydney, is the river Vara-Vara (Bara).

²³⁵ Ag-ar and Ain occurs also in the names of wells in North Africa (James Hamilton, Wanderings in North Africa. London. 1856).

In the Saharah, is the town of Ain-Mahdy, as well as the spring and town of El-Ahward (Aghouat), and the Ras El-ayoon is the head of the springs. In ancient names of rivers, we have the Ar-ach-tus (Epirus), Ar-axes, Ach-eron, etc.

²³⁶ One who has resided in the Marquesas Islands, in the South Seas, mentions a famous mineral spring, which the

Canton Zurich; the Arabona (Ar-avon) Rab, in Hungary; Araxus. The rivers Ar-ay and Shir-ay, in Scotland, which pay tribute to Loch-Fine. Then the Irish islands of Arran, the largest in the group is Arr-an-more. The remains of an old fort are called Dun Aengus.

Oh! Arranmore, loved Arranmore,
How oft I dream of thee,
And of the days when, by thy shore.
I wandered young and free.

T. MOORE.

Aar, in ancient German, is the word for eagle (the quick sailer),²³⁷ *Arnold*, *Arnolldr* (old eagle); in Keltic, it is *Eirir* and *Ery*, for eagle (*Éri-t-ain*, the rapid river, Eridanus). The Scotch have Aern and Carn. In Wales, part of a mountainous country is called *Craigian-eryri*, the crags of the eagles.²³⁸ In Etruscan, we have *Aracos* for a hawk, and *Antar* is the name for the eagle. Diodorus tells us, that the Nile (*Okeanos*) was afterwards called *Aetos* (Aquila), a translation of the Egyptian word *Acham Achem 'Ahom*, for an eagle, which almost corresponds again with the Keltic *Agn-ar*, a sea-eagle, osprey; and from the Keltic *Aglā*, the wing, is formed the Roman *Ales*. In Southern Tyrol, we have *Agula* and *Agol*, for Eagle.

islanders hold in high estimation. They call it "Arva-Wai." Arva means strong, and Wai is water. In Tahiti, the word "Arva" means sometimes brandy (reminds one of the Keltic Uisce, Uisk, water, now-a-day transformed into whiskey).

"My good little girls," said a missionary, "no run after sailors—no go where they go, they harm you. Where they come from, no good people talk to 'em—just like dogs. Here, they talk to Pomaree, and drink 'Arva' with Poofai (a distinguished chief in the island)."

²³⁷ The blowing of the winds was in general considered, by the ancients, as an effect of the moon. Among the Egyptians, Isis bore a vulture on her head. In England, a species of the hawk is called the Wind-hover.

²³⁸ *Ar-weinydd*, in Welsh, means a leader.

Summing up our long argument, we may conclude, that "*Bach-ar-ach*" signifies a place where a whirlpool exists in a river.

Andernach, Antonacum Artonacum, was a Roman frontier town on the Rhine, and the head quarters of a military prefect; it was yet a city of some note in A.D. 359, and, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, was called Antunacum.

Cellarius, in "*Notitia Orbis Antiqui*," speaks of it as a city of the empire, which is called Artonacum and Antunacum. It means on, or near, the water, the river; similar to the town of Antwerp (i.e., on, or at, the wharf),²³⁹ Antibes, etc. The Lithuanian language has Ant-upys, for a river country.²⁴⁰

It appears that the Keltic *aa*, *ac*, and *ach*, occur long before the Roman *aqua*.

The Swedes have still the *aa* for water, the Gothic was *ahwa*; the Anglo-Saxons had it in *ea* (Ea-land), which changed into *eau*, and so did the *ac* into *ay*, as we have observed before. But the Franks changed the *ac* and *ach* into *acqs* (aquæ Augustæ) and into *aix* (Aachen, Aix la Chapelle).

In the compound names of South-Britain, we often find *ax* or *ex*, as in Axminster and Exeter (Miniriacum) which answers also for the *esk*, in Scotland, the North and South Esk join below Dalkeith. In Wales, we have it in Eskdale, and also the river Esk, at Musselburgh, which receives from the Gray mountains several streams, one has the name

²³⁹ *Deoch-an-doruis*, the drink at the door, which, according to ancient hospitality in Scotland, was not charged in the reckoning.

²⁴⁰ Schleiger, *Handbuch der Litanischen Sprache*. Prag, 1856, p. 145.

of Brellil-Vach. In South Wales, we have the rivers Usk, Esca, and Isca; also, in Devon, is a river of the name of Esca.

We may yet mention the Tour d'Aix (the Castrum in Ago), in the country of the Gruyere. Aa, is a small river in the Canton of Underwalden, where there is likewise Aadorf and Aathal; near Graveliness is also a river called the Aa. Furthermore, we have towns in France and Italy assimilating in Agedinacum, Agenadicum, Acguinis, Acqui, and also in the river Ache, near Bregenz, etc.

And now, having made a somewhat wide excursion, I must take leave of the kind reader for the present, and hope he will pardon me should he observe leaves of Spring and leaves of Autumn in the same picture.

J. G. PFISTER.

London,
23rd July, 1857.

IX.

ON A TETRADRACHM OF ALEXANDER
STRUCK AT ARADUS.

BY THE LATE W. H. SCOTT, M.D.

It may seem hardly worth while to lay before the Society so common a coin as a tetradrachm of Alexander the Great. I have some reason, however, to think this an unpublished, or at any rate, an unexplained, variety of these very common, though not less interesting coins.

The obverse is of rather a peculiar style of fabric. My means of comparison are so scanty that I am quite unable to say whether or not it has the characteristic marks of a Syrian or a Phœnician mint, although the symbols on reverse lead me to infer its Phœnician origin.

The reverse type I need not describe, as it is perfectly known to every member of the Society.

Below the throne are a bee and the Greek letter A. The bee is common to the coins of Ephesus and Aradus, but the initial of the latter town shows at once that the coin belongs to it. If this were all, I should not have thought the coin worth the notice of the Society, but it may be seen that in the field, before the knees of Jupiter, there occurs a letter resembling F (F) which is the Phœnician *Aleph*, א, the initial of the name of Aradus.

I am not aware that this bilingual coin has been published as yet; if so, it has escaped the attention of Dr. Judas, who mentions no such coin in his very useful "*Étude démon-*
VOL. XIX. G G

The gold pieces of 111—113 grs., struck by Shahpur I., 238—269, and in the early part of the reign of Shahpur II., 308—380, remain anomalous, and at present no better explanation presents itself than to recognise them as reductions of the larger coins, the issuing of which was afterwards stopped, so that instead of these light *aurei* they coined full-weight *half-aurei* [using this word for convenience].

If we ask the denomination of the coins, it is evident that gold and silver were coined into the same unit, and since this is divided into six parts it must be the *drachma*. We find also this name under Justinian, in Cosmas Indicopleustes in Montfaucon's *Nova coll. Patrum*, ii. l. xi., p. 338, who relates an anecdote, how in Taprobana (Ceylon) a Roman and a Persian merchant attempted to demonstrate to the king, from their coins, the power and wealth of their respective countries. The gold coin of the Persians is here called, *δραχμή τουτέστι τὸ μιλιάρσιον*; this last expression, at that time, was applied by the Romans to any large silver coin.

But whence comes the weight? The answer is remote and yet near at hand; it is the old national weight, the Persian gold drachm of 78 grs. French=63·72 grs. After Alexander it was replaced, at least in the gold currency, by the Attic drachm. It is remarkable that the Sassanians not only recommenced to strike gold, which was an imperial prerogative, not permitted to dependent states, and had not been done by the Arsacidæ, but did so on the old Eastern standard. Their holy books are connected with Darius and ignore Hellenism: they were consistent, therefore, here also; and not only the fire-altar, but even the weight of the coins is part of this remarkable *Renaissance*.

XI.

NOTE ON A SUPPOSED COIN OF CALYNDA.

DR. VON KOEHNE, in his letters to M. Rauch (Mem. Soc. Arch. St. Petersburg, vol. iv. p. 354), describes a coin which he classes to Calynda, in Caria, a city of which only one coin has yet been published. He describes it as follows:—

Obv.—Laureated head of Zeus to right.

Rev.—ΑΛΥΝΔΕ ·· Eagle between a ring (such as was used for a mark by archers), which is decorated with a tænia and a laurel branch. Below, ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΟΕΡΤΕ. Æ. 5.

This coin, however, belongs to Blaundos, in Lydia, and not to Calynda. I possess a specimen which, although, like that of Dr. von Koehne, it is too small for the die, reads distinctly . ΑΛΥΝΔΕ . . The difference between the Α and Λ is quite clear on my coin, and that of Dr. von Koehne must be either rubbed in that part, or altered, since I can refer to other specimens corroborating my reading. The Wellenheim Catalogue (p. 285, Nos. 6256, 6256 a), describes two specimens, the first of which is described in full as bearing the legend ΒΑΛΥΝΔΕ . . ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ. ΘΕΟΤΕΝ. Reference is made to Mionnet iv. 20, 99. Pellerin also (Recueil ii. plate xliii. 27), engraves a specimen under Blaundos. All these descriptions, and my coin, agree in placing the eagle between a

caduceus and a branch of laurel, instead of the ornamented ring of Dr. von Koehne, which was simply an indistinct caduceus. The difference between ΘΕΟΓΕΝ and ΟΕΠΤΕ is very slight, as an indistinct O might resemble P easily enough. Sestini (Classes Generales) has already described a coin of Calynda as follows:—"Laureated head of Jupiter R ΚΑΛΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ. Eagle on a thunderbolt." The double Λ renders it probable that this coin is not of Blaundos, though in the same plate of Pellerin we see an analogous coin, on which the eagle holds a sceptre. The name is written with one Λ only in ancient writers. Dr. von Koehne has proposed to correct it into ΚΑΛΥΝΔΕΩΝ, he writes it, however, ΚΑΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ. I do not observe any other specimen which might clear up the difficulty as to its proper legend. If the double Λ is only an error of Sestini's, it probably belongs to Blaundos, like the present coin.

WILLIAM H. SCOTT.

XII.

NOTE ON THE COINS OF MEREDATES AND UIPHOBA.

I am anxious to call the attention of numismatists to the coins of Meredates and Uiphoba, classed, though perhaps without much certainty to Characene (Millingen, Sylloge, p. 85, tab. iv. 67; Lindsay, Coinage of Parthia, tab. x. Nos. 13, 14). These coins have not yet been completely read, as far as I know, in spite of the number now known, which is pretty large. Mr. Lindsay (l. c. No. 14), engraves one reading, apparently ΥΙΦΟΒΑ ΒΑCΙΑ ΜΕΡΕΔΑΤ

BACIEAN which latter word appears correctly as BACIAEYC on the coin engraved by the Baron de Chaudoir (Corrections and Additions, plate iv. 39), while the coin engraved in Millingen seems to read ΥΙΦΟΒΑ ΒΑCΙ. ΜΕΡΕΔΑΤ ΒΑCΙΑΙCС, *sic*.

There is still a word before the head of Uiphoba, below her name, which is differently represented. Thus Millingen's engraving has OM, while his text omits to mention it; Mr. Lindsay's No. 14 has . OM . . ; M. de Chaudoir's coin has ΟΠΑΙ, while a specimen which I possess reads distinctly OM^K. A comparison of more specimens might perhaps throw some light on this. I have been inclined to question the explanation of ΥΝΔ as a date, from its occurrence on so many coins, and the absence of any other date, which might reasonably be expected to occur, if these letters denote a date. I cannot, however, explain them, unless by supposing that they are to be joined to the enigmatic word which I have already mentioned, thus:—ΥΝΔΟΜΑΚ, if the anomalous letter be indeed an Α, which is very uncertain. This, however, by no means a satisfactory result, as we cannot tell what it means, whether it is a title belonging to Meredates, or perhaps the name of his father, imperfectly written, as is the name of Meredates himself. Meredates is a pure Persian name, *Gift of Meher*, or *Mithra*, *Undomakos*, would be, however, a barbarous, or Parthian (?) name, like the Indo-Parthian *Undo-pherres*. The occurrence, indeed, of this latter name may serve to shew the possibility of such a name as *Undomak*.

I shall be glad if this note induces any numismatist to compare the coins of these unknown sovereigns, so as to confirm or reject my conjectures.

WILLIAM H. SCOTT.

MISCELLANEA.

THE COINAGE FOR ENGLAND.—Last year, 1856, there were coined at the Mint 4,806,159 sovereigns, 2,391,909 half-sovereigns, 2,201,760 florins, 3,168,000 shillings, 2,779,920 sixpences, 95,040 groats, 4,158 fourpences, 1,018,298 threepences, 4,752 twopences, and 7,920 silver pence. The total value of the gold coined last year was £6,002,114, and that of the silver coin £462,528, the real cost or value of the metal having been £434,609. The copper coinage of 1856 included 1,212,288 pence, 1,942,080 half-pence, 1,771,392 farthings, and 913,920 half-farthings, making a total value of £143,717. The purchase-value of the copper was only £73,324. Last year 234,200,371 ounces of silver coin was purchased for re-coinage, at a nominal value of £677,550; and the Mint value at 5s. 6d. an ounce being £602,446, it follows that the loss by re-coinage was £75,104.

INDO-SCYTHIC COINS.—Professor Wilson, in his *Ariana* (p. 364), has shown that the Indo-Scythic coins of Kabul, bearing Siva and his bull on the reverse, were formerly so numerous and important as to have given a new word (*Nānaka*) to the Sanscrit language. In pursuance of the same train of thought, it may be worth remarking that even at the present day, in the south-western extremity of India, coins, as distinguished from current money, are called, both in the Canarese and Malayālam languages, *Nānya*. The similarity between this word and the Sanscrit is still more perceptible, when both are written in the native character, as the second N is, in each case, the peculiar letter termed by grammarians, the cerebral.—G. SPARKES.

ERRATA.

- Page 86, line 20, *for* circon da, *read* circonda.
 " 101, " 20, *for* le battra la monnoie, *read* se battra la monnoie.
 " 104, " 31, *for* Vindossa, *read* Vindonissa.
 " — " 32, *for* Vindossa, *read* Vindonissa.
 " 127, " 9, *f r* Swo n, *read* Sworn.
 " — " 32, *for* Unti, *read* Until.
 " 147, " 6, *for* Silberſcheitel, *read* Silberscheitel.
 " 155, " 2, *for* n the tops, *read* on the tops.
 " — " 20, *for* connec ed. *read* connected.
 " 164, " 20, *for* Albaris, *read* Abaris.
 " 197, " 15, *for* Solodurensē, Castrum, *read* Solodurensē-Castrum.
 " 213, " 2, *for* Hesus Mars, *read* Hesus. Mara.
 " 215, " 19, *for* Gefohart, *read* Gefoeht.



1

Æ



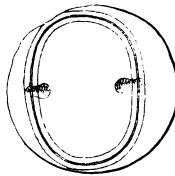
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J. Bauson del. et sc.

RARE GREEK COINS.

XIII.

ON CERTAIN RARE GREEK COINS RECENTLY
ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 29th, 1855.]

MY DEAR VAUX,

I quite agree with you in opinion, that several coins among those lately purchased for the Museum, might be worthy of mention at the next meeting of the Numismatic Society; and I know of no way more fitly to carry out your suggestion than by means of a letter to yourself.

I will notice, in their geographical order, those coins which seem most likely to prove interesting to the Society, and proceed without further preface.

No. 1. The first is a very uncommon copper coin of Corinth, which may be described as follows:—

Obv.—Female head, to the right; the hair tied at the back of the head.

Rev.—COL. L. IVL. C[OR]. A lioness standing over a recumbent ram, and resting its fore-paws upon it. The group placed on the capital of a fluted Doric column, [στήλη]. Æ. size 5. Pl. No. 1.

We have the authority of Eckhel¹ for regarding this remarkable coin as presenting us, on the obverse, with the portrait of the celebrated Lais of Corinth; and, on the reverse, with a representation of her tomb. The description of Pausanias is by far too graphic to be mistaken. His words are:—

Πρὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κυπαρίσσω ἐστὶν ἄλσος ὀνομαζόμενον Κράνειον. Ἐνταῦθα Βελλεροφόντου τέ ἐστι τέμενος, καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς Μελαινίδος, καὶ τάφος Λαΐδος, ᾧ δὴ λέαινα

¹ Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii. p. 239.

ἐπίθημα ἔστι κριὸν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ποσίν. (Lib. ii. [Corinth], cap. 2, § 4.)

Which may be translated as follows :—" Now, before the city [of Corinth], there is a grove of cypress trees, called Craneion, where there is both a sacred enclosure of Bellero-phontes, and a shrine of Aphrodite Melænis; as well as the tomb of Lais: the monument on which, is a lioness, holding a ram in her fore-paws."

The words of Pausanias, taken in connexion with our coin, shew that it presents us with a representation of the ἐπίθημα, placed over the grave of Lais. This, the coin proves to have been a piece of sculpture surmounting a στήλη. I suspect that such a piece of sculpture is precisely what is meant by the word ἐπίθημα,—an *epithem*, if the word must be written in English.

This στήλη was evidently a fluted Doric column, *the capital of which* alone is represented on the coin; and, which, as to style and form, was in conformity with many other Greek στήλαι which have been, from time to time, discovered at Athens.

It is to be regretted that Pausanias does not allude to the meaning of this remarkable group; and it seems to have been considered by Eckhel so difficult and obscure, that he has not ventured to give us any explanation of it. Its general allusive meaning is, indeed, sufficiently plain. In the meantime, we cannot forbear to call attention to the great interest which attaches to this representation. At the end of two thousand years, it unexpectedly enables us to test the accuracy of the ancient antiquary, and to perceive with what latitude his words are to be taken. No one, probably, from the description of Pausanias, would have imagined that the monument of Lais was such as we have it here represented to us. The lioness bestrides the ram

with its hind-legs ; and rests its fore-paws on the shoulders of its victim.

On looking into the works of the older numismatic writers, I find that our coin was first engraved by Gessner;³ but his representation of it is defective, and omits the Doric capital, giving the view of the group from the opposite side. Gessner, seems to have copied his engraving from one two centuries older, by Eneas Vico, which I have hitherto not been able to discover.

Pellerin,⁴ in 1763, published one of these coins, among his uncertain ones ; he consequently offers no explanation of the type.

Sestini,⁵ in 1796, gives engravings of two more coins of this type, very ill executed, and, in a most obscure passage, testifies to their rarity by observing that he was never able to procure a specimen for the Ainslie Collection, and that the celebrated collection of Cousinery (now at Munich) did not contain one.

The passage in Eckhel (in 1794), before referred to, is therefore the earliest notice of this very remarkable representation with reference to the words of Pausanias ; and I think we may conclude, from the mere inspection of this coin, that during the Roman period, and probably much earlier, the Corinthians honored *Lais* as a divinity.⁶

In the admirable work, by Visconti, *Iconographie Grecque* (3 vols. in 4to. Paris, 1811, with a very large folio volume of plates), the portrait of *Lais* will be found, in plate 37, fig. 2 ; and the description, in vol. i. page 316. In the 8vo. edition of Milan, 1824 (which is very inferior to the ori-

³ Imp. Rom., tab. 5, No. 26 figure. 1738. Folio.

⁴ Recueil, vol. iii. p. 129, plate 116, fig. 5.

⁵ Descript. Num. Vet., 4to. Lipsiæ, 1796. Page 188, pl. iv. figg. 8 and 9.

⁶ See a paper in the Numismatic Journal, vol. i. p. 97, written to shew that *all persons* on coins are there placed as divinities.

ginal), the portrait is repeated, fig. 2, plate xxxvii., and the description in vol. i. p. 439.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to remark, that a few years previous to B.C. 46 (in which year Julius Cæsar colonised Corinth and rebuilt the city), the Romans seem to have conciliated the Corinthian public, and imperfectly atoned for the severity of Mummius, about a century before, by an extended revival of all the old Corinthian myths on the copper coins of the city, which would, of course, pass into the hands of the bulk of the population, and be acceptable and agreeable to them.

No. 2. The second coin which I beg leave to point out, is also of Corinth. It may be described as follows;—

Obv.—SE. naked male figure, standing; seen nearly in front, holding a rudder in each hand.

Rev.—COR. Pegasus, galloping, to the right. Æ. size 3½. Pl. No. 2.

A similar specimen was first published by Pellerin in 1763,⁷ but as it was probably in poor condition, he read CE instead of SE, on the obverse; and, in consequence, regarded the figure as representing the port of Cenchreæ; of which CE seemed to form the initial letters.

The meaning of the letters SE, on this and several other coins of Corinth, seems never to have been satisfactorily explained.

Eckhel, however,⁸ with his usual tact, corrected the mistake of Pellerin, but appears only to approach the true meaning of the type.

The real meaning of this remarkable representation seems to be *a personification of the Isthmus itself*; the *two rudders* being symbolical of the *two seas*, which the Isthmus of Corinth divided.

The territory of the Isthmus having been regarded from

⁷ Recueil, p. 113, tab. xvii, fig. 18.

⁸ Doct. Num. Vet., vol. ii. p. 239.

the earliest times as peculiarly sacred, probably from the celebration of the games on that spot, became a favorite subject for the sculptor ; and from the statues, the representations passed to the coins of the city.

If any proof were required as to the true meaning of this type, I should appeal to another coin : *coins being always the best commentators on coins.*

The proof to which I allude, is a coin of Corinth, of Hadrian, probably unique, in the collection of W. R. Hamilton, Esq., published by Millingen,⁹ which most happily bears on it the word ISTHMVS, around a venerable bearded seated figure, holding a rudder in each hand ; thus leaving *no doubt* as to the meaning of the rudders, which are as much symbols of *the sea in general*, as the trident and the dolphin, so often found in union with the rudder, on coins of the Roman period.¹⁰

The Roman poets, by their application of the epithet "*bimaris*" to the city of Corinth, confirm what has just been said, and illustrate these statues holding rudders, which were perhaps suggestive of the epithet to the minds of the poets.

Hence we find in Ovid,

"Bimari gens orta Corintho."¹¹

"Quæque urbes aliæ bimari clauduntur ab isthmo,
Exteriusque sitæ bimari spectantur ab isthmo."¹²

and in Horace,

"Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon, aut Mitylenen,
Aut Ephesum, bimarisve Corinthi
Mœnia."¹³

⁹ Cities and Kings, London 1831, 4to. Pl. iv., fig. 15, p. 59.— See also Mionnet, Supp. vol. iv, page 82, No. 552, where this identical coin is described.

¹⁰ See Mionnet, Vol. i., p. 10, Nos. 60, 65, and 67 ; and Vol. ii., p. 169, Nos. 151 and 152.

¹¹ Metam. lib. v. 407.

¹² Metam. lib. vi. 420.

¹³ Horat. Carm., lib. i., Od. vii.

a new town to numismatic geography,¹⁹ for no other coin of Gortys in Arcadia is known.

No. 6, is also a new coin, and may be described as follows;—

Obv.—Bœotian shield.

Rev.—OPX across the field. Æ, size 5. Pl. No. 4.

The British Museum already possesses four coins of this class, of exactly the same type, size, metal, and fabric, inscribed respectively API (Arisba),²⁰ ΠΛΑ (Platææ), TAN (Tanagra), ΘΕΣ (Thespiaæ). I once saw another, ΛΕΒ (Lebadeia),²¹ and now we have to add OPX (Orchomenus).²²

These coins being all of Bœotian cities, seem to show the existence of a Bœotian League or Confederation, of which future researches will probably point out the period, and which the fabric of the coins will materially assist, as they have every appearance of having been all coined almost in the same year.

I regret that I have not health and time to work out all the questions to which these six curious and interesting coins naturally lead; and remain,

My dear Vaux,

Ever truly yours,

THOMAS BURGON.

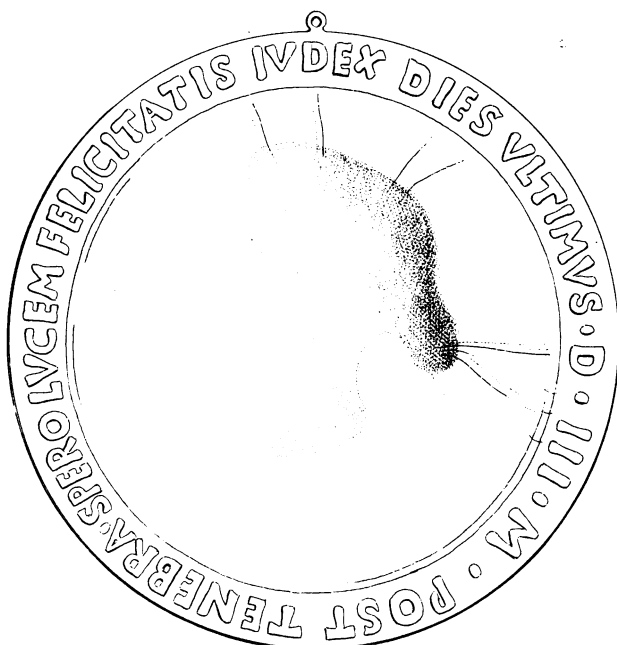
*Medal Room,
British Museum,
22nd November, 1855.*

¹⁹ The site of the city of Gortys, in Arcadia, was discovered by Colonel Wm. Martin Leake; see *Travels in the Morea*, Vol. ii., p. 24—27, London, 8vo, 1830.

²⁰ See *Ortelius*, "Thesaurus Geographicus," in *voce*. The specimen in the Museum, of this antique coin, is from the Devonshire collection; and although it appears to have been a little *tooled*, I do not believe it to have been in any degree *falsified*. The obscurity of the town would alone prevent such a suspicion.

²¹ See *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. i., p. 248.

²² It is true, that a coin similar to ours is described by Mionnet, Vol. ii., p. 106, No. 79, but it does not exist in the French Cabinet, although Mionnet probably saw it.



$\frac{1}{4}$ actual size.

J. Baeire, sc.

THE LEMLEIN MEDAL.

XIV.

MEMOIR ON THE LEMLEIN MEDAL.

[Read before the Numismatic Society at the Annual Meeting, June 25, 1857.]

BY DR. L. LÖWY, F.R.A.S., M.S.A.P., ETC., ETC.

SIR,—I have much pleasure in laying before the Numismatic Society the result of my researches respecting a very remarkable medal, which has attracted the attention of several learned and distinguished authors.

It was under the consideration of Menestrier, De Boissi, Löwisohn, Carmoly, Bekker, Sylvester de Sacy, Gerson Levi, and Zunz. Some of these authors wrote memoirs on the subject, which were submitted to learned societies; yet, notwithstanding the deep research displayed in their works, they have still left not less than twenty-three letters unexplained, have given no reason for the Latin and Greek parts of the inscription, have made no attempts to discover the date on the reverse of the medal; and, what is worse, they differ greatly with regard to the translation of several very important words. Being so fortunate as to have this medal in my cabinet, I felt induced to examine the legend thereon; and it will now depend on you to say how far I may have succeeded in my humble researches.

Menestrier the Jesuit, in his history of Lyons, published in the year 1696, was the first who gave a description of this medal. "Forty years ago," he says, "Monsieur de Ville, the Canon and Provost of the Église Collegiate de Saint Just, Vicar General and Substitute of the Cardinal

VOL. XIX.

II

Alphonse Louis de Plessis de Richelieu, having caused some excavations to be made in his house, known by the name of *Bréda*, situate a little below the hill of Fourvière, the work-people found a bronze medal, about six inches in diameter, having on one side the head of an emperor with a laurel crown, attached to the head by a kind of band or embroidered scarf with fringes, which takes up the hair and ties them with the ends of the crown-wreath."

There are in the circle some Hebrew words, which seem to come out of the emperor's mouth. He is represented as a man in middle age, without beard; his ears are free, and a little under his eye, opposite to his nose, he has a wart. Around the neck he has a gorget or breastplate, and there are four Hebrew words disposed in a square towards the four angles of the head:—One is immediately near the forehead; the other behind the knot which ties the two ends of the diadem or crown together; the third is between the chin and the neck; and the fourth is under the tuft of hair tied up behind his head.

Below, where the shoulders ought to project, there is the Latin word "umilitas," and under it the Greek word ΤΑΩΝ, instead of "humilitas" and ταπεινότης.

The reverse of this medal has merely a groove all around without figure, bearing only the legend, "Post tenebras spero lucem felicitatis iudex dies ultimus. D. III. M."

Menestrier is of opinion that the figure on this medal represents the king, Louis le Debonnaire. "Thegan, rural bishop of the Church of Treves," he says, "describes him to have been of middling height, having large and lively eyes, a pleasing countenance, a long and well-formed nose, lips of middling size, a full chest, large shoulders, and his arms so strong that there was none his equal in his way of stringing a bow or handling a lance. He had a sweet and

benign countenance, always more inclined to mildness than to anger, which made him well deserve the title of Debonnaire."

In the figure on this medal, Menestrier finds all the peculiarities above described; and from this coincidence he infers, that the medal in question was identically the same which the Jews of Lyons had placed in the cavity of the foundation-stone of their new synagogue, for the building of which, they received permission from Louis le Debonnaire.

He considers his assertion strikingly confirmed by the groove on the reverse of the medal and the legend thereon; it was intended, said he, to be enchased in the foundation-stone; and the legend thereon appears to state that, "after its having been buried in the darkness, it hopes again to see light, were it even on the last day of the world, which will be the judge of felicity."

In the opinion of Menestrier, the letters D. III. M. indicate that the foundation-stone was laid on the third of May.

The numerous points above the letters in the inscription he considers to be the letters $\overline{\text{T}}$, signifying the ineffable name of the Tetragrammaton. "This," he says, "is often to be met with in the Arabic, Persian, Greek, and Spanish translations of the Bible;" and the following is his version of the Hebrew words in the legend:—"God, whose name be praised, conducts, by His eternal and immutable will, all that arrives by His decrees. I have seen the privation and the form. I shall praise Thee, even for that which may arrive in this time, which will come to a termination; and I shall understand the secrets and the decrees of Providence. My God, in whom I place all my glory, preserve Jerusalem, and I shall be filled with joy. O Lord! I shall wait for happiness, which I hope to receive from Thee, my omnipotent God, who forgivest sins."

The Jews, he further observes, have probably immigrated from Africa with the Vandals and the Saracens, who penetrated into Spain, Languedoc, Provence, and even France. The names of Benjamin and Ben Cush, "the son of the right hand," and "the son of Ethiopia," may therefore refer to the fortresses of the Jews. One party having come from Palestine from the tribe of Benjamin, and the other from Ethiopia, and both united afterwards to form one congregation, similar to that which the Lutherans and the Calvinists did, when they united into one synod of Charenton, although they originally descended from different sects.

Menestrier considers his conjectures fully established, on comparing the golden coins struck by Louis le Debonnaire with the figure on the medal in question; and believes the Latin and Greek words, under the head of the figure, to express the submission of the Jews, who, out of respect to that prince, made use of languages in which the latter was considered to be well versed.

I shall make no remark on any of Menestrier's conjectures, for reasons which will afterwards be given. But I will proceed to state the opinions of those who, to a certain extent, followed or adopted his views.

De Boissi, in his "*Dissertations critiques pour servir à l'histoire des Juifs*," printed in the year 1785, was the second who gave an account of this medal. His translation of the legend is more literal than that of Menestrier. He does not ascribe the origin of the medal to a feeling of gratitude, as Menestrier thought, on the part of the Jews towards the emperor, but considers it as a work containing merely, in the legend, a description of the great misery and unspeakable sufferings which the Jews at that time had to endure, and intended to call forth the sympathy and deep compassion of the reigning monarch.

In the year 1820, S. Löwisohn, in his "Vorlesungen," published at Vienna, reported on this medal, and gave the legend thereof in Hebrew characters. "Under Louis le Debonnaire," he says, "the condition of the Jews in France became greatly improved, owing to the great favour bestowed on them by the Empress Judith, whose words are supposed to have had more influence on the affairs of the empire than those of the monarch himself. The Jews often received at court numerous marks of royal favour, and many Jewesses stood in high estimation with the princesses and other distinguished ladies."

Löwisohn, here following entirely the views of Menestrier, I shall not repeat his words. With regard to the Hebrew legend, his opinion is, that the synagogue expresses therein the sentiments of the nation. "The synagogue," he says, "complains of her present mournful state, and prays for a glorious future." His reading of the legend is as follows:—

בגזירת הנוהג יתברך מרצוננו הנצחי בתום כל משפט
העדר הצורה ראיתי אורך לזמן ישיגהו הקץ ואתבונן
בהשגחת אלי רוממי הזכר לשומם ואעלה פדותך אוהיל
יתברך צורי רב וסלח

The translation of it, he renders thus:—"By the decree of the Ruler of the universe, praised be he: by His eternal will, by His just visitation (we lay the foundation of this synagogue). I see the deformity (the state of the nation devoid of all splendour), but, notwithstanding this, I shall still have occasion to thank Thee when once my sufferings come to an end. I shall then admire thy providence. My God! my Redeemer! O remember the orphan (nation), and I will rejoice. I am longing after Thy redemption. Be Thou praised, my Creator, Almighty and All-forgiving."¹

¹ For the above abstract of Löwisohn's "Vorlesung," I am

In the Hebrew, Löwisohn reads, אֹרֶךְ "I will praise thee," instead of אֶרֶךְ "thy light"; רוֹמִי "the Being that raises me on high," instead of רוֹמִי "Roman"; הוֹכֵר "remember", instead of הִשְׁאִיר "He caused to remain"; לְשׁוֹמֵם which he translates, "of the orphan people," instead of רִשְׁמוֹם "their traces." The three letters וִי, which form an abbreviation of the ineffable name of God, he reads וִי, and considers them as an abbreviation of the two words יְתִבָּרַךְ צוּרֵי, which he translates, "Mayest Thou be praised, my Creator!"

The letters on both sides of the figure, he reads בְּנִימִין בֶּן כּוּשׁ "Benjamin the son of Kush," which, he says, was probably the name of the warden of the Jewish congregation at Lyons.

In the year 1834, Dr. Eliacin Carmoly published a report on that medal, which he made to the Académie Royale des sciences et belles lettres de Bruxelles. His report is entitled, "Mémoire sur une médaille en l'honneur de Louis-le-Débonnaire," and I am under obligation to Mr. Akerman for having called my attention to it.

Dr. Carmoly, after stating what Menestrier and De Boissi have said, observes:—"As my opinion on several points does not agree with those of Menestrier and De Boissi, I shall here give a new explanation, which, if I do not mistake, carries with it a high degree of probability. But, before proceeding to give his peculiar ideas on the subject, he gives the following account of the Jewish colony at Lyons.

This colony, he says, owes its origin to Herod the tetrarch, son of Herod the Great, whom the Emperor Caligula exiled to this place (v. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities,

indebted to my learned friend, Mr. M. E Stern, the editor of the כּוֹכְבֵי יִצְחָק.

Book xviii. ch. 9). It increased rapidly in number, in consequence of the Jews having been driven out of their country after the destruction of Jerusalem, and found in Lyons a most advantageous retreat. This large city being so favorably situated respecting the commerce with the Gauls, the Israelites who were compelled to procure for themselves some means of subsistence, devoted themselves with great activity to commerce, and the prosperity which they thereby procured to the city, gained for them the consideration of the people. Under the reign of Charlemagne, they appear to have been considered important citizens of the town, for they inhabited one of the finest quarters, which, at that time, was enclosed by the Saône and the hill of Fourvière. A portion of that quarter retains to this day the name of "Juiverie." On their account, the market, which was usually kept on Saturday, was transferred to Sunday. They had even an imperial overseer, who bore the name of "Maître des Juifs," whose duties were to take care that their privileges should not be infringed.

This state of their prosperity, however, attracted the jealousy of some of their neighbours, and the Bishop Agobard undertook to prosecute them. The Jews complained of his proceedings to the emperor, who immediately caused three commissioners to proceed to Lyons to investigate the case. The latter, having found the complaints of the bishop without foundation, declared the innocence of the Jews, and secured to them the privileges of which the bishop wanted to deprive them. Upon this, the prelate felt much aggravated, and expressed his doubts as to the truth of the commissioners' statement, and did not even hesitate to cast a doubt upon the genuineness of the imperial seal affixed to their credentials. Again he tried to bring a number of accusations against the Jews, and even induced two other

bishops to sign his petition to the emperor ; but Edrard, the imperial commissioner, examined the nature of his accusations ; and again they were declared to be altogether without foundation.

Bishop Agobard, seeing that all his efforts to injure the Jews were fruitless, determined to repair to the imperial court. He obtained an audience with the emperor, but it was an audience *de congé*. His words had no influence upon the emperor's mind, the Jews remained in favour, and retained all their privileges.

Dr. Carmoly, after having given the preceding account, goes on to say :—"So much justice manifested by an emperor against a bishop, from whom, under the sway of another monarch, a single order would have been sufficient to cause all the Jews to be banished from his diocese, excited in the hearts of the Jews in Lyons sentiments of the deepest gratitude. The chief of their community, being anxious to let the emperor know the high respect and the sincere gratitude which the Israelite community entertain towards him, caused this medal with the effigy of the prince thereon to be struck. This was the highest honour they could confer upon him ; but, as their religion distinctly enjoins them not to make any image whatever, they felt, that, by such an act, they would transgress the law ; for this reason they implored the forgiveness of God, which is expressed in the Hebrew inscription, invoking the Deity, at the same time, to preserve the life of the emperor."

The translation of the Hebrew legend he renders thus :—"By the decree of Him who governs (blessed may He be !) by His eternal will, and sincerity of all justice, I have seen this perishable figure. But, O ! may it last as long as this effigy. I shall reflect on Thy providence, O my God ! Rome bequeathed him a part of her renown ; and this it is

which makes me to be full of joy. I am waiting for thy deliverance from day to day. The Omnipotent is great, and pardoneth."

The four words on the two sides of the head Dr. Carmoly, like his predecessors, reads, "Benjamin, the son of Cush," a name which, he says, no doubt belonged to the head of the community at Lyons; and the initials, **יו גח יע מי בת**, **תע שא תל חז**, are probably the names of the members thereof.

The memoir of Dr. Carmoly has been well received by the Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles Lettres de Bruxelles, by Professor Bekker and the late Sylvestre de Sacy.

On the 28th of August, 1836, Monsieur Gerson Levi made a report on Dr. Carmoly's Memoire to the Académie des sciences at Metz.

The letters **י י** which Dr. Carmoly reads as an abbreviation of the Tetragrammaton, he considers to be an abbreviation of the words **יום ויום**, signifying "daily." The letters above the head of the figure, he reads **יש** "Jesse." The word **צורה** "figure," he reads **צורה** "persecution." The words **רומי השאיר** which Dr. Carmoly translates, "Rome bequeathed," he translates "he has left traces of my elevation," and interprets the whole legend as follows:—"By the decree of him who directs, blessed be He, I have seen the end of the persecution. I contemplate the providence of my God, and rejoice, O Omnipotent!"

Mr. Gerson remarks, that there has not yet been found any medal with the effigy of the French kings before the time of Charles the Seventh. There are *coins* in existence, but no *medals*, of the first two dynasties. "It is well known," he says, "that all medals struck previously to the reign of Charlemagne were spurious, and most of them the invention of Jacques Debuet, and Duval, his associate.

VOL. XIX.

K K

He concludes his report with the following observation. "The beautiful medal now before us, would, if we adopt the opinion of Menestrier, De Boissi, and Carmoly, accuse those numismatists, whose whole life had perhaps been devoted to elaborate researches, of inaccuracies. Let us rather come to the conclusion that the medal in question does not belong to the ninth century. But," continues he, "to which epoch then does it belong?—Well, gentlemen," said he, "if you can tell me what 800 minus 1000, D.III.M. indicates, this appearing to be the date of the medal, I shall be able to answer the last question. Meanwhile," continues he, "there is nothing determined yet; neither the time, nor the occasion which called it forth; and this medal will probably remain classed among the "uncertain," until better numismatists shall find out its original destination.

M. Gerson Levi, then, was the first who declared against Menestrier, De Boissi and Carmoly, that the medal in question does not belong to Louis le Debonnaire. The interpretation of the legend, however, and particularly the abbreviations thereof, made no progress. At last, in the year 1840, Dr. Zunz, in Dr. Jost's *Annalen*, wrote an elaborate report. He noticed the dots on the different words in the legend, and pointed out the Acrosticon **בנימין בן כבוד מורי הרב החכם רבי אליהו באר הרופא יחיה שנים רבות ומובות** "Benjamin, the son of my respected preceptor, the learned Doctor Rabbi Eliahu Beér, the physician, may he live many happy years." The first word is clear enough, and requires no explanation; the second, **בכמה"ד**, are the initials of words which were introduced in the fourteenth century, and he quotes instances from Rome, in the year 1496; and the last word, **ישרו**, is an abbreviation of words, commonly used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when speaking or writing of living persons. It results

from this, he says, that the legend must have been composed in the Papal States, in the fifteenth century. The most complete proof, Dr. Zunz continues, is given by the names of Eliahu Beér Harophé, which, as has been shown elsewhere,² was the name of an individual who, 400 years ago was still living in Rome, Eliahu Beér Harophé, being identical with Elia Beer (Fonte) ben Shabtái. He ordered the canon of Avicenna to be copied for him, and in a postscript to that work, he is distinctly called "the physician." Reference is also made to his son, who is represented as belonging to a learned profession. The time, country, family, and persons to whom the medal in question belongs, is, says Dr. Zunz, thus clearly proved. It comes from Benjamin, the son of Elia Beér, and was made in Rome at a time when his father, Eliahu the physician, was still alive, about the year 1430. This accounts, he observes, for the word רומי in the legend, as well as for the subject which he selected, viz., an imperial medal. The letter above the head of the figure, the Doctor takes for the letter ש, and considers it to be an abbreviation of the word שמי "my name;" for, says he, immediately below there is the name בנימין to be seen. The figure, continues the Doctor, has as little relation to the legend, as the writing has to the manufacturer's mark on the paper. But how can it be accounted for that such a beautifully impressed figure happens to be surrounded by so carelessly an executed inscription, intermixed with words of different legends? The rather forced and doubtful expressions of the legend, might be justified by the acrosticon which the author was anxious to form. The great pains which have been taken in the execution of the

² Dr. Zunz's *Analekten*, No. 5. Joab, in Dr. Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. iii. p. 53.

medal, show that the author must have had some great object in view, and that object, Dr. Zunz says, can only be made known unto us by the proper understanding of the words contained in the legend. He then gives his opinion to the following effect:—"Astrology was much in vogue during the middle ages. By metallic figures of large or small size, the influence upon the earth of heavenly bodies was supposed to be easily obtained. These metallic figures, together with the planets which they were supposed to represent, were called צִוּרִית. In the fourteenth century, in particular, there were many who pursued the study of that science with great zeal; in the fifteenth century, the sufferings and persecutions which Israel had to endure, together with the approaching time fixed for the arrival of the Messiah, was by several individuals supposed to have been ascertained from the position of the constellations. Jupiter was represented as the harbinger of good tidings; Mars the protecting power of Rome; and Saturn the protecting power of the Jews. It was to such a time," Dr. Zunz says, "that the legend of the medal refers, and all expressions therein, respecting occurrences, sentence, image and redemption, allude to ideas, which, about that period, were particularly fostered.

Possibly, he adds, that Benjamin ben Elia may have, according to his own calculations, fixed upon some time which he thought likely to put a stop to the persecutions the Jews had then to endure; but, to remove the suspicion from the people's mind that he had derived his information from astrology, and moreover, to declare that he offered all praise, and ascribed all glory to the Eternal God, and not to the influence of the stars, he, the author of the legend, said:—"God is the omnipotent and all-ruling being"; whatever Israel has to suffer is a visitation of God alone. Yet the

idea of comfort and consolation which, he said, we derive from our trusting in God alone, he blended with an image of superstition, and recorded his hope in the final victory of Israel round a figure which he considered an emblem of Rome's greatness and power. This figure, he says, must have been to the author of the legend himself, though a Roman, yet a symbol of tyrannical power; and the time of the expected redemption may possibly have been the year 1430—5190; this being the numerical value of the word הק"ץ.

He transcribes the legend as follows:—

בגזירת נוהג ית' מרצון נצחי בתם כל משפט העדר הצורה
ראיתי אורך לזמן ישיגהו הקץ ואתבונן בהשגחת אלי רומי
השאייר רשומם ואעלוז פדותך אוחיל יי שרי רב וסלה
וי גח וזע מ"י ב"ת ת"ע ש"א ת"ל ח"ן

And renders it thus:—"By the decree of the divine Disposer, praised be He; by the mercy of the Eternal; whilst all judgment ceases and the image perishes, I behold thy light at the time when redemption will take place, and reflect on the providence of my God. O! Romans, guard from their trace! Thus I shall rejoice, waiting for thy deliverance O God! almighty Ordainer and Forgiver."

With regard to the eighteen letters with which the legend appears to conclude, he says:—"If they do not represent certain numerals or parts of an amulet, they might perhaps represent sentences from the daily prayers. In the first eight letters, he observes, we may perhaps find the initials of

ומנן ישענו גומל השרים ופודה עניים מצמיה ישועה

The translation of which is:—"And the shield of our salvation, bestowing gracious favours and redeeming the humble. He who causes salvation to spring forth."

The words **בן כוש**, Dr. Z. continues, might have been introduced in imitation of Ps. vii., v. 1, where the name of Benjamin is preceded by the word **כוש**. Thus **על דברי כוש בן ימיני**. All the other words on this medal were perhaps unknown to the author of the Hebrew legend. He does not agree with Menestrier respecting the signification of D.III.M., but he makes no suggestion of any other. The medal, he says, was brought to Lyons with many thousand other objects of antiquity.

Having briefly stated all that has been said on this very remarkable medal, I will now venture to decypher that which all the above-named learned and distinguished authors have yet left for others to do.

But before I proceed with the solution of the sealed sentences contained in the eighteen letters, I will first make a few remarks respecting some *words* in the legend which are complete.

To ascertain the object the author of this or any other medal had in view, the first step the numismatist takes is a scrupulously attentive reading of the legend; but in attempting to do so with the legend on the medal before us, we meet with words of a rather dubious meaning. We must therefore seek for some other means to arrive at proper conclusions. Happily there are some little dots over the first letters in each word of the legend, which to the experienced eye, must, at once, appear of importance.

Menestrier, as stated before, has taken them for the letters **י** indicating the ineffable name of the Tetragrammaton, but Dr. Zunz found in them the signs for making up the name of the author of the legend, and I think there can be no doubt about the correctness of this supposition. But I differ from him in the interpretation he gives to the words **אלי רומי השאיר רשומם** and **בתם כל משפט העדר הצורה**

The first sentence he translates:—"Whilst all judgment ceases and the image perishes;" and the second by "my God, O Romans! guard from their trace!" It appears to me less strained if we were to translate the first sentence, **העדר הצורה**, בתם כל משפט העדר הצורה, by, "When all justice ceased, and consideration for men deserving respect became disregarded." The word **צורה** being a term used to express "men of regard." Thus we find in the Talmud, Treatise **אמר ליה לבריה**, ch. **משקין בית השלחין**, p. 9, **בני אדם הללו אנשים של צורה הם זיל גביכון דליברכוך** "R. Shimeon ben Yokhái said unto his son, 'These people are **אנשים של צורה** men of consideration (i.e., men deserving respect, learned men; as **רש"י** explains the words **של צורה** by **כלומר חכמים**), go unto them,' he said 'that they may favour you with a blessing.'"

Or, if we were to take the word **צורה** as a kabbalistic term signifying the divine attributes of justice and mercy **חסד**, **דין**, &c., by which the omnipotent Creator manifested himself to his creatures, in the same sense as the words **ותמונת העדר הצורה** must be taken. The translation of **העדר הצורה** would be, "And all good qualities which man ought to adopt from his Creator ceased."

From what will be said afterwards, it will be seen, that it is very possible the author may have intended to convey such meaning to the word, but as the English word "consideration" combines both, I would give preference to the first explanation.

And with regard to the second sentence, **אלי רומי השאיר**, **רשומם** I have no doubt that it must be rendered by, "Elia, the Roman, however, caused the spiritual traces thereof (viz., traces of justice and consideration) yet to remain." That is, by the spirit which pervades all his sacred composition, and by the exhortations which he made to his brethren

in his propitiatory prayers, he has shown that however justice and consideration may have vanished from earth, yet they remain with God. It was the Divine intention in creating the world, that justice and consideration should rule mankind, therefore they must again re-appear; and for this reason, the author rejoices, and fully hopes in a speedy redemption.

The expressions **השאי'ר רשומם** and **מ'רצון נצח'י** make it obvious that the author intended to use them in their kabbalistic sense. I only need to quote the tabular inscriptions from the **עמק המלך**, which may be seen, by those who have not the opportunity to refer to the original work, in Rosenroth's *Kabbala Denudata*, to show the correctness of my view.

The author of that work, in attempting to represent to the human mind the free will, emanation and concentration of the divine power, as manifested in the first act of the creation, describes his system, the different phases of the creation, in a square containing three circles or spheres, one within the other. Round the outer sphere, the square is painted black, to represent darkness; for, God, the Lord of will, (**בעל הרצון**) he says, is concealed from the comprehension of all living beings, and therefore his divine essence is unto them like darkness. **בעל הרצון שהוא חשך המוחלט נעלם מעין כל חי** This is the inscription round the first sphere. The second sphere in the tablet represents "light," viz.,—the eternal "light," which He, the Lord of will, caused to emanate by the manifestation of His spiritual design of the creation (**רשם**), and bears the following inscription, **אור האין סוף שהוציא בעל הרצון על ידי הרשם**. The third sphere represents the phase of creation, which was intended to become comprehensible to the human mind, and is for this reason called **עולם המלבוש מהרושם**, "The world

under the garment of the first emanation." Thus the expression **השאיך רשומם** in connection with the attribute of God as the **בעל הרצון**, leaves no doubt of the author's intention, that they should be understood in a kabbalistical point of view.

The root **שאר** connected with **רשם** we find in the language of the kabbalistic work, the **זוהר** of Rabbi Shimeon ben Yokhái, as expressed in the following sentence **ולא אשתאר ביה בהדיה גופיה בר חר רשימו דקוסטו דחיותא דרלבא** The following explanation of the word **רשם** as given by the author of the kabbalistic work **שפע מל** p. 33, will give us the exact meaning of the word in the legend before us:—

Like the sculptor who first slightly traces his design on the material previous to the beginning of the work **רשם**, then makes the first engraving **חקק**, which is followed by deeper incisions **הצב**, and finally completes his work by giving all the necessary perfections to each of the different forms **עשה**, so, the author says, might we be permitted to imagine the different phases of the first act of the Creator.

The Divine Being first called into existence the most high, the most spiritual world, the **עולם האצילות** (the world of free willed emanation), which, although the most incomprehensible to the human mind, was yet the prototype of all other created worlds; hence the first act of the creation, is, by the author of the **ספר יצירה**, expressed by the word **רשם** He slightly traced, as it were, the spiritual design of the worlds he intended to create.

Next came another world, which although like the first, invisible, was yet, to a certain degree, of a nature to be a little nearer to our comprehension; this was the **עולם**

³ "And there is nothing left within the body, except one trace of the spirit of life, which is in the heart" **זוהר , פרשת לך לך**

הבריאה (the world of creation), and, for this reason, forms the second phase, designated by the word חקק. He made, as it were, the first engraving of His design.

This was followed by the third phase, representing the world as the עולם היצירה (the world of formation), which, being a degree more comprehensible to our mind than the previous world, the act of this divine creation is expressed by the word חצב. He made deep incisions.

And lastly, the world of action עולם העשיה was produced, in which everything was intended for the comprehension of men; and this final act of the first creation is termed עשה.

The word רשומם then, signifies, their spiritual traces, viz., the spiritual design which God manifested of them (of justice and consideration, or the divine attributes of righteousness, mercy, compassion, which God intended man in this world should endeavour to imitate as much as lies in his power) in the first phase of His act of creation.

The fifteenth century, a period to which, as will be shown hereafter, the medal belongs, was a time when Israel had to endure the greatest oppression, and the most unheard-of persecutions; justice ceased to be shown towards them, and men of the greatest desert were treated in the most cruel manner; so that all hope of deliverance was nearly given up by them. The author of the legend, therefore, refers his brethren to illustrations of divine providence, as taught by Eli Romi, which cannot but impress on their minds, that justice and consideration had yet left traces on earth, and that God surely would deliver them from the hands of their oppressors.

Eli Romi, I consider to be identical with Elia, the son of Shemáya 'אל' בר שמעי' the author of many supplicatory prayers סליחות adopted in the Roman as well as in the German ritual of the Jews.

He was, no doubt, a man of great learning and piety, who

in his time, endeavoured to re-kindle the flame of hope in the bosom of his brethren, by directing their thoughts to the omnipotent and everlasting Disposer of events. In his sacred hymns and propitiatory prayers, he elucidated the ways of Providence in a manner pre-eminently calculated to raise the sunken spirit of the nation, and to re-animate them with the hope of a speedy deliverance; concluding his exhortations by the assurance of God's forgiveness. The Omnipotent, he often says, takes no delight in the punishment of the transgressor, but in seeing him leave the path of wickedness, and thus remain alive, both physically and spiritually. The author of the legend, therefore, could not have selected a more zealous individual in the cause of God than Eli, nor could he have addressed more fervent exhortations than those coming from his pen, and which were familiar in the mouths of the devout children of Israel.

The word **בהשגחת** which precedes the sentence **אלי רומי השאיר רשומם בהשגחת אלי רומי** I translate with Providence, and render **בהשגחת אלי רומי** by Providence of Eli Romi (viz., by the providence as taught or illustrated by the Eli Romi). The fact of Eli Romi's instruction being ascribed as a subject belonging to himself, cannot be a cause of surprise, for we find distinctly a similar case in the Book of Deuteronomy ch. 37, where the righteousness and the judgments of God are ascribed to Moses, on account of his having instructed Israel in those divine attributes. Thus:—

צדקת ה' עשה ומשפטיו עם ישראל

As these two words **אלי רומי** form the most difficult part in the legend, I may perhaps be permitted to adduce some proof in support of my assertion.

Eli Romi, I said to be identical with Elia the son of Shemáyá, the author of the **סליחות**. Having no information respecting his birth-place, we may not unreasonably

suppose him to be of Roman origin, and for this reason called in the legend **אלי רומי**. And, I maintain, that this may be unquestionably proved by comparing almost all the propitiatory prayers of his composition with the legend in question.

After introducing his subject by quoting an expression from Daniel iv. 14, which refers to what has been communicated in a dream to Nebuchadnezzar, to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will **"בגזירת"** **נחמ** he complains of justice and consideration having disappeared **העדר הצורה** This corresponds with what Eli bar Shemáyá says in his propitiatory prayer which begins with the words **אתה חלקי וצור** **לכבי** "I cry because of violence which is committed, but no one cometh to render help. Why doest thou permit, O Lord! the wicked to surround the righteous! Thou, whose helping hand cannot be restrained. An avaricious and low fellow sits like a king among his associates, removing the noble-minded from before his presence like a useless shard."⁴

Eli Romi states that he anxiously looked out for the appointed time, in which the redemption would take place **ראיתי אורך לזמן ישיגורו הקץ** Eli bar Shemáyá says "The end is concealed, no one knoweth it."⁵ The duration of the

4 חָסֵם אֶזְעַק וְאֵין מוֹשִׁיעַ: לָמָּה צָדִיק מִבְּתִיר מִיִּשְׁעֵי וְלֹא קָצְרָה יָדָּהּ
מִהוֹשִׁיעַ (סליחה צ"ד)

כִּילִי וְנָבֵל בְּמִלְכָּה בְּמִסְבּוֹ נָדִיב וְשׁוֹעַ נִטְרָד בְּחֻבּוֹ בְּכָלִי אֵין חֶפֶץ בּוֹ: צָדִיק
מִטְּ לִפְנֵי רִשָּׁע (סליחה צ"ד)
מִמְשָׁל רַב לְקָרֵב לָמָּה הִחַלֵּם נָבֵל בְּנָדִיב וְכִילִי בְּשׁוֹעַ שָׁלֵם (סליחה ק"א)

5 זְמַן קָצִי סְתוּם מִלְרַע
מִמְשָׁרֵי לֵב מִשְׁנָה כָּל נְבוֹן וְרָבִן
נִעְלָם מִשְׁדּוּחַ הָעֶדָן וְנִסְתָּם בְּשִׁשׁ הַחֲרָדָן (סליחה ל"ג)

Eli Romi yet puts his trust in God, and hopes that the day will nevertheless come when Israel will again rejoice, for God is merciful and forgiving פְּרוּתָךְ אוֹחִיל יְיָ שְׂדֵי רַב Eli bar Shemáyá says, "My hope, however, is that He is forgiving and exculpating, it is for this reason that I continue to place my trust in my Creator, even whilst exposed to the danger of being deprived of my life." ⁶

In pointing out several letters which are differently represented by the before-mentioned decyphers, I may here observe, that allowance must be made for those who made their translations from the print, either in Menestrier's History of Lyons, or from that in the Memoir of Dr. Carmoly; both prints I do not consider exact copies from the original, as I shall presently have the honour of showing.⁷

The method I adopted to find the words for these abbreviations was simply, in the first place, to search for such

6 תִּקְנֵנִי הוּא סוֹלֶה וּמוֹחֵל הֵן יִקְטְלֵנִי לוֹ אֵיחָל
שְׁמוֹר מִלֵּט עֲבֹדֶיךָ יְדִידֶיךָ הַצֵּלָה חַיִּשׁ וְזֶן קָרֵב פְּדוּתָם וְהַשְׁלָחָה מִחַל לָנוּ
אֲבִינוּ הַטְּאִינוּ סֵלָה בִּי אֲתָה ה' טוֹב וְסֵלָה
(סֵלִיחָה צ"ד) (סֵלִיחָה ק"א)

7 Mr. Williams kindly favoured me with a print of the medal, for which I beg to offer him my best thanks.

words as would correspond with the nature of the legend in general ; and, secondly, to find some sentence to indicate the name of the maker of the medal ; for, I took it for granted, that the author of the inscription had nothing to do with the making of the figure, or the Latin and Greek inscriptions.

Having previously established that the legend referred to the redemption of Israel, as prayed for by **אלי בר שמעי**, I searched for words in connection with that subject, and came to the following result :

Let us take the first eight letters which follow the word **וסלח**, and for our better comprehension, place under each of them a number, thus :—**וי גח ויע עי**.

8.7.6.5.4.3.2.1

Dr. Carmoly takes them as initials of names belonging to some of the former members of the Hebrew community at Lyons. Dr. Zunz is of opinion, that they might be abbreviations of words contained in the daily prayers. He takes six letters of the first line, together with the two letters **מ** of the vertical line under the **ג**, and reads them, as stated before :—

ומגן ישענו גומל הוהדים ופודה עניים מצמיח ישועה

“And the shield of our salvation bestowing gracious favours and redeeming the humble, causing salvation to spring forth.”

The letters marked with the numbers 7 and 8 he takes for one letter, the **ש** ; which, he says, is an abbreviation of the word **שמי** “ my name,” referring to the name of **בנימין** to be seen immediately under it.

My humble opinion is, to take the No. 1, the letter **ן**, as an abbreviation of the word **ואני** ; No. 2, the letter **י**, for **ידעתי** ; No. 3, the letter **ג**, for **גואלי** ; No. 4, the letter **ח**, for **חי** ; No. 5, the letter **ו**, for **ואחרון** ; No. 6, the letter **ע**, for **על** ; No. 7, the letter **ע**, for **עפר** ; and No. 8, the letter **י**,

for יָקוֹם;—these words, when read in succession, form the twenty-fifth verse of the nineteenth chapter of Job:—

וְאֲנִי יֹדְעָתִי גֹאֲלִי חַי וְאַחֲרָיוֹן עַל עֵפֶר יָקוֹם

“I know it, my Redeemer liveth, the last mortal will confirm it,” and are remarkably connected with the words of רֵאִיתִי אוֹרֶךְ לִזְמַן יִשְׁגְּהוּ הַקֶּץ and פְּרוֹתֶךְ אוֹחִיל, alluding to the hope of a redemption.

I am, moreover, inclined to think, that the contents of four verses preceding the twenty-fifth have given the idea of perpetuating the belief in a sure and speedy redemption on metal.

“Why do ye persecute me as God, and are not satisfied with my flesh? O that my words were now written! O that they were engraved in a book! That they were graven in the rock for ever with an iron pen and lead.”

לָמָּה תִּרְדָּפֵנִי כְּמוֹ אֵל וּמִבְּשָׁרִי לֹא תִשָּׁבְעוּ: מִי יִתֵּן אֶפְסוֹ
וַיִּכְתְּבוּן מִלִּי מִי יִתֵּן בְּסֵפֶר וַיַּחֲקֹ: בְּעֵט-בְּרֹזֶל וְעִפְרָת
לְעֵד בְּצוּר יִחַצְבֹּן

The individual who caused the medal to be struck, thought the case of his brethren, to a certain degree, similar to that of Job. The enemies of the Jews probably said unto them, “The troubles and persecutions which embitter your life are a well deserved chastisement for your iniquities, God has now forsaken you,” and other similar expressions. The words in the inscription remind us to answer these remonstrances in words similar to those of Job: “True, our sins are great, yet we have never denied Divine justice. His punishment we have well deserved; but nevertheless our hope is not gone; on the contrary, I know that my redeemer liveth, the last mortal will confirm it.”

The next nine letters appear, to me, to represent abbre-

viations of words which give the name of the person who made the medal. Six of these letters which are opposite to the eyes and nose of the figure (מ"י כ"ת ה"ע), I read for מעשה ידי כתיבת העניו, the translation of which is, "The work of my hand, the writing of the humble." The three remaining letters, immediately under the tied-up hair, were taken by Menestrier, Carmoly, Levy, Löwisohn and Zunz for one word, כוש, "Ethiopia"; I take them for an abbreviation of three words. Having the medal before me, I can distinctly see that the second letter is not a ך but ר, similar in form to that in the word הצורה of the legend. I also notice three dots over the three letters, which confirm me in my belief of their being abbreviations; and for these reasons I am led to consider the three letters to represent the three words כבוד רבי שבתי "the respected R. Shabtái," possibly a relative of Eliahu Beer.

The two letters opposite to בן are בן, "son," the two letters in front of the head, and the three letters behind, make the word בנימין. Taking now the nine letters together with the insertion of the words בנימין בן, we shall have the following legend : מעשה ידי כתיבת העניו בנימין בן "The work of my hand, the writing of my hand, the humble Benjamin, the son of the respected R. Shabtái."

I have taken the letters ה"ע as an abbreviation of the word העניו, and not העני, for two reasons; the first is, because the Jews in general are not in the habit of prefixing that attribute of modesty to their names; they generally use the word הצעיר "the young," or הקטן "the little." The Caraites and the present Samaritans only, who adopted this custom from the Arabs, prefix to their signature the word الفقير Elfakeer, "the poor"; and the second reason

is, because I believe **העניי** to have been the name of the family from which he descended.

There was, among the Jewish physicians in Italy, as recorded by Dr. Carmoly in his *Historie des Médecins Juifs*, a family of the name of **עניי** "the humble," in Italian, "dei piatelli." The most distinguished of them were Benjamin **רוֹפֶה** and Abraham **רוֹפֶה**, who lived during the time of Pope Innocent the Third. Their descendants were all men of great distinction, having written several works of great literary value. The names of Jehuda **יאֵאלֶה**, the son of Benjamin **הֵאָנָב העניי**; his two brothers, Zidkeyáh and Yekutiel; Benjamin and Zidkeyáh, the sons of Abraham the physician, are well known.

The author of the book, Sheebooley **הָלֶכֶת**, mentions the name of Yehuda **יאֵאלֶה** the son of Benjamin **הֵאָנָב העניי** as having written valuable commentaries on a work called **הָלָאָחֹת אֶלְפָּסֶה**. Zidkeyáh the younger brother of Yehooda is quoted with much praise by the same author. Yekutiel's son was the author of an excellent work on morals, entitled **מָאֵלוֹת הָאֵמוּנוֹת**. Benjamin, the son of Abraham, the physician, left several works of his composition, one of which, entitled "The fourteen gates," is deposited in the *Bibliothèque Impériale* of Paris, Fonds Sorbonne, No. 246. Zidkeyáh, the younger brother of Benjamin, and disciple of Yehooda **יאֵאלֶה**, is the author of the above-named Sheebooley **הָלֶכֶת**.

A descendant of this family was the pious physician Menakhem (**עניי**) **אָנָב**, who lived in Rome, and died there, renowned for his great learning and piety.

Dr. Zunz, in his *Analekten*, published in Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, mentions the family of **עניי**, **אָנָבִים**, very frequently. In describing Jechiel Chajim ben Jacob, of Bethel, he says, that individual wrote a work for a member

of the family dei Piatelli, in the year 1445, and was instrumental in procuring a copy of the two first books of Avicenna's Canon for Elia Beér (Fonte) ben Sabtai. He also mentions Joab ben Baruch, as belonging to the family of the Anavim ענני.

The celebrated poet, Emanuel Romi ben Shelomo, the contemporary of the Italian Fra Guittone of Arezzo, in describing, in his poetic vision, his visit to Paradise, gives the names of several members of the Anavim family whom he had seen there.

"On leaving the place assigned for the punishment of the transgressors," said he, "where our thoughts, from what we had seen there, had become nearly confused, our mind extended its wings and took a flight towards Eden, the place assigned for reward to those who acted in conformity with the will of the Creator; we directed our course towards the ladder, the foot of which is fixed on earth, but the top reacheth heaven. On our reaching that celestial abode, we met there my lord and preceptor R. Benjamin, who instructed me in the law when I was young; R. Zidkeyáhoo, the Anav, ענני, and his three sons, the pre-eminently pious physician, R. Menakhem, the righteous R. Yitzkhák, the physician, and his son, R. Benjamin."

Believing, then, that the maker of this medal was a descendant of the family ענני "the humble or meek," in Italian "Dei piatelli," or, as expressed in Hebrew words, by Bartolocci, מלפאטלי, I read the abbreviation of הענני, and not העני.

By adopting this mode of reading, I arrive at the conclusion, that the Latin word "umilitas," and the Greek word, *τλωύροσις*, are merely translations of the word הענני, and indicate nothing more than the name of the distinguished family from whom the maker descended.

We now come to the last six letters, which appear to come out of the mouth of the figure. I am inclined to think that the maker of the medal, having seen the design of his work complete, thought proper to render thanks to the everlasting Being for his success, as was customary with the Jews to do on completing a work, and which may still be seen on the last page in many printed books. The usual form is expressed in the following six letters, תושלבע, which are abbreviations of the words

הם ונשלם שבח לאל בורא עולם

and signify "Ended and completed; praise to God, the Creator of the universe!"

The letters on the medal are ש"א ת"ל ח"ו, I read them as abbreviations of the words

שבח אתן תהלה לאל חי וקים

and which may be rendered by "I give praise and glory to the living and everlasting God."

Having, as I venture to hope, satisfactorily decyphered the legend on the obverse, we shall now turn our attention to the Latin inscription on the reverse.

There we find various points which require great consideration. The Latin words "post tenebras spero lucem," have been taken by Dr. Carmoly to be the last portion of Job xvii. 13, according to the translation of the Vulgata. This is, so far, quite correct; but may we not ask, how is it that a Jew, who is supposed to have been the author of the inscription, should have departed from the plain sense of the Hebrew text אור קרוב מפני חשך, which is, "Light is near unto me in consequence of the darkness,"⁸ and adopt, in preference, the translation of the Vulgata?

⁸ Job in describing the troubles which befell him, saying, זמתי, נתקו מרשי לבבי, complained of their preventing him from sleeping at night; לילה ליום ישימו אור קרוב מפני חשך "They make night into day, light to be near in consequence of darkness (trouble).

Another point of consideration is, to what particular date do the letters D.III.M. refer, so as to justify the Jews in their belief that the time of redemption was near at hand ; and, if referring to the Christian era, might we not reasonably ask, what object could the Jewish author have had in view, by commemorating his pious exhortations, apparently directed to his brethren in faith alone, according to the Christian, in preference to the Jewish era ?

To answer these questions we must again unfold the book of history ; but to find the exact page therein for our information, we must first decide the exact meaning of the letters D.III.M.

As most of the learned members of this Society unanimously agree to consider the end of the fifteenth century, or even the beginning of the sixteenth century, as the proper period in which to place the striking of this medal, I feel inclined to adopt the opinion of Mr. Bergne, who, on seeing it, at once remarked, that the irregular position of the letters D.III.M., would not prevent the reading of them in the same manner as if they had been written M.D.III. He pointed out a considerable number of instances given in Van Loon's *Histoire Métallique des Pays Bas*, vol. i., p. 121, and I entertain no doubt of the correctness of his views, this being frequently the case in Hebrew, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian dates. But as the instances quoted by Mr. Bergne refer to letters selected from whole words, we must, for this reason, also in the medal before us seek the words which the author may have had in view in placing the numeral letters in this unusual order, otherwise we might not be justified in adopting Mr. Bergne's opinion.

My humble opinion is, that the author of the legend intended to introduce the initials of an additional sentence, bearing on the subject of redemption, and by doing so he

gained two objects, which, as I shall show afterwards, he had much at heart, viz., to exhort the Jews to remain firm in their belief of a speedy redemption, and to point out a fixed date for the appearance of the Messiah to the Christians.

I take the letter M. to represent the Hebrew מ, which I consider to have been intended as an abbreviation of the word מְעֹלָם; the III., for the Hebrew ג, an abbreviation of the word גִּלְגָּל; and the D., for the Hebrew ד, an abbreviation of the ineffable name of the Tetragrammaton. The three words together, then, I read either from the left to the right, or from the right to the left, and the sense of them in either way, would be, "The Eternal Being is our Redeemer from ever since."

Having now ascertained the year 1503 to have been the period when the medal was struck, we shall, on referring to history, find two extraordinary events recorded, which will serve us fully to shed an entirely new light on the subject of our enquiry.

The first of these was the preservation of the Talmud, a work containing all the authenticated traditional explanations to the law, which an apostate from the Jewish religion, a man of the name of Pfeffercorn, wanted, by his influence with the Pope, to have consigned to the flames.

Most extraordinarily the work was saved by the exertions of a man who was the chief of the Christian learned theologians of his time. Dr. Johannis Reuchlin wrote a defence of the Talmud in Hebrew, which was published for the first time, from the original manuscript, in G. Friedländer's *Berträge zur Reformation's Geschichte*, Berlin, 1837, and translated by the writer of this into English, in his Appendix to Levinsohn's *Effés Dammin*, London, 1841.

Considering the innumerable sacrifices which the Jews have always made of their lives and property, only to

remain true to their religion, we may easily judge to what extent their hope in the special protection of the Omnipotent must have been re-kindled within their bosoms, on seeing, in an age of hatred and persecution, as the fifteenth century was, a man differing from them in faith, rise and defend that book, elucidating the principles of the religion, for which they had made so many sacrifices.

The second extraordinary event, was the appearance of an individual, who, by his exhortations, prepared both Jews and Christians for the arrival of the Messiah. As this disclosure refers to the most important point in our investigation, I shall give an exact translation, of the accounts relating to that subject, as given in the works *Emék Hábákhá עמק הבכא* by R. Joseph Hacoheh, and *Tzémákh David דוד צמח* by R. David Gans.

Referring to the year 1496, which gave him birth, the author of the *Emék Hábákhá* says, "About that time there rose in Istria, near Venice, a German Jew of the name of Lemlein; he was a foolish prophet, a madman, who professed to be gifted with inspiration. Many Jews flocked around him, and believed him to be a real prophet; 'God,' said they, 'has sent him to become a ruler in Israel, for the purpose of gathering the dispersed sons of Judah from the four cardinal points of the earth.'" Even men of learning, said the author, followed him. They proclaimed fasts, girded sackcloth round their loins, and with feelings of deep contrition they left their wicked paths to turn unto God. "Our salvation," they said, "is nigh to come, and the Eternal, in proper season (which they believed then to be), will hasten our redemption to take place."

The author of the *Tzémákh David* describes that event as follows:—"In the year 5260—1500,* Rabbi Lemlein

* According to the author of the *ששלת הקבלה*, this year was called *שנת התשובה*, the year of penitence.

announced the arrival of the Messiah. His words were believed among Israelites, and even among non-Israelites he caused great sensation, and many Christians believed in his predictions.⁹ My grandfather, R. Seligmann Gans," says the author, "was so firm in his belief, that he actually broke up his oven, which he solely used for the baking of Passover biscuits, because Lemlein assured him he would bake them next year in Jerusalem." The author further states, that he had heard his own preceptor, R. Eliezer Treves, the Chief Rabbi of Frankfort on the Maine, saying, "The predictions were not without foundation, but owing to the sins of Israel the arrival of the Messiah has not taken place.

Basnage and Wolf also give an account of Lemlein, but they give his name incorrectly as David Lemlein, his name was Asher. They have no doubt confused it with that of David Reubeni, the associate of Shelomo Molkho.

Basnage remarks, that Lemlein having soon become aware of his having prefixed too short a time for his prophecies, published that the people's sins had retarded the appearance of the Deliverer, and the nation celebrated a solemn fast to appease God, and to hasten the deliverance, which did not come.

From the above historical statements, it becomes evident that the end of the fifteenth century was the exact period in which many Jews and Christians in Germany and Italy looked out for the arrival of the Messiah. The words פְּרוּתָךְ אוֹחִיל "I hope for Thy redemption," in the Hebrew legend are thus fully explained. The date, 1503, no doubt refers to the year in which the deliverance from trouble and

° רבי לעמלין הי' מבשר על ביאת משיח בשנת ר"ס ובכל תפוצות
ישראל האמינו לדבריו נם בין הגוים הי' הקול הולך ונרדל ורבים טהם נם
האמינו לדבריו

persecution was to have taken place, as indicated by the connexion in which the letters D.III.M. appear to have with the Latin words "dies ultimus."

The Latin inscription together with the Christian era were introduced to make the object of the medal better known to the Christians, of whom, as stated before, many were his zealous adherents. For the same reason, the translation of the Vulgata has been introduced in preference to any other, the latter being considered by the Christians the most authentic. Possibly the author of the Latin inscription, may have intended to convey to the non-Israelite followers of Lemlein, some idea of what is contained in the kabbalistic portion of the Hebrew legend, where the word רשומם expresses that phase of the first act of the creation, in which the spiritual world was called into existence, known by the word אור "light" that came after "darkness" חושך.

The figure on the medal has been introduced merely to evade every suspicion that could have been cast on them for striking a medal commemorating views and hopes, undoubtedly not shared by the government of that time.

For the same reason, names of individuals were introduced who did not exist at the time of the making of the medal, but in all probability referred to certain parties best known to those initiated in the secret designs of Asher Lemlein, and the irregular order of the letters indicating the date, had in addition to the reasons stated, also another: the fear of being detected by the authorities.

It remains, at present only to add another remark to the name of אלי רומי. The author of the Hebrew legend, I said before, referred to 'אלי' בר 'שמעי' who composed supplicatory prayers, the contents of which are similar to that of the legend. Now, as it has been ascertained that Asher Lemlein was the individual whose appearance the medal

was intended to commemorate, it may be interesting to find in the words **אשר רומי לעמלין יהודי רומי** the initials of Asher Lemlein, a Roman Jew, and which may perhaps have been also a reason for introducing that name in the legend.

The word **רומי** might be taken as a term, not only referring to a native of Rome, but also to a person coming from a province belonging to the ancient Roman Empire, which included Istria, near Venice; the meaning of **Romi**, for the Roman Empire, is given in the frequent expressions of **רומי ותרומי** and **רומי ותרומי** by the authors of **סליחות**.

The result of my researches, then, is, that the medal in question had nothing to do with Louis le Debonnaire, with the Jews of Lyons, or with astrology. It was intended to commemorate the predictions of Asher Lemlein respecting the arrival of the Messiah in the year 1503, as expected by many Jews and Christians at that time.

The following is the complete Hebrew legend, with the translation thereof:—

בגורת נורה ית' מרצון נצחי בתם כל משפט העדר
הצורה ראיתי אורך לזמן ישיגהו הקץ ואתבונן בהשגחת
אלי רומי השאיר דשומם ואעלה פדותך אוהיל יוי
שדי דב זסלה :
ואני ידעתי גואלי חי ואחרון על עפר יקום : מעשה ידי
כתיבת העניו בנימין בן כבוד רבי שבתי : שבת אתן
תהלה לאל חי וקים

“By the decree of Him who is the guide (of the universe),
blessed be He! By His eternal will.

“When all justice ceased, and consideration failed, I beheld
the length of that period reaching the appointed end of
exile (and no redemption had yet taken place), but on re-

VOL. XIX.

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flecting on the ways of Providence as taught by Eli Romi (I perceived), that He caused the spiritual traces of them yet to remain, and I rejoiced.

"I fully hope in Thy redemption, O Eternal! omnipotent God, who art great and forgiving. I know it; my Redeemer liveth, the last on earth will confirm it.

"The work of my hand, the writing of Benjamin, the son of R. Shábtái, of the Anávim family.

"Praise and glory I render to the living and everlasting God."

* * By an oversight, three signs of abbreviation were omitted in the engraving; the original has those signs on the first letter of each word, so as to make up the Acrosticon.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1855—56.

NOVEMBER, 29, 1855.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents, received during the recess, were announced, and laid upon the table:—

PRESENTED BY

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| Bulletin de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux Arts de Belgique. Part II, for 1854, completing Vol. XXI, and Part I, of Vol. XXII. 1855. 8vo. Brussels, 1854—5. | } THE ACADEMY. |
| Annuaire de l'Academie Royale, &c., &c., Belgique, 12mo. pp. 276. Brussels, 1855. | } DITTO. |
| Bibliographie Académique ou Liste des ouvrages publiés par les Membres correspondants, et Associés résidents de l'Academie Royale de Belgique. 12mo. pp. 254. Brussels, 1855. | } DITTO. |
| Antiquarisks Tidsskrift utgivet af det kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab. (Antiquarian Journal, published by the Royal Northern Antiquarian Society) 1849—1851. 8vo. pp. 348, and 3 plates, Copenhagen, 1852. | } THE SOCIETY. |
| Ditto for 1852—1854. 8vo. pp. 320, woodcuts, Copenhagen, 1854. | } DITTO |

PRESENTED BY

- Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1848—1849. 8vo. pp. 438, and 5 plates, Copenhagen, 1852. } THE SOCIETY.
- Nordboernes Forbindelser med Oesten i det niende og nærmest følgende Aarhundreder (The relations of the Northmen with the East in the ninth and immediately following centuries). By Carl Christian Rafn. 8vo. pp. 8. Copenhagen, 1854. } DITTO.
- Discovery of America by the Northmen, (In English, Danish, and French). 8vo. pp. 4. Copenhagen. } DITTO.
- Saga játvardar Konungs Hins Helga, udgiven efter Islandske Oldbøger af det kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab. (The Jatvard Saga of the holy king Hins, published from Icelandic MSS., by the Royal Northern Antiquarian Society). 8vo. p. 43, and a plate of facsimile. Copenhagen, 1852. } DITTO.
- Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de l'Orléanois. Tome III., royal 8vo., pp. 356, Orleans, Chartres, and Paris, 1855. } DITTO.
- Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de l'Orléanois. Nos. 15 to 20, royal 8vo. Orleans, 1853 to 1855. } DITTO.
- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. XV. Part II. 8vo. plates and wood-cuts. London, 1855. } DITTO.
- Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. I. Part III., completing the volume. Small 4to., many wood-cuts. Edinburgh, 1855. } DITTO.
- Journal of the Photographic Society, to No. 36. November, 1855. Royal 8vo. London. } DITTO.
- Revue Numismatique Belge. Vol. IV. Parts 8 and 4. Vol. V. Parts 1, 2, and 3. Royal 8vo. with many plates. Brussels, 1854—5. } THE EDITOR.

PRESENTED BY

- Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altesthumsfreunden im Rheinlande. (Annual of the Society of Antiquaries of the Rhine). No. XXII. 8vo. pp. 168, and 2 Lithographic plates. Bonn, 1855. } THE SOCIETY.
- Ch. M. Fræhnii nova supplementa ad recensio- nem numorum Muhammedanorum Academiae Imp. Scient. Petropolitanae additamentis Editoris aucta, subjunctis ejusdem de Fræhnii vita operibus impressis et Bibliotheca relationibus. Edidit Bernh. Dorn Musei Asiatici Director. Royal 8vo. pp. 451. Petersburg, 1855. } DR. DORN.
- Lettre à M. de Longpérier sur les Moutons d'or frappés en Normandie par le Roi d'Angleterre Henri V. Par M. B. le Carpentier. Royal 8vo. pp. 15 and a plate. Blois, 1855. } THE AUTHOR.
- Descriptive Notice of the Drawings, Tracings, Models, and Miscellaneous publications of the Arundel Society, exhibited November, 1855, in the Crystal Palace, Sydenham. 12mo. pp. 46, many wood-cuts. London, 1855. } THE ARUNDEL SOCIETY.
- Catalogue of select examples of Ivory Carvings from the Second to the Sixteenth Century, preserved in various public and private collections in England and other Countries. By Edmund Oldfield. 4to. pp. 28. London, 1855. } DITTO.
- Descriptive Catalogue of London Traders' Tavern and Coffee-House Tokens in the Corporation Library, Guildhall, formerly collected for Mr. Beaufoy. By Jacob Henry Burn. 2nd Edition, 8vo. pp. 287. Portrait and Plates. London, 1855. } LIBRARY COMMITTEE, GUILDHALL.
- History of the Art of Pottery in Liverpool. By Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A. 12mo. pp. 37, many wood-cuts. Liverpool, 1855. } THE AUTHOR.

Mr. Pfister exhibited a bronze medal (about size 11) of Francesco Quirini, Patrician of Venice, and Procurator of San Marco, by the eminent Engraver and Gem-cutter, Giovanni Cavino, of Padua, executed about the year 1550, and considered as one of his best works of that class.

Obv.—The bust, FRANC. QVIRINVS.

Rev.—The Roman Wolf and Twins, with legend PERPETVA SOBOLES indicating the supposed origin of the family.

Mr. Akerman exhibited impressions of 1. A Gaulish Coin of a type similar to an example in the Collection of the British Museum, engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XI. p. 147. No. 12 of the plate; but the metal is a very pale electrum. 2. A Gold British Coin lately found at Ellesborough, Buckinghamshire, of type similar to No. 3, in the Plate at p. 80 of Vol. XVI. of the Numismatic Chronicle. The letters ANDO below the horse are remarkably distinct.

Mr. Evans exhibited a rare Gaulish Coin in gold, bearing the inscription VIROS. A similar coin is engraved in Lelewel's Type Gauloise, Plate IV., No. 17.

Mr. Sainthill, presented to the Society through the Treasurer, a Bronze Medal, the obverse of which presents his own portrait, "Richard Sainthill, of Topsham, Devonshire, Numismatist, born Jan. 28. 1787;" and the reverse, a personification of the Science of Numismatics, extending her right hand to a young female, who represents *Time present*, and with her left withdrawing a curtain and disclosing an old man seated, as a type of *Time past*. The legend is "IRRADIATING THE PRESENT—RESTORING THE PAST." The Medal is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter, and is the work of Mr. Leonard C. Wyon.

The Treasurer exhibited and read a paper on—

1st, a gold piece of Edward VI.

Obv. The bare-headed bust of the king, as on Pl. vii. No. 12 of Ruding; but with the legend, SCVTVM FIDEI PROTEGET EVM. M. M. a cinquefoil.

Rev. 1547. ANNO DE CIMO ETAT IS EIVS in four lines across the field: the date forming the first line; the other three,

containing the inscription, divided in the second and third words, as indicated by the spaces. The cinquefoil is repeated above and below the inscription, and also between the words.

Weight, 108 grains.

This piece, which is hitherto unknown, and believed to be unique, is of the same class as that engraved in Ruding, Pl. vii. No. 14, which has on the obverse a leafed rose, and on the reverse *INSIGNIA POTENTISSIMI REGIS ANGLIE*. 1547; and which was formerly in the Pembroke Cabinet. That, also, is supposed to be unique in gold; but the Museum possesses a very fine specimen in silver. On examining the piece now exhibited, it appeared that the inscription on the reverse had not been struck from a die like the obverse; but had been afterwards put in, letter by letter, by separate punches; the obverse being placed upon lead or putty, to prevent its being defaced by the operation. The inscription on the reverse of the silver piece in the Museum, seems to have been produced in a similar manner; and thus the extreme rarity of these pieces is accounted for.

Mr. Bergne then proceeded to discuss the question, whether these pieces were intended as patterns for a coin, or merely as medalets or jettons; and stated his reasons for concluding that they are both jettons.

2nd, a denarius of Vespasian, unpublished both as to obverse and reverse.

Obv. The full-length figure of the emperor in a military habit: the right arm extended; in the left, from which hangs a mantle, he holds a lance with the point downwards. Across the field, *VESPASIA NVS* on each side of the figure, as divided by the space.

Rev. The full-faced and radiated head of the sun, as on the coins of the Mussidia family.

Denarii of Vespasian exist which were struck at Ephesus, and bear the monogram of that city; and it is possible that the coin now exhibited was struck at Rhodes, in commemoration of the visit

of Vespasian, on his voyage from Alexandria to assume the imperial power.

The paper has been published in the Numismatic Chronicle, with an illustrative plate.

Mr. Williams read a paper on some curious and remarkable Chinese coins, which had lately come under his notice. These coins, thirteen in number, ranged from the very earliest period of the Chinese coinage, down to the beginning of the 18th century. The earliest professed to be struck by the Emperor Shun, who, according to the Chinese annals, ascended the throne B.C. 2251, or at least by one of his immediate successors; but even taking it at B.C. 2100, this would, if true, establish the use of pieces of metal with inscriptions on them, as the medium of exchange, more than a thousand years before the earliest coin with which we are acquainted—a period long before the Trojan war, or the foundation of the most celebrated cities of antiquity. How far the annals of China are to be regarded as authentic, is a matter still open for investigation; but they contain nothing that is inherently improbable. Be the truth what it may, coins—if such they are to be called—like the earliest of the series now exhibited, are evidently of very high antiquity, possibly dating long before the Christian era. Nos. 2 and 3 were specimens of what is called *knife-money*, of the date of about the commencement of the Christian era. No. 4, a piece of about the same period, of shape similar to No. 1, but far less rude. The remaining specimens are of the same shape as the Chinese money of the present day, round, with a square hole in the centre; but with various devices and inscriptions, and ranging in date from A.D. 560 to A.D. 1720. They all belong to the Master of the Mint, and were brought to Mr. Williams by a mutual friend for examination.

The President read a paper by Mr. Burgon, of the British Museum, on some rare coins lately acquired by that establishment. The coins illustrated were as follows:—

1. *Corinth.*—*Obv.* Female head to the right; the hair tied at the back of the head.

Rev. COL. L. IVL. C[OR]. A lioness standing on the back of a recumbent ram. The group is placed on the capital of a fluted Doric column. Æ. size 5.

2. *Corinth.*—*Obv.* SE. A naked male figure standing, seen nearly in front, holding a rudder in each hand, and being a personification of the Isthmus.

Rev. COR. Pegasus galloping to the right. Æ. size 3½.

3. *Corinth.*—*Obv.* Pegasus galloping to the left; his wings curled in archaic style; under him, ♀ as usual.

Rev. TPIH, or TPHI, or THPI. Full-faced head of Medusa, with tongue protruded, within a sunk square; the four letters being placed in the angles. AR. size 1½.

4. Which is new, is exactly similar, in metal, type, size, and age, to No. 3, with the exception that the Pegasus on the obverse is going to the right, and that the letter under him is Λ. It was therefore struck at Leucas, in Acarnania, an ancient colony of Corinth. The place intended by the letters on the reverse is unknown.

5. Is also new.

Obv. A naked Jupiter standing, seen nearly in front, having in his extended right hand a victoriola, and in his left a long sceptre.

Rev. IOPTYNIQN. AXAIQN. A female seated to the left; a patera in her extended right hand, and a long sceptre in her left. Beneath, a monogram, which seems to be composed of the letters ATP or ARAT. Æ. size 4½.

This coin not only adds a new town, Gortyna in Arcadia, to the twenty-seven towns already known of the Achaian League, but a new town to numismatic geography.

6. Is also new.

Obv. Boeotian buckler.

Rev. OPX across the field. Æ. size 5.

This coin is of Orchomenus. Coins of similar type, size, metal, and fabric, were already known of Arisba, Plataea, Tanagra, Thespiæ, and Lebadea; and Mr. Burgon suggested that they afforded a

presumption of having been struck on the occasion of some Bœotian league.

The President exhibited casts of two medals of Indian princes, which are of some interest from their unusual size, and from the representations of those princes which they bear. The first is of the famous Akbar, the most celebrated of the Moghul rulers of Hindostan, who reigned at Delhi from A.H. 962 to A.H. 1014, i.e. A.D. 1556—1605. The other is that of Shah Alem, the last of the Moghul emperors of Delhi, who ascended the throne A.H. 1173—A.D. 1760.

These casts were given to Mr. Vaux by the late lamented Dr. Scott; they were procured by him together some years since; and had, he believed, belonged to the celebrated De Sacy. It is not known where or whether the originals exist. The first has already been published in the work of Bonneville, which is referred to by Marsden in a note at p. 600, vol. ii., of his work. The other is believed to be new. The workmanship of the second is very inferior to that of the first. Had it not been for this manifest inferiority of fabric, Mr. Vaux would have supposed it probable that Shah Alem had caused a series of medals of his predecessors to be struck, of which these two might have formed a part. Although no express date is placed upon the medal of Shah Alem, yet it states, that he had reigned twelve years; and this fixes the date to the year of the Hejra 1184—A.D. 1771, when he abandoned the British protection and fled to the Mahrattas, who placed him nominally on the throne. The medal is evidently intended to commemorate this event.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

DECEMBER 20, 1855.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced, and laid upon the table:—

	PRESENTED BY
Abbildungen von Mainzer Alterthümern, mit Erklärungen, herausgegeben von dem Verein zur Erforschung der rheinischen Geschichte und Alterthümer. (Views of the Antiquities of Mayence, with Explanations. Published by the Society for the Investigation of Rhenish History and Antiquities.) Part VI. 4to. pp. 28. Two Plates, and many Woodcuts. Mayence, 1855.	THE SOCIETY.
Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. XXII. Part VI. Polite Literature. 4to. Dublin, 1855.	THE ACADEMY.
Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy for the year 1854-5. Vol. VI. Part II. 8vo. Dublin, 1855.	DITTO.
Proceedings and Papers of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Sessions I. to VII. 7 vols. Many Etchings and Woodcuts. 8vo.	THE SOCIETY.
Miscellanea Graphica. Parts V. and VI. (in continuation).	LORD LONDSEBOROUGH.

Mr. Whitbourn exhibited and presented a small copper coin struck by the late Sultan Mahmoud, at Tarabulus (Tripoli) in Barbary, which was found on the Racecourse at Guildford.

READ:—1. A paper by Mr. Birch, of the British Museum, on a Chinese coin recently sent to the Museum by Sir John Bowring. He stated, that it appears to be rather a medal than a coin. It is, indeed, in the usual form of the Chinese *Tsien* or cash; but the background of the letters is lined, and the characters themselves have been chased. On the obverse, in the usual characters, are

inscribed *Tae ping tien kwo*, i. e. "The celestial kingdom of universal peace"; the *Neen haen*, or title of the reign assumed by the present leader of the revolt, who is more familiarly known as the *Tae-ping-wang*. As this usurper commenced his career in 1851, from which he dates his first regnal year, the medal is, of course, later than that period, and probably emanated recently from his mint. On the reverse are four other characters: these read, *Tung le ching keeou*, i. e. "General control; governing religious." Since the coins of China at no time had four characters on the reverse, but only two, to designate the place of mintage, while the medals often have four on each side, this appears to be a piece used as a medal, rather than one intended for general circulation as money. Of course, the reverse alludes to the universal progress of Christianity, which the *Tae-ping* has embraced; and the medal, which shows more skill and care in its production than is usual on these objects when made in China, has probably been coined for some particular occasion. It is to be regretted, that some more precise information has not been received from China, as to its object and intent; because it is only on the spot, that the exact meaning and design of these ephemeral productions can be satisfactorily and entirely made out. Had the medal contained on its reverse, like the actual currency of the Chinese empire, the name of the mint by which issued, it would then have assumed an historical interest. Mr. Birch concluded by stating, that he was unable to explain the particular allusion of the inscription on the reverse.

2. A letter from Professor Henslow to Mr. Birch, accompanying the impression of a gold British coin dug up by a labourer in the parish of Great Waldingfield (near Sudbury), in Suffolk. The type, which is very barbarous, much resembles that of the silver coin in Ruding, Pl. III. No. 44; and the copper coin No. 52 of the same plate. The metal is very base; the weight, 96.1 gr.; specific gravity, 11.0.

3. A note from the Rev. Daniel H. Haigh to Mr. Roach Smith, on the subject of the coin of Beohrtric, engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVII. p. 59. He states, that the type of this coin

confirms the attribution which had previously been made of the other known specimen to East Anglia; for it resembles the coin of Ethelstan with A on the obverse, and $\overline{\omega}$ on the reverse. The place where the legend begins, shows that the letter on the reverse is $\overline{\omega}$, not ω . On the coin of Ethelstan, the $\overline{\omega}$ has the stroke above it; whereas, if it were intended for ω , it would have the stroke thus, $\overline{\omega}$. On the newly-discovered coin of Beohrtric, however, as on many coins of Æthelwulf and Berhtulf, the A on the obverse is so formed as to be a monogram of A $\overline{\omega}$. There is, therefore, no ground for Mr. Shaw's conjecture, that Beohrtric reigned in Mercia as well as in East Anglia.

Mr. Bergne read the substance of a communication which he had received from Mr. Sainthill, relative to a hoard of coins discovered a short time ago, in the course of removing the stones of a cairn on Scraba Hill, near Newtonards, in the county of Down. A skeleton, deposited in a chamber composed of large blocks of stone, was discovered; and, in the immediate vicinity, upwards of 100 coins, which, however, must have been a separate and later deposit. Some of them were of the bracteate class; others, though equally thin, have both obverse and reverse. The obverses of these latter present a head with the Hiberno-Danish tiara, nearly similar to Nos. 52 and 53 in the Supplement to Lindsay's Irish Coinage; the reverses resemble the coins of Cnut (Ruding, Pl. XXIII. Nos. 3, 11, 13, and 15); and therefore the date may probably be about the middle of the eleventh century. None of them have any intelligible legend; and the fabric of the whole is of the most barbarous description. Mr. Sainthill obtained two specimens from the hoard; one of the type possessing both obverse and the Cnut reverse; the other a bracteate of the type of the same reverse, but with no obverse. These two coins being from one and the same find, and having the same peculiar type and fabric, prove that a bracteate coinage, and a coinage both obverse and reverse, were contemporary.

JANUARY 31, 1856.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced, and laid upon the table :—

	PRESENTED BY
Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. Second Series, completing Volume X. 4to. pp. 556. Paris, 1855.	THE SOCIETY.
Ditto. Third Series. Vol. I. 4to. pp. 538. Paris, 1855.	DITTO.
Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Année 1853. 8vo. pp. 332, and 10 Plates. Poitiers, 1854.	DITTO.
Ditto. Année 1854. 8vo. pp. 358, and 3 Plates. Poitiers, 1855.	DITTO.
Bulletins of Ditto. Third and Fourth Quarterly Parts for 1854, and First, Second, and Third for 1855. 8vo.	DITTO.
Table des Manuscrits de Fonteneau conservés à la Bibliothèque de Poitiers. 8vo. pp. 47. Poitiers, 1855.	DITTO.
Revue Numismatique Belge. Vol. V. Part IV. 8vo. Brussels, 1855.	THE EDITOR.
Monnaies de Métal prétendument produit par les procédés occultes de l'Alchimie. Par Renier Chalon. 8vo. pp. 9. Brussels, 1855.	THE AUTHOR.
Le Baron de Blanche, et sa Monnaie de Schonan. Par Renier Chalon. 8vo. pp. 9. Brussels, 1855.	DITTO.
Rapport de M. Chalon sur un Dépôt de Monnaies du XII ^{me} Siècle, découvert à Tillet près de St. Hubert. Notice de M. l'Abbé Germain. 12mo. pp. 6.	DITTO.

PRESENTED BY

Supplément à l'Essai de Monographie d'une
série de Médailles Gauloises imitées des
deniers consulaires au type des Dioscures.
Par le Marquis de Lagoy. 4to. pp. 15, and
1 Plate. 1856. } THE AUTHOR.

Sur l'établissement d'une Langue universelle.
Par M. A. Charma. 8vo. pp. 31. Paris, } DITTO.
1856.

Die Pehlevy-Münzen des Asiatischen Museums
der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissen-
schaften. III. Die Münzen der Ispehbede,
Chalifen, und deren Statthalter. (The
Pehlevi Coins of the Asiatic Museum of the
Imperial Academy of Science. III. The
Coins of the Califs and their Lieutenants.)
By Bernhard Dorn. 8vo. } DITTO.

Report of the Council of the Art-Union of
London, for the Year 1855. } THE COUNCIL.

Edward Wigan, Esq., of Highbury Terrace, was balloted for and
elected into the Society.

Samuel Birch, Esq., Assistant-Keeper of the Antiquities in the
British Museum, was balloted for, and elected an Honorary Member
of the Society.

Mr. Roach Smith exhibited—

1. An extremely rare oval medal, in lead, of Charles I., recently
found in the Thames.

Obv. A three-quarter figure of the king wearing a capacious
cloak, standing by a table, upon which is laid his hat; by the side
is drapery. An inscription, *incuse*, runs half way round:—CAROL.
MAG. BRI. FRAN. ET. HIB. REX.

Rev. The king on horseback; above, an angel with wreath and
palm-branch:—HONNI. SOIT. QVI. MAL. LI. PANS. (also
incuse.)

The work of this medal is extremely good; and as the dies were
doubtless made for silver or gold, this may probably be a pattern or
trial-piece. It would appear to have been prepared shortly before

the decapitation of Charles, or immediately after. If there be any of the silver medals extant, they cannot be common ; but, hitherto, Mr. Roach Smith has failed in getting access to a single example.

2. A unique and unpublished brass coin of Allectus, found in Kent. It is of the smaller size.

Obv. IMP. C. ALLECTVS. P. F. AVG : radiated head, bust in armour, to the right.

Rev. VIRTVS. AVG. ; in the exergue, Q. L. A galley with rowers, but without mast. In the centre, and upon the deck of the galley stands a figure of Victory, extending her right hand, which holds a wreath ; in her left she holds a palm branch.

3. An engraving of coins of Carausius and Allectus, in the Cabinet of Lord Londesborough, among which is one of Allectus, of the galley type, with the usual legend, with a figure of Victory standing upon the prow. There are one or two more known of this type ; but the coin exhibited is unique.

4. Eight examples of the " Britannia " type of Hadrian ; and sixteen of the " Britannia " type of Antoninus Pius, all in middle brass, found in the Thames, opposite London. They are all in his own cabinet.

Mr. Beddome exhibited a coin of a Count of Hainault, of the class commonly denominated counterfeit sterling.

READ :—1. A paper by Mr. Birch, on the Coins of Germanus. After referring to the disputed question of the reading of the Coins of Cunobeline, which bear the legends of TASC. FIL or TASC. FIR he describes the well known coins reading GERMANVS INDVTILLI F or L. Like the coins of Cunobeline, these are distinguished for the excellence of their fabric, and are some of the best of the German or Celtic mintage. They are always of bronze ; they resemble in type the denarii of Julius Cæsar and of Augustus, which have on their reverse a butting bull, and are admitted to be of the Augustan age. The last word of the legend of these coins has been variously read by different writers, but Mr. Birch on a close inspection of several specimens, is of opinion that it is INDVTILLI.

L. The presence of a point after the word INDVTILLI in the

best preserved examples, shows that the word is in the genitive case, and that the contraction after it, must have a connection with the word before it in that case ; and Mr. Birch suggests that then it may be read as INDVTILLI Libertus, the freedman of Indutillus. As his paper will appear in full in the Numismatic Chronicle, it is unnecessary here to detail the reasons which he adduces for this suggestion, or his arguments for reading the legend according to the formulas of the Latin language.

2. A paper by Mr. Evans on the attribution of certain Ancient British Coins to Addedomaros. The classes of coins in question are those figured in Ruding, Plate II. Nos. 40 and 35, and in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XIV. Plate I. No. 1. There are traces of letters on most of the specimens of these coins ; but the inscriptions, even where they have been recognized at all, have been read only in part ; and it is by the comparison of a considerable number of specimens, that Mr. Evans has been enabled to complete them, and thus bring them together under one head, and still farther to attribute them with some degree of certainty to a Prince whose name, as it appears on the coins, was Addedomaros ; those letters which are deficient or doubtful on one coin being supplied or made clear by others of the same type, with the single exception of the letter M on the first type. Mr. Evans then gives his reason for concluding it the name of a prince and not of a people ; and infers from the weight of the coins, which ranges from 84 to 87 grains, and which therefore rather exceeds the weight of the gold coins of Cunobeline, that they are of a date earlier than the latter. The places of discovery of the different specimens examined by Mr. Evans are for the most part unknown. Two of them, however, were found at Norwich and Cambridge ; and from this circumstance, and the resemblance of the ornament on the obverse of the type No. 40 of Ruding, to that of some uninscribed gold coins discovered in Norfolk, and the correspondence of other details with those on some of the small Iceni silver coins, he thinks it probable that the Addedomaros was a prince of the Iceni. This paper will also appear in the Numismatic Chronicle.

3. A letter from Mr. Akerman to the President, inclosing a Translation of a letter addressed to him by M. Chalon of Brussels, describing a new example of those continental imitations of English coins which are generally denominated counterfeit sterlings.

The specimen in question strongly resembles the pennies of the later coinage of Henry III. Ruding, Plate II. No. 17, and reads—

Obv. ÐENRICVS REX TRÆI.

Rev. CMI|TCL|QVQ|IOD.

M. Chalon proposes to read the legends thus; HENRICUS REX TeodeRiCI CoMITes CLEVE IOHannes (Monetarius), and to assign the coin to Thierry, Count of Cleves, one of the four of that name who ruled successively from 1244 to 1311.

FEBRUARY 28, 1856.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

READ: — A paper by Mr. John Evans, in reply to some observations by Mr. Beale Post on his reading of the legends of several British coins, in which Mr. Evans shewed with great clearness that there could be no doubt of the accuracy of the legend on the coins of Cunobeline; viz., CVNOBELINVS · TASCIOVANI · F · and its variations. It had been suggested that TASC · FIR could be deciphered on one of the coins in the possession of Mr. Wigan: Mr. Fairholt; however, who had examined this coin, stated that this was not the case.

2. Dr. Loewe read a paper, in which he gave an account of some Jewish coins which he had met with during his recent visit to Jerusalem, and at the same time exhibited some of the specimens which he described.

MARCH 27, 1856.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Thomas Kerr Lynch, Esq., was duly elected a Member of the Society.

READ:— 1. A paper, communicated by Mr. Bergne, on a penny of William I. or II. This coin, which is at present in the collection of W. Brice, Esq., of Bristol, exhibits the usual Pax type for its reverse; but, on the obverse, has a head in profile, with a sword instead of the sceptre.

2. A paper by Mr. John Evans, in which he criticised at some length many of the attributions recently put forward in M. de Saulcy's *Récherches Judaiques*. For instance, Mr. Evans called attention to that *savant's* attribution of the early shekels and half-shekels to Jaddus, the High Priest contemporary with Alexander the Great. He observed, that if the privilege of coining money had been granted by the Greek conqueror, we have no reason to suppose that it was withdrawn till the treacherous capture of Jerusalem by the first Ptolemy—a period which comprised many more years than the four which we find recorded on the coins; while, at the same time, this same monetary period would have to be yet further reduced, if we exclude the money dated in the fourth year, and which is exclusively of copper, and apparently of a fabric much more recent. This argument, which depends on the fact that the weight of the shekels is the same as that of the tetradrachms of the Egyptian standard, has not so much force as has been attributed to it, or as it would *prima facie* seem to possess; for some of the very late shekels of Simon Barchochebas have the same weight. There can, however, be no reasonable doubt that these shekels are of an early date, if not belonging to the High Priest whom Alexander appointed; while it has been held by some that they belong to a period antecedent to Alexander himself.

Mr. Vaux remarked, that, judging from the fabric and character

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of the coins in question (exclusive of the copper), he was still inclined to believe them considerably anterior to the time of Alexander, and not improbably referrible to a period shortly after the return of the Jews from the captivity. The character of the writing on them, usually termed Samaritan letters, is of a decidedly archaic type, bearing a striking analogy with the earliest Phœnician inscriptions preserved; while the form and shape of the coins themselves are unlike those of any money of the time of Alexander and his successors. Mr. Vaux expressed his opinion, that the date of these successive years, supposed to be those of the high priesthood of Simon, did not necessarily, bear that interpretation. If struck during the short period of the rebuilding of the city, the coinage might not unnaturally have been stopped, on the interruption of this restoration.

APRIL 24, 1856.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Mr. Williams exhibited a medal struck in honour of the well-known mathematician, Dr. Gauss, by order of the King of Hanover. Specimens of this medal, both in silver and copper, were laid before the Society.

Mr. Webster exhibited a small gold coin, having a head in profile on the obverse, with the letters AN on the reverse. Though there seemed to be considerable doubt upon this subject, Mr. Webster expressed his opinion that the coin in question was a Saxon one.

Dr. Loewe read a short paper in illustration of some of his coins, which he at the same time exhibited, as the result of his researches while recently travelling in the East.

MAY 22, 1856.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Colonel Anderson, C.B., of the H.E.I.C.S., was elected a member of the Society.

READ.—Mr. Bergne read a letter from Mr. Sainthill.

Mr. Poole read a paper, containing an account of a hoard of coins recently discovered near Pulborough (Petworth), in Sussex. These coins, consisting of Roman third brass coins, chiefly of the reign of Constantine the Great, and bearing his name and those of his sons as Cæsars, were discovered in an old dipping-well on the borders of Wiggenholt Common. They do not present any new or very rare types, but are interesting as showing from what mints the English currency of the time of Constantine was supplied.

Mr. Evans read a paper, "On a rare noble of the first coinage of Edward IV." One of these coins, then believed to be unique, was exhibited by Mr. Evans nearly four years ago to the Society, and this second specimen has been recently acquired by him. Both are in remarkably good preservation, and differ enough to be held to be varieties of the same type. Mr. Evans considered that the disappearance of these nobles is probably due to the fact that their intrinsic worth was really greater than their nominal value, and that they were therefore, melted down in or after the year 1465,—the year immediately following that in which they appear to have been struck.

GENERAL MEETING.

JUNE 26, 1856.

The minutes of the last General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council was presented and read, from which it appeared, that the numerical state of the Society, was as follows:—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Associates.	Total.
Members } June, 1855, }	26	49	3	46	124
Since Elected	—	3	1	—	4
	26	52	4	46	128
Deceased	1	2	—	—	3
Resigned	2	—	—	—	2
June 1856	23	50	4	46	123

The list of papers contributed during the previous Session was then read.

In consequence of the low state of the Finances of the Society; it appearing from the Treasurer's report, that the receipts had fallen from £139 5s. 9d., to £119 9s. 7d., it was determined to accept the President's offer, that the Society should for the future meet at his Rooms, at No. 13, Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. And, on the motion of Edward Hawkins, Esq., seconded by J. Evans, Esq., this proposal was put to the Meeting, and carried unanimously, and the thanks of the Society were offered to the President for his offer. The Meeting proceeded to ballot for the officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were elected:—

President.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.

Vice Presidents.

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

THE LORD LONDESBOROUGH, K.C.H., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

J. B. BERGNE, Esq., F.S.A.

Secretaries.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.S.A.

R. STUART POOLE, Esq., M.R.S.L.

Foreign Secretary.

J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. M.R.S.L.

Librarian.

JOHN WILLIAMS, Esq.

Members of the Council.

E. CLIVE BAYLEY, Esq., H.F.I.C.S.

W. BRICE, Esq.

F. W. FAIRHOLT, Esq., F.S.A.

W. H. HAGGARD, Esq., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.

EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S.

DR. LOËWE.

J. G. PFISTER, Esq.

REV. J. B. READE, M.A., F.R.S.

W. H. ROLFE, Esq.

C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.

EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., H.E.I.C.S., M.R.A.S.

H. H. WILSON, President R.A.S., and *Boden Professor of Sanscrit,*
Oxford.

The Society then adjourned until November 20th.

SESSION 1856—57.

NOVEMBER 20, 1856.

W. S. W. VAUX, President, in the Chair.

The following Presents, received during the recess, were announced, and laid on the table:—

PRESENTED BY	
Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 2 ^{de} Series Tom. vi.	THE EDITOR.
M. R. Chalons, Gros de Thibaut de Bar.	M. R. CHALONS.
— Anne Charlotte de Lorraine.	
— Quaterons de Mirepoix.	
— Esterlings de Henri III.	
— Monnaies de Navarre.	
Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.	THE SOCIETY.
Memoires de la Même Société.	
Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Vol. VIII. Part V.	THE SOCIETY.
M. Pulszky, on the Ivories of the Fejervary Collection.	M. PULZKY.
Memoires de la Société de Luxembourg	THE SOCIETY.
M. Namur, sur une veritable Lachrymatoire	M. NAMUR.
— Statère de Macédoine.	DITTO.
M. F. Lénormant, Sur les Lagides	M. LENORMANT.
— sur le Chamærops humilis	
— sur les Monnaies les plus Anciennes Mérovingiennes	

PRESENTED BY

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| Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
Vol. VIII. Part III. | } | THE ACADEMY. |
| Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.
Vol. XXIII. Part I. | | |
| Transactions of the Photographic Society,
Nos. 43, 44, and 47. | } | THE SOCIETY. |
| M. Fraehn. Nova Supplementa. Edid. B.
Dorn. | | |
| Captain W. H. Smyth. Descriptive Catalogue
of Roman Family Coins. | } | THE DUKE OF
NORTHUMBERLAND. |
| W. Sainthill. Suggestions for a Medal for
Discovery of the N.W. Passage. | | |

W. SAINTHILL.

Colonel Sir H. C. Rawlinson, K.C.B.

William Hook Morley, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

Edwin Norris, Esq., Secretary Royal Asiatic Society.

Edward Stanley Poole, Esq., Science and Art Department, Privy
Council Office.

George Scharf, Esq., Jun.

George Henry Virtue, Esq.

were duly elected Members of the Society.

Mr. J. G. Pfister, exhibited a Gold Coin of Astulphus, King of
Italy, struck at Lucca.

Mr. Bergne, read a paper communicated by the Rev. J. F.
Dymock, on the Half-Crowns of Charles I, with W under the horse,
on the field of the obverse, in which the writer gave strong reasons for
the supposition that the coins in question were struck at Weymouth.

Mr. Bergne read a paper, communicated by Mr. Evans, describing
an unpublished Coin of Offa, King of Mercia; accompanied by a
rubbing furnished by Mr. C. Roach Smith.

Mr. Williams read a notice of Three Chinese Silver Medals.

DECEMBER 18, 1856.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Mr. Evans read a paper on a coin of great rarity lately added to his collection—a shilling of Edward VI, similar to that engraved in Hawkins' Silver Coins of England, No. 419; on which that author remarks, that it was probably only a pattern for a shilling struck in 1551; and that it was unique and unpublished. The Mint mark of both specimens (for no third is known), appears to be the head of an Ostrich.

Mr. Webster communicated a notice of two coins, believed to be new varieties: one, a penny of Athelstan, with the Mint mark, DOR CVIT. probably that of Dorchester; and the second, an unpublished half-crown of Charles I, from the Tower Mint.

Mr. Poole read a paper contributed by Edward Clive Bayley, Esq., H.E.I.C.S., on some double struck coins of the Bactrian king, Azes or Azas. The most common coins of this king are of two types: one having on the obverse, an Elephant; and on the reverse an Indian Bull—the other, on the obverse, a seated figure of Demeter, and on the reverse, a standing one of Hermes—the legend of the two, being identical. A large number of these coins having fallen into Mr. Bayley's hands, he was able to ascertain the cause of their having been so constantly re-struck. He noticed that most of those bearing Greek types have been struck over earlier types of the same king, and which appeared to be always the Indian ones of the Bull and the Elephant. The intention seems to have been to recall one type in favour of another; and as Azas was a potent monarch, and conquered many of the territories of the Græco-Indian kings, the writer suggested that for this reason, he substituted the Greek for the Indian types; a change which is to be considered not so much as an abandonment of Buddhism, as an attempt to conciliate his new subjects. The paper concluded with a few observations on the Monograms of some of these coins.

JANUARY 22, 1857.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

W. Boyne, Esq., and James Morant, Esq., were elected ordinary Members of the Society.

Mr. Poole read a paper, on "Certain Coins usually attributed to Alexander II., King of Epirus," the principal point of which was, the attribution by M. Pinder, of the Berlin Museum, of the fine tetradrachms, generally ascribed to this king, to Alexander Ægus, son of Alexander the Great. The coins themselves may be described as follows:—

Obv.—Youthful head to R. crowned with the skin of an Elephant's head, beneath which appear a diadem, and a Ram's horn.

Rev.—ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Pallas Promachos to R. hurling a spear. In front Eagle to R. and Monogram.

M. Pinder has changed the previous attribution of these coins, chiefly on the grounds, that Alexander had an Egyptian coinage, and that, according to the present classification, we have none such of the subsequent Macedonian sovereigns, until Ptolemy I., who chiefly used the titles of ΣΩΤΗΡ and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ attached to his name. We should naturally suppose, that both Philip Arrhidæus and Alexander Ægus, would have an Egyptian coinage, and accordingly we find, that the coins of the former sometimes come from Egypt,—while the tetradrachms under consideration have never been found (as far as can be ascertained) elsewhere. There are, moreover, no coins of any other class, which could be assigned to Alexander Ægus; while these tetradrachms could not be supposed to be those of Ptolemy Alexander, as their weight is that of the money of Alexander the Great, for they are not of

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the Ptolemaic, but of the Attic standard. In addition it may be remarked that the types of these tetradrachms are found on Ptolemaic coins, while there is one with the obverse and reverse of Alexander the Great, which seems to connect the two classes, for by its date ($K\Delta=24$), it would seem certainly to belong to Alexander Ægus. An examination of the other coins attributed to Alexander II. of Epirus, and to Ptolemy offers striking confirmation of this view, and M. Pinder, had he pursued his inquiry so far, would have materially strengthened his case.

FEBRUARY 19, 1857.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were received.

Nos. X and XI. of the *Collectanea Graphica*, from Lord Londesborough.

Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l' Ouest. An. 1853, 4, 5. VIII Series.

Literary Gazette, Nos. 2086—2091.

Journal of the Photographic Society, No. 50.

Dr. Loewe read a paper, on a Gold Memlook Coin, struck by command of the Sultan, El-Melik-edh-Dhahir Rokn-ed-deen Beybars; in which he gave an interesting account of the dynasty to which this Sultan belonged; and of the Memlook princes, as illustrated by the existing specimens of their coinage. Dr. Loewe also read a very curious letter, which he had translated, addressed by Beybars to Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, announcing the capture of the city of Antioch, by the Sultan's forces, and the overthrow of the Christians.

MARCH 19, 1857,

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The Reverend Churchill Babington, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, was elected an ordinary Member of the Society.

Mr. Evans read a paper on some unpublished types of British Coins, which he shewed grounds for attributing to particular towns and districts, on account of the places where they had been discovered, and of their resemblance to known inscribed coins.

Mr. Vaux read a paper on five rare coins lately acquired by the British Museum, viz., a tetradrachm, bearing the name of Antiochus the Great, but almost certainly struck by Diodotus, first satrap, and then king of Bactriana, and which was probably issued before he had rendered himself independent: and three tetradrachms, two of which were those of Euthydemus I., king of Bactriana, and the third of a later Euthydemus, who may, probably, be called Euthydemus II., though his precise date has not been, as yet, determined. Mr. Vaux also exhibited a very remarkable coin of the class commonly called sub-Parthian, struck upon a tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, and gave many reasons for assigning it to a period about 150 years later than that monarch's reign.

APRIL 23, 1857.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Lieut.-General C. R. Fox was elected an ordinary member of the Society.

The following Presents were received :—

Revue Numismatique Belge, tom. vi. parts 3 and 4.

Literary Gazette, the Nos. for April 4 and 11.

Mr. Evans read a short paper on a coin of Carausius.

MAY 21, 1857.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Mr. Roach Smith forwarded, for exhibition, an impression of a new British coin, the property of Mr. H. Wickham. It bore, on the obverse, the inscription COM. F. within a wreath, and on the reverse, a horseman within a border of annulets, inclosing pellets, and below a starlike ornament. The coin is probably one of *Ep-pillus*.

Mr. J. G. Pfister exhibited a medal struck to commemorate the opening of St. George's Hall, at Liverpool, and read a letter from Mr. Mayer descriptive of it.

Mr. Whitbourn exhibited a new British gold coin, bearing the inscription EPATICCV and doubtless of the same ruler as the coins inscribed EPATI (one of which he also exhibited). This type was first found on Farley-heath.

Mr. Whitbourn also exhibited some rare coins of the Saxon and English periods.

Mr. Evans read a paper on the coins of Epaticcus above-mentioned, and gave good reasons for concluding that this prince was a son of Tasciovanus, and the brother of Cunobelinus; and that, at the death of the former, a partition of the kingdom took place between the two brothers, by which Epaticcus became ruler of the Segontiaci.

Dr. Loewe read a paper on an early gold *deenár*, bearing the date A.H. 83, and struck in the Khalifat of Abd-el-Melik ibn Marwán.

GENERAL MEETING.

JUNE 25, 1857.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The report of the Council was presented and read.

The numerical state of the Society was as follows:—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Associates.	Total.
Members June, 1856, }	23	50	4	46	123
Since elected	—	11	—	1	12
	23	61	4	47	135
Deceased	—	1	—	—	1
Resigned	—	1	—	—	1
June, 1857	23	59	4	47	133

A list of papers contributed to the ordinary meetings of the Society was then read.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the officers for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were duly elected:—

President.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.A.S.

Vice Presidents.

JOHN LEE, Esq., L.L.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

THE LORD LONDESBOROUGH, K.C.H., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

GEORGE H. VIRTUE, Esq., F.S.A.

Secretaries.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.S.A.

R. STUART POOLE, Esq., M.R.S.L.

Foreign Secretary.

J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. M.R.S.L.

Librarian.

J. WILLIAMS, Esq.

Members of the Council.

E. CLIVE BAYLEY, Esq., H.E.I.C.S.

J. B. BERGNE, Esq., F.S.A.

W. BOYNE, Esq., F.S.A.

F. W. FAIRHOLT, Esq., F.S.A.

EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S.

DR. JOEWE.

W. H. MORLEY, Esq., F.R.A.S.

EDMUND OLDFIELD, Esq., M.A., M.R.S.L.

J. G. PFISTER, Esq.

C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.

EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., H.E.I.C.S.

H. H. WILSON, Esq., F.R.S., President R.A.S., and Boden Professor
of Sanscrit, Oxford.

SESSION 1857—58.

NOVEMBER 19, 1857.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents, received during the recess, were laid upon the table, and thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors.

PRESENTED BY

Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des Sciences des Lettres et des Beaux Arts de Belgique. Tome XXII. 2 ^{nde} Partie, 1855. Tome XXIII. 1 ^{ere} & 2 ^{nde} Partie, 1856.	}	THE ACADEMY.
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Annales de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, for 1856 and 1857.	}	DITTO.
---	---	--------

Recherches sur les Monnaies des Comtes de Hainault. Par Renier Chalon. Troisième Supplement, 1857.	}	THE AUTHOR.
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Anciens Jetons et Méreaux. Par Renier Chalon, 1857.	}	DITTO.
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Quelques Monnaies Seigneuriales Inédites. Par Renier Chalon, 1857.	}	DITTO.
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Deux Jetons inédites. Par Renier Chalon, 1857.	}	DITTO.
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Pièces à retrouver. Par Renier Chalon.	}	DITTO.
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Le Père André et Charles de Quens, Notices Biographiques. Par A. Charma. 1857.	}	DITTO.
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PRESENTED BY

Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de
Normandie. 3^{me} Série, 2^{de} Vol. 1^{re} and
2^{de} Livraisons, 1856 and 1857. } THE SOCIETY.

Collectanea Antiqua; or, Etchings and No-
tices of Ancient Remains. By Charles } THE AUTHOR.
Roach Smith. Vol. V. Part I.

Colonel Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., exhibited fourteen gold oriental coins lately discovered at Seistan, and belonging chiefly to a dynasty which ruled in that country.

Mr. Evans exhibited a so-called imitation of the Israelitish shekel, now on sale in many shops in London; and commented on the fact that an imitation of a barefaced forgery, accompanied by a printed description of it, full of the most ludicrous inaccuracies, was so readily palmed upon the public. The piece in question is an ill-executed copy, in white metal, of the spurious shekel with the ordinary modern Hebrew characters.

Mr. Vaux read a paper on coins discovered at Susa, by W. K. Loftus, Esq. These were of the early Mohammadan period, and were discovered during recent excavations upon the largest of the mounds at Susa, which covers the remains of a palace once inhabited, if not originally constructed, by Xerxes, the king of Persia. The coins, about 170 in number, were, when found, in an earthen pot, which was broken by the workmen, from whom the coins were, with some difficulty, recovered. Many adhered together through oxidation, so that 110 only could be separated; but of these, fifty-two bear dates or places of mintage new to the previous collection in the Museum.

The earliest coin in the collection is of Abd-el-melek ibn Marwán, the sixth Khaleefeh of the House of Ommiah, and the eleventh in descent from Mohammad. He was the first to strike the ordinary Dirhem; and, as the earliest date that has hitherto been met with on Kufic coins, is A.H. 78 or A.D. 696-7, it is curious to find on one of these so early a date as A.H. 79. The following is a list

of the towns where the coins were struck, and the dates upon them:—

Damascus . . .	A.H. 79, 82, 83, 84, 86, 100, 105, 106.
Busval . . .	80, 82, 87.
Waset . . .	88, 94, 99, 105, 106.
Sús (Susa) . . .	90.
Rhey . . .	90.
Herát . . .	90.
Teimar . . .	91.
Shápúr . . .	91, 92, 94.
Istakr (Persepolis) .	91.
Sedjestan (Seïstan) .	92.
Darabjerd . . .	92, 97.
Dschey . . .	92, 94.
Merv . . .	93.
Kirmán . . .	95.
Kúfa . . .	101.
Mahi . . .	106.

The inscriptions on the dirhems do not differ from those already known and engraved in Marsden. It was suggested as that the hoard was originally deposited by some soldier who had followed in the course of Muhammedan conquest, from the commencement of the war, as the variety of names of towns and the dates upon the coins renders probable.

Mr. Evans read some notes upon a barbarous coin, struck in imitation of those of Helena, casts of which were forwarded for exhibition by Mr. Goddard Johnson. It is of gold, weighing 52 grs., and was found at Chapel-hill, in Markshall, a hamlet to Caistor, the Venta Icenorum, well-known as prolific of Roman remains. On the *Obv.* is the head of Helena, with braided hair, and embroidered collar, with the legend ✠ EILEIIA ✠ AVGVE-TEV for HELENA AUGUSTA, and on the *Rev.* is the legend TNPH ✠ EATA THRANQVILT NOC, apparently intended to stand for

F

Temporum Beata Tranquillitas—Const.; and, in the centre, within

S
a wreath IGEN probably derived from the SIC. V. SIC. X. on
X

the coins of Constans. Though this coin is of gold, the devices and legends seem to have been derived from third brass coins rather than from gold. Its date is of very difficult determination; but it was considered by Mr. Evans to belong to the interval that elapsed between the cessation of the Roman occupation of this country, and the establishment of anything like a Saxon coinage in England. It was considered by Mr. Webster as not improbably struck in Gaul.

DECEMBER 17, 1857.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following present was announced, and laid upon the table:—

Epigraphisches, by Dr. C. L. Grotefend.

1. Ein Stempel eines Römischen Augenarzts (a stamp of a Roman oculist). 2. Norica. Hanover, 1857. From Dr. Lee.

Capt. R. Murchison, of Bath, was balloted for, and elected a member of the Society.

Admiral Smyth exhibited, by the hands of Dr. Lee, a silver medal, by Kirk, of Hugh, First Duke of Northumberland, struck on the occasion of Alnwick Castle being restored in 1766. On the obverse is the portrait of the Duke, and a view of the castle on the reverse.

The Rev. W. H. Black exhibited, also through Dr. Lee, a silver-gilt medal, struck to commemorate the raising of the siege of Leyden, after five months' duration, in 1574, which was effected by the Prince of Orange cutting the dykes, and thus inundating the

besieging force of Spaniards. On the obverse is a view of Jerusalem with the angel of death coming down amidst the encampment of Assyrians in the foreground. Above is the legend, VT SANHERIB A IERUSALEM—2 REG. 19. On the reverse is shown Leyden, with the Spaniards retreating to their boats, and the legend SIC HISPA. A LEYD. NOCTV FVG.—3 Oct. 1574. The medal will be found in Bizot's *Histoire Métallique de la République de Hollande*. Vol. I. p. 27. Ed. 1688.

Mr. Warren of Ixworth, sent for exhibition casts of a curious foreign sterling, struck in imitation of the long-cross pennies of Henry III, but with the inscriptions BERNHARDV on the obverse, instead of the name of the king, though the reverse reads HENRI ONVNDE, as if struck in London. In the centre of the cross is a small cinquefoil or rose.

It closely resembles one of the coins communicated to the Society in 1850, by Professor Thomsen, of Copenhagen (*Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VIII. p. 67, No. 5); but varies in the moneyer's name and other minor respects. A coin with the name of BERNHARDVS conjoined with the word BLOMBERG, is engraved in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. XIV. p. 44, and considered by M. Chalon, who communicated it, to have been struck at Blumberg, in Alsace. This, however, was not the case, as the coins were struck under Bernard, Count of Lippe, in the Duchy of Westphalia; one of the chief towns in whose county was Blumberg.

Captain Murchison communicated a paper on three unique gold coins of Edward VI, lately added to his collection; and offered to present an engraving of them to the Society.

The first is a gold crown of the first coinage of Edward VI.

Obv.—RV TILANS ROSA SINE SPINE. A rose crowned between E.R. crowned M.M. an arrow.

Rev.—D E I GRA' AGL' FRA' Z HIB' REX. Shield with the Royal Arms, crowned between P.R. crowned. M.M. A pellet within a circle, weight 46 grs.

The second is also a crown with the obverse from the same die as the first, but on the reverse, EDWARD' 6 D'G AG'FR' Z HIB REX. Shield with the Royal Arms, crowned, between E.R., crowned, M.M. an Arrow; weight 48 grains. The only coins that have hitherto been known of the first coinage of Edward VI, are the half-sovereign and half-crown, to which the crown must now be added. The first piece is very remarkable, from a die of the 37th year of Henry VIII, having been employed for the coinage of his son. The mint-mark of the arrow occurs on both the half-sovereign and half-crown, as well as on these crowns.

The third piece is a pattern for a half-sovereign of the third year of Edward VI.

Obv.—EDWARD' VI. D.G. ANGL. FRA. Z. HIB. REX. Large Bust to the right in armour, crowned. M.M. A Bow.

Rev.—EDWARD' VI. D.G. ANGL. FRA. Z. HIBE. REX. The Royal Arms, in an oval shield, garnished and crowned, between E.R. M.M. a Bow.

From the mint mark it would appear, that this pattern was struck at Durham House, in the Strand, under the authority of Sir Martin Bowes.

A plate of these remarkable pieces, kindly presented by Captain Murchison, will illustrate his account of them in the Chronicle.

Mr. Evans communicated an account of another coin, of the time of Stephen, but bearing the name of PERERIL or Wereric, instead of that of the king. These coins had first been noticed by Mr. Rashleigh, Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XII. p. 138, who has engraved two specimens. with the moneyer's name Godricus on Lu. A second variety was exhibited to the Society, (Proc. 1850-51, p. 5), with the moneyer's name, RAMVN-NIOL, and a third had been pointed out by the writer, in the Museum Collection, (Numismatic Chronicle. XIV. p. 153), with the moneyer's name PILLEM NP, apparently struck at Warwick or Norwich. The coin now brought forward was found at Lincoln, and gives a fourth

moneyer's name, . . . ARD ON NIO possibly RICARD ON NICOL, or Lincoln. The type of all four varieties, is that of Stephen; Hawkins, 270. Though apparently struck by an Earl of Warwick, nothing is known of their origin.

Mr. Evans read a paper by the late Dr. W. H. Scott, communicated by his Executor, Mr. Sim, upon a large brass coin of Maximinus, but bearing the portrait of one of the African Gordians. The type of the reverse is that of VICTORIA AVG with the running Victory, with garland and palm branch. Dr. Scott made some suggestions as to the means of accounting for the appearance of the portrait of one Emperor, with the name and titles of another. The paper will be printed in extenso in the Numismatic Chronicle.

JANUARY 28, 1858.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Mr. Vaux read a paper, on some Gold Oriental coins of Seistân, lately procured by Colonel Sir H. C. Rawlinson, in which he pointed out the rarity of the local money of this province, and stated, that no specimens, so far as he was aware, had as yet been published of this class.

Almost all those exhibited in illustration of the paper, belonged to a ruler named Kholf ben Ahmed, who governed that district of Asia towards the close of the fourth century of the Hejra, and who was, after a long and gallant resistance, ultimately conquered by the celebrated Mahmúd of Ghazna.

FEBRUARY 25, 1858.

W. S. W. VAUX., Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

	PRESENTED BY
From the Corporation of London, through Sergeant Merewether, a bronze Medallion, struck in commemoration of the visit of the Emperor and Empress of the French to the City of London, April 19th, 1855. On the obverse are the busts of the Emperor and Empress, three quarter face, and the inscription, NAPOLEON III, ET EUGENIA, GAL-LORUM IMPERATOR ET IMPERATRIX. That on the reverse is CONCORDES SERVAT AMICITIA. LONDINI RECEPTI, 19 APRIL, 1855, the device being an allegorical group of Britannia, presenting France to the City of London. The engraver is Mr. B. Wyon.	LIBRARY COMMITTEE, GUILDHALL.
The History of Wisconsin, Vol. I. and III. Madison the Capital of Wisconsin, and other Publications.	FROM THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.
Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 3 ^{me} Serie, Vol. I. 4 ^{eme} Livraison.	NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF BELGIUM.
Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest; for 1856. Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Parts 3 and 4. 1856; and 1 to 4, 1857.	THE SOCIETY.
Mémoires de la Société Imperiale de l'Emulation d'Abbeville. 1852 — 1857. 1 Vol. 8vo.	DITTO.
Antiquités Celtiques. Vol. II, by M. Boucher de Perthes.	THE AUTHOR.

PRESENTED BY

Numismatic and other Crumbs. By Richard }
Sainthill. Privately printed. 1858. } THE AUTHOR.

Publications de la Société Royale Grande }
Ducale du Grande Duché de Luxembourg, } THE SOCIETY.
Vol. XII. 1856.

Colonel Tobin Bush, late H. E. I. C. S. was balloted for and elected a Member of the Society.

READ.—1. A paper by the late Dr. W. H. Scott, on the attribution of a small silver coin to the Sindi; a Caucasian tribe inhabiting the coasts of the Black Sea, and the first heights of the Caucasus. The coin in question is described as follows:—

Obv. Head of Hercules, with lion's skin to the right.

Rev. ΣΙΝΔΩΝ. Head of a horse to the right in an indented square. *Æ.* A Diobolus.

The absence of the Σ from the first specimen discovered, had rendered its attribution uncertain; but a coin described in the Bulletin Scientifique de Férussac, Vol. XVII. p. 28, and discovered in the Isle of Taman, completed the legend and fixed the attribution.

2. A paper also by Dr. Scott, on some unpublished Roman Coins.

1. Of Tiberius.

Obv.—TI. CAESAR. AVGVS. F. IMPER. Laureated head to the right.

Rev.—S.C. Minerva to the right, protecting herself with her shield, and about to throw a javelin. *Æ* 2. A reverse of Claudius.

2. Tiberius.

Obv.—TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVSTVS. Laureated head to the right.

Rev.—PONT. MAX. TRIBVN. POT, Tiberius seated on a curule chair, holding out a garland. In exergue, S.C. Æ. 3.

Suggested to have been struck on his bestowing the crown of Parthia on Phraates or Tiridates.

3. Nero.

Obv.—NERO. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. GERM. *Retrograde.*
Bare head to right, more resembling Mark Antony than Nero.

Rev.—CER QVIN. The table, with urn and garland as usual. below, S.C. Æ. 3.

Remarkable for its retrograde legend and singular portrait.

4. Vespasian.

Obv.—IMP. VESP. AVG. Laureated head to left.

Rev.—PON. TR. POT. Winged Caduceus. Æ. 3.

Supposed to have been struck at Antioch, but possibly has been a plated coin.

5. Titus.

Obv.—IMP. T. VESP. · OS VIII. Helmeted head to right.

Rev.—S.C. in a garland. Æ. 4.

An unpublished variety.

3. A paper by Mr. Vaux, on the coins of Characene, a small district near the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, and nearly corresponding with the district now called Khuzistan. The names of the Princes of whom coins are known are as follows:—

Apodacus.

Tiræus.

Attambilus I.

Adinnigaus.

Attambilus II.

Monneses.

and Meredates and his queen Uiphoba, though Mr. Vaux considers that some of these attributions are still uncertain; the coins extend

over a period from about B.C. 70, to A.D. 150, and occur both in silver and copper.

Mr. Vaux' paper will appear in full in the Numismatic Chronicle.

MARCH 25, 1858.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks were ordered to be returned to their respective donors.

The Law of Treasure-trove. How can it best
be adapted to accomplish useful results? } THE AUTHOR.
By A. Henry Rhind, F.S.A.

Notes on the Medals of Leonard C. Wyon;
and a plate of a suggested type for our } R. SAINTHILL, Esq.
Indian coinage.

Collectanea Antiqua, Vol. V. Part II. By } THE AUTHOR.
C. Roach Smith.

Mr. Warren, of Ixworth, communicated a cast of a gold Mero-
vingian coin lately found on the coast of Norfolk. It is very
similar in type to one engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle,
Vol. VI. p. 171, No. 27, and its weight is 19 grains.

Mr. Boyne exhibited some fine bronze medallions of Faustina the
Younger, Commodus and Verus, Numerianus and Carinus.

Mr. Evans exhibited a cast of a gold coin of Tasciovanus of the
type of Hawkins, No. 11, found in the Victoria Park; and also a
gold coin of the same prince but inscribed, TASCIO—RICON,
lately found at St. Ives, Hunts. Its type is that of Num. Chron.
Vol. III. p. 152, No. 1. The horseman on each of the coins is
apparently armed with a cuirass, formed of a number of bosses,
which tends to show that the two coins are of precisely the same
period.

G

PRESENTED BY

Descriptive Catalogue of the Beaufoy Cabinet
of London Tokens. 2nd Edition. 8vo.
1855.

THE LIBRARY COM-
MITTEE OF THE
CORPORATION.

H. G. Blackmore, Esq., was elected a member of the Society.

Mr. Boyne exhibited an unpublished shilling of Henry VIII.,
coined at Bristol.

Obv.—Full-faced bust of the king with the legend

HENRIC' 8' D' G' AGL' FRÆ. S HIB REX.

Rev.—A rose crowned between the letters; H. R. also crowned,
the legend being CIVITAS BRISTOLIE, with three triple florets
before each word. M. M. WS in monogram. It was, therefore,
struck at the time when William Sharrington was chief officer of the
mint at Bristol. Groats, half-groats, and pennies issued from
thence are well known; but no Bristol shillings have as yet been
described in any of the works on the English coinage. Mr. Boyne's
coin is probably of the fourth coinage, or that of the 36th year of
Henry VIII., being identical, in all respects, with the London
testoon of that year, except in the name of the town and the mint
mark.

Dr. Lee exhibited some coins found in a bog, near Sligo, in
Ireland, being a short-cross penny of Henry III., and a St. Patrick's
farthing, both of ordinary types.

Dr. Loewe exhibited a Turkish piastre of A.H. 1223=A.D. 1806,
which he considered to have been struck during the short usurpa-
tion of power by Mustapha IV., who was elevated by the Janissar-
ies to the throne of Turkey in that year.

THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,
AND
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY
JOHN YONGE AKERMAN,
FELLOW AND SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.
AND
W. S. W. VAUX, M.A., F.S.A.

VOL. XX.
APRIL, 1857.—JANUARY, 1858.



Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. Fast.

LONDON:
JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.
SOLD ALSO BY M. ROLLIN, RUE VIVIENNE, NO. 12, PARIS.

M.DCCCLX.

LONDON :
PRINTED BY WERTHEIMER AND CO.,
FINSBURY CIRCUS.

TO
JOHN FREDERICK WILLIAM DE SALIS, ESQ.
OF
HILLINGDON PLACE, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX,
THIS,
OUR TWENTIETH VOLUME,
IS
INSCRIBED.

CONTENTS.

ANCIENT NUMISMATICS .

	Page
On a Gold Coin of Epaticcus. By John Evans, F.S.A.	1
Tetradrachm of Alexander. By L. Müller	39
On a Barbarous Coin or Amulet of Helena, the Mother of Constantine. By John Evans, F.S.A.	43
On some Coins of Tasciovanus, with the Legend " VER BOD." By John Evans, F.S.A.	57
On some Roman Coins discovered in a Hypocaust at Wroxeter. By C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.	79
On the Coins found upon and near the Site of Ancient Verulam. By John Evans, F.S.A.	101
Le Mancus des Anglo-Saxons. By Prof. Holmboe	149
Remarkable Coin of Seuthes I. By Samuel Birch, F.S.A.	151
On some Rare and Unpublished Ancient British Coins. By John Evans, F.S.A.	157

MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN NUMISMATICS.

Shilling of Edward VI. By John Evans, F.S.A.	22
Notices of Six Plates of Tokens of the Seventeenth Century, having reference to London and Southwark. By William Boyne, F.S.A.	176
Unique Gold Coins of Edward VI. By R. M. Murchison	187

CONTENTS.

ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

	Page
On Coins discovered by W. K. Loftus, Esq., at Susa. By W. S. W. Vaux, F.S.A.	25
On some Coins of Characene, brought from Baghdad, by Dr. Hyslop. By W. S. W. Vaux, F.S.A.	32
Coins of Seistân. By W. S. Vaux, F.S.A.	49
On Coins of Marathus, and of Kamnaskires and Anzaze. By W. S. W. Vaux, F.S.A.	84

MISCELLANEA.

Recent Finds in Scotland	192
American Coins—Extracted from the American “ Historical Magazine”	66
Essays on Indian Antiquities, Historic, Numismatic, and Palæographic. By the late James Prinsep, F.R.S.	142
Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque. By F. De Saulcy	8

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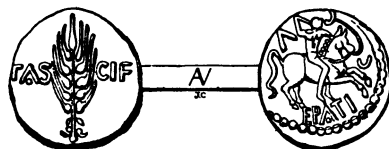
CORRESPONDENCE—Discovery of Roman Gold Coins and Torques at Lengrich; a Letter from Dr. Bell, Phil. D., to W. S. W. Vaux, F.S.A.	189
NOTICE	191

NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

I.

ON A GOLD COIN OF EPATICCUS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, May 21st, 1857.]



BY the kindness of our esteemed member, Mr. Whitbourn, of Godalming, I am enabled to call the attention of the Society to one of the most remarkable coins of the ancient British series, which it has lately been his good fortune to add to his collection. The coin, was, I believe, found somewhere in the neighbourhood of Guildford, but the exact locality is not known, the present state of the law of treasure-trove having probably induced the finder to conceal all particulars of the place of finding. It is of red gold, weighing 82 grs., of exceedingly fine work, and in the highest state of preservation.

On the obverse, or convex side of the coin (that on which
VOL. XX. B

the representative of the wreath of the head on the Macedonian staters usually appears), is an ear of bearded corn, very similar to that on the ordinary gold coins of Cunobeline, but instead of the legend CAMV, we find TASCIF in one line across the field.

On the reverse is a spirited figure of a naked horseman prancing to the right; on the left arm he bears a large oval shield, and in the right brandishes a short lance or staff. Around runs the legend EPATICCV, or, not improbably, EPATICCUS, the final S being joined on to, and probably unintentionally forming part of, the tail of the horse. The whole within a grained border.

Before considering the attribution of this coin, and the information to be gathered from its inscription and types, it will be well to make some remarks upon another point of interest attaching to it, which arises, I may say, from a source extraneous to the coin itself. To numismatists of the present day the type is entirely unknown; or, more properly, no similar coin was known to be in existence at the time when Mr. Whitbourn's coin was discovered. And yet, upwards of 200 years ago, in the dawn of antiquarian knowledge in this country, not only was the type known and published, but engravings were made from two specimens, one apparently in fine preservation, and the other, probably, rather abraded, as a variation is made in the legend. This latter was engraved by Camden, and is the ninth coin in Philemon Holland's Translation of the Britannia, in the edition of 1637, but it also probably appears in still earlier editions. He gives the devices pretty correctly, but makes the legend TASCIE and CEARATIC, and gives the following description of the coin: "The ninth, wherein is represented a horseman with spear and shield, and these letters in scatteringwise CAERATIC I would deeme to be a

coine of that warlike prince, Caractacus, whose praises Tacitus highly extolleth."

This engraving was copied in various later editions, but in that of Gough of 1806, it is expunged as not then known; and, wonderful to relate, a coin of *Carissa* in Hispania Bætica is made to take its place among the ancient British coins in its stead. Camden's version of the coin was also copied by that romantic and credulous antiquary, Pegge, in whose work on the coins of Cunobeline it figures as No. 2 in Class VI. It is also given by Stukeley, Pl. XII., No. 5. but the inscription is made CARATIC, the better to suit its supposed attribution to Caractacus.

In Speed's Chronicle, however, pp. 34 and 61, Ed. 1623, is a more accurate engraving, and apparently from a better specimen — it might, in fact, have been made from the coin now before us; but though it gives the legend of the reverse as EPATICA, yet "by the scattered letters therein inscribed, it was by the judicious observers of such ancient monies supposed to be of Caractacus." I need not at the present day trouble you with any remarks on the fallaciousness of such an attribution, but would instance the re-appearance of this type, to shew, that the existence of a coin published by our early chroniclers, is not to be denied merely because the type is not at present known, and also to shew that we need never despair of such coins again coming to light. So convinced had I been of the probability of the existence of this type, that I had inserted it in a catalogue of ancient British coins I have in course of preparation, in company with that reading DIAS, in the centre of two interlaced squares, a specimen of which still remains to be found, which I hope Mr. Whitbourn's or my own researches may yet be able to produce.

But to return to the coin of Epaticcus. There can be no

doubt that this name is identical with that which appears in the more abbreviated form EPATI, upon the small silver coins, with the head of Hercules in the lion's skin on the obverse, and the eagle standing on a snake, on the reverse, which have also been found in the neighbourhood of Guildford. The completion of the legend on the gold coin, and the absence of anything that could possibly be mistaken for a K upon it, shews how egregious was the error committed by a modern writer on British coins in converting the paws of the lion into a K, and then by regarding the other letters as Greek, making the legend KEPAT, and therefore attributing the coins to Caractacus.

In like manner, the reading of the name of "Mepati" upon these coins must now be given up, even by non-antiquarian readers; and Mr. Martin Tupper, in the next edition of his poems, must convert "young Mepati" into Epaticcus, and also considerably modify his chronology, in order to bring it in accordance with the data given by this newly discovered coin, as we shall subsequently see.

The desire to identify a coin as being one of Caractacus, is, however, in a measure excusable, as we have all heard of Caractacus and his heroic deeds and magnanimous speeches from our earliest childhood, but who has heard of Epaticcus?—

"Vixere fortes ante Caractacum
Multi; sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro."

Who and what he was, we must seek to discover from these coins, and this, like that of "what song the Sirens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, though a puzzling question, is not beyond all conjecture."

As to the period at which he lived, there can be but little doubt, the type of the obverse of the gold coin, even to the number of grains upon the ear of corn, and the shape of the leaflets on its stem, being exactly similar to that of the common gold coins of Cunobeline. In the same manner, the horseman on the reverse is exactly similar to that on the copper coins of the same prince (Num. Chron. Vol. xviii. p. 36, Rud. Pl. V. 29), even to the shape of the shield and the short dart, staff or javelin. The workmanship is also similar, and the weight the same as that of coins of Cunobeline. But the legend of the obverse not only fixes the coin to this same period, but also shews the relationship that existed between Cunobeline and Epaticcus; that they were, in fact, brothers. There can, at the present time, be but little doubt that the legend Tasciovani F. has been rightly interpreted by Mr. Birch as Tasciovani Filius, the son of Tasciovanus; and this coin, while it shews that Epaticcus was, like Cunobeline, a son of Tasciovanus, at the same time corroborates this interpretation of the legend Tasci. F.

The number and importance of the coins on which the name of Tasciovanus appears by itself, shews that he must have been a prince of great note, whose reign was also probably of some duration. From his coins we may gather that his principal city was Verulam, while on the coins of Cunobeline, the name of that town ceases to appear; and we find upon them only that of Camulodunum, in its stead. This change in the seat of empire has always appeared as a difficulty in adopting the hypothesis, that Cunobeline was the son and successor of Tasciovanus, as if so, it is but reasonable to suppose that his coins would have been issued from the same mint. If, however, we consider, as it now appears we are authorized to do, that Tasciovanus had two

sons, between whom at his death his kingdom was divided, and that Cunobeline had the Eastern, while Epaticcus inherited the Western part of his domains, we may readily imagine both sons as strenuously challenging the title of Tasciovani Filius, upon their coins; and also see a reason for Cunobeline transferring the seat of his power to a more eastern town than Verulam. Or, again, we may assume that Cunobeline was left as his father's successor in nearly the whole of his domains, and that the transference of his mint from Verulam to Camulodunum, arose from his conquest of the latter place; and that Epaticcus was left as prince over a single tribe, or else was chosen by some tribes who may have revolted from Cunobeline, or have formerly been under some other chief unknown to history, as their ruler; under which circumstances he would still have challenged the title of Tasciovani Filius, both as wishing to show his descent from so illustrious a chief, and also as claiming equality with the more widely ruling Cunobeline, What was the name of the tribe over which he ruled, we will shortly try to discover; but I must premise that these are of course the merest speculations, and I must claim your forbearance for having indulged in them. I think, however, that when we find some three apparently contemporary princes, with the title Com. F. upon their coins, and know from history that there was a distinguished British prince of the name of Commius; and when we also find coins of two contemporary princes with the title of Tasciovani F. upon their coins, and gather from other coins that there was a well-known ruler of the name of Tasciovanus, it may be regarded as an almost established fact, that the F. in these formulas represents Filius, as it would have done upon Roman coins of the same period.

Of the name of the tribes over which Epaticcus ruled, or that of his chief town we know nothing certain, it would, however, appear from the locality where alone, as far as our knowledge at present goes, his coins have been found, that the western parts of Surrey formed part of his domain. If, however, as has been supposed, and that with much probability, the capital of the Segontiaci Vindonum was near Farnham, and the coins of Tasciovanus, with the name of Segon. upon them, were struck at this place; it would appear probable, that Epaticcus succeeded his father as ruler of the Segontiaci, and probably of no other tribes, as from the scarcity of his coins, his domain must either have been very limited, or the duration of his reign very short. The Segontiaci are mentioned among the tribes who submitted to Cæsar, whose capital city, Vindonum (as Camden says), dropped its own name and took that of the nation, as Lutetia took that of the Parisii. It was called by the Britons, *Caer Segont*, q. d., *the city of the Segontiaci*, and so it is called by Nennius, in his catalogue; and whether *Caer Segont* was at Silchester, as Camden places it, or at Farnham, as Horsley, with greater probability, suggests, it is sufficiently near the place of finding of these coins to justify me in submitting to you the hypothesis that Epaticcus succeeded his father Tasciovanus, as the ruler of the Segontiaci.

It now only remains to make a few remarks upon the name of this prince, which bears no great analogy to that of any other British prince, whether recorded in history, or merely known by his coins. We find, however, considerable resemblance to the former part of the name, in the Gaulish Epasnactus (or Epad of coins), and Eporedorix, mentioned by Cæsar. The final—*ticcus*, is to be found in the name of Casticus, a prince of the Sequani, mentioned

by Cæsar; and in Suticcos, a name which appears on Gaulish coins. As to the meaning of the name Epaticcus, and no doubt it originally possessed some signification, I will not venture a conjecture, but leave it to those who have more knowledge of the ancient British tongue, and more confidence in its application.

It is sufficient for me to have enrolled the name of Epaticcus on the list of British Princes, who struck coins, and to have offered a few suggestions as to his parentage and territory.

JOHN EVANS.

II.

RECHERCHES SUR LA NUMISMATIQUE JUDAÏQUE.

PAR F. DE SAULCY.¹

As the subject of the Jewish coinage has hitherto hardly received the attention it deserves in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle,² I think that a review, or rather, an abstract

¹ Paris, 1854, Didot Frères.

² It is lamentable to see the gross ignorance that still exists on the subject of Jewish coins, among what may be considered the well-informed classes, as testified by the so-called imitation of the Jewish shekel, now sold in such numbers in London. This ill-fabricated copy of the spurious shekel, with the Assyrian or ordinary Hebrew characters upon it, is said, in the description given with each specimen, to be "a correct copy and representation of the old Hebrew money (from an original, which can be seen at Messrs. Pinches and Co.'s, Medallists, &c., 27, Oxendon-street), current during the life time of our Saviour, for thirty pieces of which He was betrayed by Judas Iscariot." It would be hard to imagine a more gross concatenation of absurdities and

or resumé of one of the latest Continental works upon the subject, accompanied by a few remarks upon the views therein advanced, will not be altogether unacceptable to its readers, even should they possess the book itself, from which the following pages may almost be considered as extracts :—The *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque*, of M. F. De Sauley. Its author has had many opportunities of acquiring an intimate knowledge of this class of coins, his own extensive collection having been partly formed during his travels in the East, and partly by additions made of coins discovered at Jerusalem, which he has been able to obtain through the connexion he formed when there, with the resident dealers in coins.

The Plates which illustrate his work, twenty in number, give representations of nearly 200 coins, and comprise not only the Jewish coins proper, or those with Samaritan inscriptions, but also those of the Idumæan rulers, and the Imperial coins relating to, or rather struck in, Judea. The execution of the Plates is remarkably good, and they appear to contain very faithful representations of the coins.

M. De Sauley divides the series of Jewish coins into the following classes, all of which I intend slightly to notice, and where his classification differs from that of Bayer, and others, to adduce and discuss some of his reasons for suggesting a novel arrangement.

1st EPOCH.

Autonomous coins, struck during the reign of Alexander the Great.

falsehoods — yet the thing sells. *Populus vult decipi et decipitur* ; but if they must be taken in, let it be by something with merely the pleasant admixture of a lie, and not false altogether.

VOL. XX.

C

2nd EPOCH.

Coins of the Asmonean Princes.

3rd EPOCH.

Coins struck during the revolt of the Jews, including those of Simon Barcohab.

With regard to those of the first Epoch, M. De Saulcy places under this head:—

1st. The shekels of a thick fabric, with the inscription **ירושלם קדושה** (*Jerusalem the Holy*), and the flowering rod of Aaron (or a lily) on the obverse; and **שקל ישראל** (*Shekel of Israel*), with the cup-shaped vase on the reverse, and, above, the numeral **א**.

2nd. The half shekel, with the same types, except that it reads on the reverse **חצי השקל** (*Half the Shekel*).

3rd and 4th. The shekel and half shekel, with the same inscriptions and types, except that a **י** is inserted in **ירושלים** and the article **ה** before **קדושה**; and that they have the letters **ש' ב** for **שנת ב**, the second year, above the cup. This dualizing of the name of Jerusalem is very remarkable, and has not been satisfactorily accounted for.

5th. A similar shekel, but with **ש' ג**, the third year.

6th. A copper coin, rather larger than the shekel.

Obv.—**לנאלת ציון** The redemption of Sion. A palm-tree between two baskets.

Rev.—**שנת ארבע חצי** The fourth year—half. A fir-cone, or fruit of the palm between two “loulabs” or bundles of branches, such as were carried at the feast of tabernacles. *

7th. A similarly inscribed coin, but the legend of the reverse terminating **רביע** (*a quarter*), as being half the preceding. On the obverse is a cone, and on the reverse two loulabs.

8th. Copper coins inscribed **לגאאלת ציון**, with a vase similar to that on the shekels; and on the reverse **שנת ארבע**, the fourth year, and the loulab between two fir-cones.

Now all these coins have hitherto been considered to have been struck under Simon Maccabæus, or about 140 B.C.; but M. de Saulcy carries them back to a much earlier period, viz., the pontificate of Yaddous, or Jaddus, or Jad-dua, about 330 B.C.

His reasons for thus classifying and assigning them, may be thus summed up. That the group which consists of coins of silver, struck during the first three years, and of copper, during the fourth, by the conformity of style, type and letters, is shown to be one; and that the coins all belong to the same period, which is evidently anterior to that of the Asmonæan Princes. What that era was, he attempts to determine in the following manner.

The Jews, under the Persian rule, could have had no right of striking autonomous coins; indeed, it appears, that what coins were struck by the last satraps at Samaria, were of the Persian system, with Phœnico-Persian types. It is, therefore, vain to seek for coins of purely Jewish types of the period when they were under the Achæmenian rule.

That, on the submission of Judæa to Alexander, he accorded to the petition of Yaddous, permission for the Jews to govern themselves by the laws of their fathers; and that such was, in fact, autonomy, and included the privilege of striking their own coins. That, soon after the death of Alexander, Jerusalem fell into the hands of Ptolemy Soter, and was again despoiled of its autonomous rights; and that it was during this brief period of their freedom, that these coins were struck; and their dates are the years of the autonomy of the Jews. That it may be shown from history

that there was no period of freedom for the Jews, or Jerusalem, from the time of Ptolemy Soter till the liberation of Jerusalem, under Judas Maccabæus, when a purely Jewish coinage could have existed. That the Jewish shekel was exactly equivalent to the tetradrachm of the Egyptian standard, and that the weights of these shekels correspond in a remarkable manner with that of the tetradrachm of Ptolemy Soter, being in both cases, about 216 grs.

Such are the reasons given by M. de Saulcy, for his attribution of this class of coins to the era of Yaddous; and they certainly have some weight, as the appearance and fabric of the shekels assuredly point to an earlier period than that usually assigned them. There are, however, objections to M. de Saulcy's theory, which it will be well to mention. Though there may be some difficulty in determining the interval that elapsed between the submission of Yaddous to Alexander, and the treacherous conquest of Jerusalem by Ptolemy Soter, yet there can be no doubt that there were many more years between these events than the four of which we find record on the coins: indeed, the death of Alexander did not take place until nine years after his interview with the high priest; why, then, should the Jews have struck money during only four of these years, and why should the coinage of the last year be exclusively of copper? I must confess, that I very much doubt the propriety of classing these copper coins with the shekels, both from the formation of the letters and especially of the *Ϙ*, and from the nature of the inscriptions, which so closely resemble some of those on the coins of Simon Barcochab. Besides which, these coins are common as compared with those of silver. The argument from the weight of the coins does not amount to as much as would at first sight appear, as some of the shekels of Barcochab

are of the same weight; still I think there can be no doubt of the shekels of this class being of an early date, from their appearance, possibly even antecedent to the age of Alexander; and since, from history, there are difficulties in supposing them to have been struck earlier, we may, with some degree of safety, adopt M. De Saulcy's era for them.

At the same time it must be confessed, that there is nothing but their appearance of possessing greater antiquity — which is not always a safe criterion — against their having been struck in the days of Simon Maccabæus, when, according to Josephus, the formula "In the first year of Simon, the benefactor and Ethnarch of the Jews,"³ came into use in the public records. The shekels with the name of Simon are not, however, by any means to be attributed to Simon Maccabæus, as we shall presently see.

We will now take a glance at the coins of the second Epoch, or those struck by the Asmonean Princes, to which series M. De Saulcy makes great and important additions, engraving and describing coins of the following princes.

Judas Maccabæus	B.C. 164-161
Jonathan	„ 161-143
John Hyrcanus	„ 135-106
Judas Aristobulus and Antigonus	„ 106-105
Alexander Jannæus	„ 105-78
Alexandra	„ 78-69
Antigonus	„ 40-37

These coins are all in brass or copper, and mostly of small module, those of Antigonus being the only exceptions.

Of Judas Maccabæus there is but one type given, and that, perhaps, of rather doubtful attribution, as it is very like one of the varieties of the coin of Jonathan, and the

³ See also 1 Maccabees, xiii. 42.

first three letters of the names of Judas, Jonathan and John are in most cases the same יהו.

On the obverse, M. de Saulcy reads the inscription יהוד ויהודים הכהן גדול וחבר היהודים "Judas the High Priest and the friend of the Jews," or, I think, possibly, "The society or community of the Jews." The whole within an olive wreath. On the reverse, the device is a pomegranate between two cornucopiæ. There is certainly no reason why coins of Judas Maccabæus should not exist; but I am not satisfied that those of M. de Saulcy are correctly read.

Of the coins of Jonathan, several specimens are engraved, all very nearly resembling the one already described, but the inscription being יהונתן or ינתן "Jonathan the High Priest," and "the community of the Jews." The bi-lingual coins, with the name of Jonathan combined with that of Alexander, are carried forward by M. de Saulcy to Alexander Jannæus.

To Simon Maccabæus, to whom nearly all the Jewish coins known have hitherto been ascribed, M. de Saulcy is unable to find grounds for the attribution of any, though he admits the probability of their existence. We shall see that he has good reason for this opinion, when we come to the consideration of the coins of Simon Barcochab.

The coins of John Hyrcanus closely resemble those of his predecessors Judas and Jonathan, the legend being usually יהוחנן הכהן הגדל וחבר היהודים.

Up to this period, the coins of the Maccabees bear purely Hebrew legends, and their analogy with the coins bearing the name of Simon which have been usually assigned to Simon Maccabæus is but slight. It is certainly remarkable, that no coins of Simon of the type of his predecessor Jonathan, and his successor John Hyrcanus, have yet been found; but there cannot be a doubt of the

correctness of the reading of the names of these two princes on these coins, as I can myself testify from specimens in my own collection.

Ten specimens of John Hyrcanus are engraved by M. de Saulcy, some of which have a Greek A above the inscription, which he considers to refer to the alliance of Hyrcanus with Antiochus Sidetes or Alexander Zebina.

Of the coins of the former, M. de Saulcy engraves two specimens of copper of the same module as those of John, and which there is every reason to suppose to have been struck at Jerusalem (where also they were found). On the obverse is the anchor of the Seleucidæ, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ, and the date ΑΠΡ or ΒΠΡ 181 and 182 of the Seleucidan era, or 132 and 131 B.C., in which latter year Hyrcanus followed Antiochus in his disastrous expedition against the Parthians. On the reverse, is a lily or flower very like that on the coins with the joint names of Jonathan and Alexander.

The coins attributed to Judas Aristobulus and Antigonus bear Greek legends, possibly ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑ with the pomegranate and cornucopiæ, or else an anchor, on the obverse, and a star on the reverse; but their attribution is rather questionable.

Of the coins of Alexander Jannæus, there can be but little doubt. They bear the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ round an anchor on the obverse, and a star within a beaded circle on the reverse, around which there are some traces of another inscription. To this prince, M. de Saulcy, following in the steps of Eckhel and Bayer, also attributes two bi-lingual types, which have been considered as belonging to Jonathan, and as marking his close alliance with Alexander Bala. These coins give the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ round an anchor on the obverse, and,

on the reverse, a lily or balaustium, with the legend יהונתן המלך (Jonathan the King), or else a wheel, amid the spokes of which the same legend is to be found. M. de Saulcy gives it as his opinion that these are coins of Alexander Jannæus, whose Hebrew name he considers to have been Jonathan, in the same manner, as we learn from Josephus,⁴ that Alexandra's Hebrew name was Salome. There are good grounds for supposing this to have been the case; or at all events good reasons for not assigning them to the earlier Jonathan. If they are, for instance, to be carried back to the time of Alexander Bala and Jonathan, probably the other coins ascribed to Alexander Jannæus must accompany them, and we should have bi-lingual and Greek lettered coins preceding those with purely Hebrew inscriptions. It is worthy of remark, that Alexander Jannæus was the first who assumed the title of King instead of that of High Priest; a fact which is noticed by Strabo,⁵ *πρώτος ἀνθ' ἱερέως ἀνέδειξεν ἑαυτὸν βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρος*, and now appears to be borne out by the coins. The correctness of their attribution to Jannæus is, moreover, to a certain extent, supported by the coin given to Alexandra, his widow, which bears the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ around an anchor on the obverse, and a star similar to that on the coins of Alexander on the reverse, the type of the obverse being also identical with that of the bi-lingual coins. This piece was found at Jerusalem, and appears to give ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ most distinctly.

From the character of Alexandra, as given by Josephus, as a woman who showed no signs of the weakness of her sex, and preferred the power of an imperious dominion above all things, there is every probability that she should

⁴ Ant. Jud. l. xiii. c. 12.

⁵ l. xvi. p. 1085, ed. Ox. 1807.

have assumed and exercised the right of coining. It would be a most satisfactory solution of the question, whether the coins of Alexander with the Hebrew name of Jonathan are those of Alexander Jannæus, who was known as Jonathan by the Jews, if a coin of Alexandra were found bearing her Hebrew name of Salome on the reverse.

After her death, there is a considerable hiatus in the Jewish series, no coins being known of Hyrcanus or Aristobulus; but the coinage reappears, though in a larger module and bi-lingual, under Antigonus. On the obverse of his coins we read ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ either within or around a garland, and on the reverse two cornuacopiæ on the larger coins, and one on the smaller, accompanied by a rather uncertain Hebrew legend which seems to be **מַתִּיתִיָּה (ה) הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל** "Mattathias the High Priest."

M. de Saulcy, following Barthélemy, is inclined to consider Mattathias as the Hebrew name of Antigonus, rather than as the name of his great ancestor, placed upon his coins in order to shew his illustrious descent.

And if this be the case, it strengthens the supposition of Jonathan having been the Hebrew name of Alexander. There is, indeed, an *à priori* improbability in supposing that these Jewish chiefs were not known by their countrymen by some Jewish names, as High Priests, rather than by the Greek names of Alexander and Antigonus.

After Antigonus, the coins with Hebrew inscriptions cease for a considerable period, and only again re-appear on the eve of the total destruction of the nation.

The coins of the Idumæan dynasty give none but Greek inscriptions, though the familiar types of the anchor and cornuacopiæ are still preserved. I will not, however, enter upon an examination of them, nor of the Imperial coins struck in Judæa, of which several plates are given, as they

are not purely Jewish coins, but will proceed at once to the consideration of the coins supposed by M. de Saulcy to have been struck during the Jewish war, which terminated in the total destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. These are the copper pieces of such ordinary occurrence with the vase or urn, and the vine-branch as types, and the legend **חֵרֶת צִיּוֹן** (the liberation of Zion) around the vine-branch, and the year **שְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם** (the second year), or **שְׁנַת שְׁלִישׁ** (the third year), around the vase. M. de Saulcy argues that the Jews, who made such heroic efforts for the recovery of their liberty, must in all probability have had if merely as one of the means of asserting their independence, a purely Hebrew coinage of their own; and if so, these pieces, by their style, size and fabric, which approach so nearly to those of the coins of Nero, struck at Jerusalem in A.D. 59, may be traced to this origin.

Those of the third year are much rarer than those of the second, while there are none of the first and fourth, which may be accounted for on the hypothesis, that, in the first year of the war, independence was not re-established at Jerusalem; and in the fourth and last year, anarchy and intestine divisions were already preparing and facilitating for Titus the conquest he had undertaken.

There seems to me much probability in this appropriation of these coins, which cannot certainly lay claim to a much higher antiquity. It is, however, possible that they should be carried down to the time of Barcochab.

We now come to the most numerous, and what has hitherto been the most perplexing class of Jewish coins, viz., those bearing the name of Simon. These have hitherto, for the most part, been considered as appertaining to Simon Maccabæus, but are, without a single exception, attributed by M. de Saulcy, as had been done before by Henrion, to

Barcochab, בֶּרֶכְיָה (the son of a star), the leader of a protracted revolt of the Jews, under Hadrian, that terminated in their utter defeat and banishment from Jerusalem.

It is true, that in history this leader is only mentioned as Barchochebas, or Cochebus, without there being any foundation for the assumption that his name was Simon, beyond numismatic evidence. This, however, is strong, as the coins bearing the name Simon were certainly struck in the reign of Hadrian; and as he was the leader of the noted revolt which resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem, and its conversion into the Roman *Ælia Capitolina*, there is every reason to believe that his name was really Simon (Barcochab being evidently a sort of surname), or that he assumed the name of Simon, to convey the idea that he would prove to the Jews, a second deliverer like Simon Maccabæus.

The types are numerous both in silver and copper, and as some of the former are struck on coins of Trajan and Vespasian, and one of the latter in the British Museum, on a coin of Domitian or Vespasian, there can be no question as to the correctness of the attribution of at least these "palimpsest" coins to Simon Barcochab; and the other pieces, which closely resemble and are even identical in type and fabric, must needs go with them. We must, therefore, I am afraid, give up for the present, the attribution of any coins to Simon Maccabæus, though I have no doubt that ere long, some of the small copper pieces similar to those of Jonathan and John Hyrcanus, will be found inscribed with his name.

But to return to the coins of Barcochab, which may be divided into those of his first year, including those without a date; and those of his second year. Among the former class are shekels of two types, viz., those with the front of

a temple on the obverse, and a loulab on the reverse, the legends being either שמעון and לחרות ירושלם, Simon—the Liberty of Jerusalem; or ירושלם and שנת אחת לנאלת, Jerusalem—the first year of the Redemption of Israel; or on a doubtful piece, the initials יר ... שם and לחר ... ישראל, Jerusalem Simon—the Liberty of Israel. The obverse of the quarter shekels, or denarii, of which there are several varieties, bears in most cases a bunch of grapes, with the legend שמעון, Simon; and on the reverse a palm-branch, or two trumpets, or a lyre, with the legend לחרות ירושלם, the Liberty of Jerusalem. Others have שמעון within a wreath, and a wine-jug, or cœnochoe and palm-branch on the reverse, with the same legend of the Liberty of Jerusalem. In copper there are several varieties, mostly with a palm tree and the name of Simon, on the obverse, and a vine leaf, with the Liberty of Jerusalem inscribed around it on the reverse. These are of the second brass size, and one of those engraved has been struck on a second brass Greek coin, of Trajan, AYT KAI TPA being legible upon it. Others have a lyre on the obverse, and a palm branch within a garland on the reverse, with nearly the same legends; and there are small pieces with the type of a palm-tree on the obverse, and a bunch of grapes on the reverse. None of the above bear a date, and must therefore be referred to the first year of Simon. There are, however, several specimens on which this year is inscribed. The first is a magnificent coin of large brass—

Obv.—שמעון נשיא ישראל (Simon, Prince of Israel), within a garland.

Rev.—שנת אחת לנאלת ... אל (The first year of the Redemption of Israel), around a two-handled vase of elegant form.

There are also second brass coins, with the palm-tree

and vine-branch, with the same legends; and others of a smaller volume, with the legend שנת אחת לנאלת יש around the bunch of grapes on the obverse, and an unintelligible inscription beneath a palm-tree, on the obverse. There is little doubt, that in thus dating the coins "In the first year," Simon Barcochab intended to remind the Jews of what was recorded of his illustrious namesake, Simon Maccabæus. "Then the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts—In the first year of Simon, the High Priest, the governor and leader of the Jews."³ And this inscription, intended to inspire the Jews at that time, has served to mislead many Christians since.

The coins of the second year are much fewer in number than those of the first, and consist of a shekel with the temple and loulab, a quarter shekel with the bunch of grapes and the œnochoe, and second brass coins with the palm-tree and vine-branch; the legend of the reverse being in all cases ש.ב. לחר ישראל. The second year of the Liberty of Israel. In no case does the final ו of לחרות appear.

With these coins terminates the Jewish series; but M. de Saulcy gives representations and an account of all the colonial coins struck under the Roman Emperors, at Ælia Capitolina, the city built by Hadrian, on the ruins of Jerusalem, where coins were struck as late as the days of Hostilianus, A.D. 249 and 251. Nor even then did the coinage at Jerusalem cease, or its heathen name of Ælia Capitolina disappear; for there are coins given, apparently struck by the Caliph Abdoul Malik, about A.D. 695. With the legend, Mahomed is the Apostle of God, on the obverse, and Ælia of Palestine, on the reverse. Could the desolation of the Holy City be more complete?

³ 1 Macc. xiii, v. 42.

I have now, I think, presented the reader with a fair abstract of M. de Saulcy's work, and must leave him to draw his own conclusions as to the correctness of his views, with most of which I must acknowledge myself to concur. All will, however, hail his book, both from the number of coins engraved and described, and the fidelity with which they are represented, as a most valuable addition to Jewish Numismatics.

The absence of coins of Simon Maccabæus, seems to me incontestable; and as an additional reason for bringing the coins that have been assigned to him, down to the later date of Simon Barcochab, I beg to throw out the question for those better versed in Hebrew than myself, and who would still refer the coins bearing the name of Simon to Simon Maccabæus, whether the word חרות, in the sense of liberty or freedom, had been introduced into the language at so early a period as that of the Maccabees; or at all events, was at that time sufficiently Hebraized, to appear upon their coins?

JOHN EVANS.

III.

SHILLING OF EDWARD VI.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Dec. 18th, 1856.]

I HAVE much pleasure in exhibiting to the Society a coin of great rarity, which I have lately added to my collection. It is a shilling of Edward VI., similar to that engraved in Hawkins' "Silver Coins of England," No. 419, of which

the author says : " The piece No. 419 is of fine silver, and, as appears from the date, was struck at this time of improvement (1551) ; it was probably only a pattern for a shilling, but being, as we believe, unique and unpublished, we could not refrain from giving a representation of so singular a piece."

On the obverse is the king on horseback, galloping and in armour, wielding his sword above his head, which is guarded by a helmet. The attitude of the horse is singular, both the hind and fore-legs being placed close together. Around runs the legend $\text{EDWARD} \cdot \text{VI} \cdot \text{D} \cdot \text{G} \cdot \text{R} \cdot \text{GLI} \cdot \text{FR} \cdot \text{AN} \cdot \text{Z} \cdot \text{HIB} \cdot \text{R} \cdot \text{EX}$. On the reverse is a square-topped shield, crowned, between E , R , with the legend $\text{TIMOR} \cdot \text{DOMINI} \cdot \text{FONS} \cdot \text{VITAE} \cdot \text{M} \cdot \text{D} \cdot \text{L} \cdot \text{I}$. The shape of the Roman M is singular, being little more than two II placed side by side, and it is the more remarkable from its occurring in conjunction with the Lombardic n . The mint-mark on both sides is by Mr. Hawkins stated to be a bird's head. I am, however, doubtful whether it is not rather the head of some beast, or that of a dragon or griffin, such as is found on the gold coins, though I at first inclined to the belief that the head of an *ostrich* was intended. Guillim says, " it hath been long a doubt whether this creature should be reckoned a bird or a beast ; yet because of his wings and feathers, I make no scruple to sort him among the former ;" but I found another reason for believing this mint-mark to be the head of an ostrich, as in " Burke's General Armory " the crest of the Peckham family is stated to be an ostrich proper. It seemed, therefore, probable, that this was the crest of Sir Edmund Peckham, High Treasurer of the Mint in Southwark, at the time when this piece was struck, and that he is thus symbolized upon the coin in the same manner as Sir John Yorke, the Under Treasurer, by Y ; Throgmorton, of

the Tower Mint, by the ton ; or Sir Martin Bowes by the swan or bow, both of which occur in his coat of arms. The ostrich's head, if such it be, occurs in no other coins than those of Edward VI.

Sir Charles Young, however, to whom I had applied relative to the arms and crest of Sir Edmund Peckham, kindly informs me that his crest was, after all, a leopard's head, transfix'd with three cross crosslets fitchy, and that there is no sign of an ostrich either in his arms or crest. My theory, therefore, falls entirely to the ground ; it is, however, a singular coincidence, that the crest of the Sussex Peckhams should have been an ostrich, which would also have been that of Sir Edmund Peckham had he been of the Sussex family, instead of a London family, to which he is supposed to have belonged.

The weight of my coin is 98 grs., and that of the Museum specimen $76\frac{1}{2}$ grs. ; but both shew a considerable amount of wear, so that they must be regarded as pattern pieces, the weight of the ordinary fine shillings of Edward being 96 grs.

JOHN EVANS.

IV.

ON COINS DISCOVERED, BY W. K. LOFTUS, Esq.,
AT SUSA.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, November 19th, 1857.]

It will, perhaps, be within the recollection of the Society, that, in speaking of some curious coins which had recently been brought from the East, I called attention, in a former paper, to a remarkable inscription, which had been found at Susa a short time since by Mr. Loftus, bearing the name of Pythagoras, probably the Greek leader of the Persian King's body-guard; and, at the same time, pointed out the identity of this name with one which has been long known upon a Persian Daric in the National Collection, but of which there has been previously no satisfactory explanation.

I wish now to say a few words on a collection of Oriental coins of the early Mohammedan period, which were discovered by the same enterprising traveller on the same celebrated site, during some excavations he conducted under the superintendence of Sir Henry Rawlinson. These coins are now, together with a considerable number of bricks and other antiquities, deposited in the British Museum, and form by no means the least interesting portion of that gentleman's discoveries. As the manner in which these coins were found is very interesting, I will quote here the narrative which Mr. Loftus has given of it.

"Not far," says Mr. L., "from its southern extremity,
VOL. XX.

E

on the edge of the platform,¹ where the depth of the earth above the pavement did not exceed six feet, an interesting discovery was made. I was at this time examining some recent acquisitions in another part of the ruins, when one of my master workmen rushed into the tent, every muscle of his face distorted with mingled expressions of astonishment, delight, fear, and anxiety, while he threw down at my feet as many silver Kúfic coins as his two hands could contain, rushing out again, with an intimation that there were more in the trench, which he could not carry.

"The workmen had come upon a small glazed pot during the temporary absence of their overseer. As it felt extremely heavy, the cupidity of the Persians tempted them to break it, when out rolled the coins, and a general scramble took place. The master-workman, however, being responsible for the rest, secured as many as he could, and honestly delivered them up to me. He was delighted at the discovery, but afraid of the result, doubting whether the Prince ought not to receive the treasure, and, at the same time, aware that his men had taken care of themselves.

"Ovannes was immediately sent to look after them, and presently returned with fifty more coins, laughing at the credulity of the Lúrs. With ready wit, he hinted that I had found an account of the number, and that several were missing. He therefore recommended the men to produce them, because, if sold in Dizful, the fact would reach the Prince's ears, and the sellers would be punished. They

¹ Mr. Loftus is speaking of the excavations he had made upon the largest and most extensive of the mounds at Susa, in which he discovered the remains of a palace now known to have been inhabited, if not originally constructed, by Xerxes, the king of Persia.

looked at each other. At length, one more timid than the rest pulled forth a coin, and his example was followed by all. Some handed out one, some two or three, and so on, until fifty were collected. Still my factotum was not satisfied; when the day's work was over, he obliged every man to declare by the head of Ali, by Bábá Búzúrg, and all his favourite saints, that he had no more coins in his possession. Those who refused the oath were to receive none of the tobacco, about to be distributed in honour of the discovery. In this manner eleven other coins were recovered that evening, and by dint of perseverance, about one hundred and seventy were in all collected. Several were cohering together at the bottom of the jar in a hard solid mass, but the greater number were bright and unworn, as though but recently struck off from the die."

The total number which have been placed in my hands for examination, and which were, at the same time, tolerably legible, and not so glued together by the oxidation as to be inseparable, was about one hundred and ten; of these fifty-two exhibited dates, or places of mintage, of which we had not previously any illustration from the existing collection at the Museum. As Mr. Loftus states, the majority of them were nearly perfect, and some as fresh as if they had just come from the die.

Two important questions are suggested by this discovery: first, When were these coins deposited in their present position? and, secondly, Is it possible to draw any conclusions from the place in which they were found, as to the period when the building was destroyed near which they were discovered? About the date of its *erection* we have satisfactory proof, relics having been found of Xerxes, as previously stated; while we have some grounds for believing that it was commenced, if not completed, by his

father Darius. It would, therefore, be of much interest could we determine, from any evidence afforded by these coins, whether this structure had been, at the time they were buried, long in ruins. Now we may be sure, from the sharpness of the impression on these coins, that the hoard was buried within a short time after the latest date which occurs among them; and that no lengthened period could have passed away during which they were in circulation. Again, as there was a considerable accumulation of soil between them and the pavement of the buried palace, we may be equally certain that they must have been deposited long after this palace was ruined. Centuries at least must have elapsed, to allow for the mass of earth which was heaped above this pavement.

Nor does this view lack some other corroborative proofs. Thus around some of the bases of the fallen columns were found several urns of Parthian and Sassanian workmanship, thus affording clear and demonstrative evidence that long after the overthrow of the temple, of which they formed the support and decorations, other races occupied the mound on which it had stood—lived, died, and buried their dead. Taking these facts into consideration, it seems a fair inference, that the actual demolition of the great structure must have been due to the remote period of Alexander the Great, or to that of his successors, during the Greek occupation of Susiana. Though we have no record of this event in any of the historians of the campaigns of the Greek monarch, they describe, not without some natural feelings of regret, how he wantonly set fire to the rival and sister structures of Persepolis, and sacrificed to the mad revelry of a courtesan the pride and the glory of Persian architecture.

With regard to this fire, there is, indeed, some room for

doubt whether it was, after all, Persépolis which was sacrificed to the vanity or the fury of the Greek monarch. Strabo indeed, states that Alexander burnt the palace at Persépolis to avenge the Greeks for similar injuries which had been inflicted on them by the Persians (xv. p. 729); but this seems, to say the least, an exceedingly improbable assertion. Arrian merely avers that Alexander burnt a royal palace, contrary to the expressed entreaty of Parmenio; but he does not say where this palace was (*Anab.* iii. 13). Curtius alone describes the disgraceful character of this deed of an incendiary, and fixes the place at Persépolis; the evidence in his favour being the probability that he drew his materials from many journals of the officers of Alexander's army extant in his day (*Curt.* v. 4. 6). On the other hand, Mr. Loftus remarks that a careful examination of the existing columns, and of the injuries they have suffered during the 2,300 years which have elapsed since their first erection, fails altogether in shewing those marks which would naturally indicate the action of this devouring element. The whitened aspect which many of them exhibit is really due to the atmosphere, and not to fire; hence the probability is suggested, that the proceedings supposed to have occurred at Persépolis really took place at Susa, and that the destruction visible at the latter site, is, in fact, that which has left the darkest stain on the memory of the greatest conqueror of ancient times.

It would, indeed, be, in the highest degree, unlikely that coins and relics of the Parthian Princes should be found at Susa beside the fallen and buried columns, and generally above them, if the temple or palace, to which they belonged, was still standing when the people who struck them still lived there. It is much more reasonable to suppose that, as in the case of Nineveh, more than one

race successively settled on these mounds, after the buildings of the earlier people had fallen down and been covered over, unconscious, it may be, of the monuments of the past which lay buried under their feet.

The earliest coin in this collection is from the mint of Damascus, and its date is A.H. 79, corresponding with A.D. 697-8. It was struck by Abd-al-Malek ben Merwán, the sixth Khalif of the house or family of Ommiâh, and the eleventh in descent from Mohammed himself. It is well known that this Khalif was the first to strike the ordinary dirhem, which became so well known in after-times; or, at all events, that no dirhem of any earlier Prince has yet been met with. The earliest known date is A.H. 78, of which a specimen on a gold dinár is preserved in the British Museum. It is not a little curious to find one of the very next year in a miscellaneous hoard of coins, like that we are now considering. I may add that no dirhem of A.H. 78 has been discovered, but that the British Museum possesses another specimen of the date of A.H. 79 (struck, however, at Kúfah), and that there is one also in the Collection at Milan. I am not aware that any other Museum possesses dirhems of this early date, which are, therefore, unquestionably of considerable rarity and interest. The latest date in the collection is that of a coin struck at Mahi in A.H. 106 (A.D. 725), by Heshám, one of the sons of the former Khalif Abd-al-Malek, the eleventh Khalif of the same family. The whole number of coins, therefore, ranges over a period of only twenty-eight years.

Besides the two coins I have mentioned, which were minted at Damascus and Mahi respectively, I have been able to decipher forty-eight other specimens, struck at the following towns and in the subjoined years:—

	A.H.
At Damascus - - - - (79)	82, 83, 84, 86, 100, 105, 106.
„ Busrah- - - - -	80, 82, 87.
„ Waset - - - - -	88, 94, 99, 105, 106.
„ Sús (Susa)- - - - -	90.
„ Rhey - - - - -	90.
„ Herát - - - - -	90.
„ Teimár - - - - -	91.
„ Shápúr - - - - -	91, 92, 94.
„ Istakhr (Persepolis) - -	91.
„ Sejistan (Seistán) - -	92.
„ Darabjerd - - - - -	92, 97.
„ Dscheý - - - - -	92, 94.
„ Merv - - - - -	90.
„ Kirmán - - - - -	95.
„ Kúfa - - - - -	101.
„ Mahi - - - - -	(106) 6?

I may remark, *en passant*, that the list of names and the order of the places correspond pretty nearly with the course of Mohammedan conquest; and that it is, therefore, highly probable that the hoard may have been made by some soldiers, who had accompanied the march of the Arabian armies from the commencement of the war. As the inscriptions on these dirhems do not differ materially from those which have been published with sufficient accuracy by Marsden, Fraehn, and other writers, I have not thought it requisite to take up unnecessary space by their transcription here.

With regard to the coin bearing the name of Susa as its mint place, and the date of A.H. 90, it is interesting to know, as we do from it, that Susa was occupied, and became a town of sufficient importance to possess a mint of its own, within fifty years after the conquest of the country, of which it had once been the second capital. The Arabian historic work, called the *Ruzut-al-Saffa*, states that in the year A.D. 638, the whole of Khuzistán (the ancient Susiana) was over-run by the troops of the Khalif Omar, under the

immediate command of Abú Súrur, the chief places mentioned as having been attacked being Ahwáz, Dumharhaur, Suttar, and the fortress of Sûs; and it would seem that the possession of the latter place rendered any further opposition on the part of the Persians no longer available.

In conclusion, I may remark, that Mr. Loftus, in the course of his researches, met with a considerable number of bronze arrow-heads, lying scattered along the crests of the mounds. It seems not unlikely that these weapons may be relics of the assault on the citadel of Susa by the Mohammedan army.

W. S. W. VAUX.

many travellers and residents, in the neighbourhood of Baghdád, has been called to the collection of money of this description, that ere long we may be in possession of sufficient materials, to reconstruct with tolerable certainty, the lost history of a Dynasty, which, it would seem probable, must have ruled for a considerable period of time.

Before I notice the legends usually found on coins of this class, and of which nine specimens are now on your table, I think it will be worth while to recapitulate, as briefly as possible, what is at present known concerning this race of kings, and the locality from which they derive their name.

There can be little doubt that the name of Characene has been rightly assigned to a small district near the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, bounded on the S. by the Persian Gulf, but with very uncertain and varying limits to the N.E. and W. Generally, it may be considered as a part of the larger province of Susiana, though at different periods under independent governors, and not to have extended far, if at all, to the W. of the united stream of those great rivers. It must have corresponded nearly with the district now called Khuzistán, a little to the S.E. of the well-known mart of Bussorah.

The name Charax, from which Characene is derived, is not unknown in ancient geography, and Stephanus Byzantinus has collected all the instances in which it occurs, and which were known in his days. Thus we find a Charax Alexandriæ near Celænæ in Phrygia; another, which was the most ancient name of Tralles, in Caria; a third, which was an *ἐμπορίον* in the Gulf of Nicomedia, in Bithynia; a fourth in Pontike, on the borders of the Euxine Sea.

Others are elsewhere mentioned on the coast of Africa and in Media; and, last of all, we have the one with

VOL. XX.

F

which alone we are interested here, and which bore the distinguishing title of *Charax Pasinu* or *Spasinu*.

The occurrence of so many places of the same name may be probably accounted for by the fact, that the meaning of the original word *χάραξ*, is a "stake" or "pole"—hence it became the natural designation of many places where a "stockaded fortification" had been made use of.

In ordinary language, Charax would, I believe, be the correct title of a camp hastily fortified, in contra-distinction to a fortress or town with regular or scientific defences.

To return to *Charax Spasinu*.

Our chief information concerning it is derived from Stephanus Byzantinus, Ptolemy, Dion Cassius, and Pliny. Of these, the last, Pliny, describes it as a town at the top of the Persian Gulf, situated on a mound made by the hand of man, between the streams of the Tigris and Eulæus and near their confluence. He states that it was first founded by Alexander the Great, and colonized by the *invalides* of his army and other useless soldiers; and that its first name was, in consequence, not unnaturally, *Alexandria*. This town, after standing for a few years, was washed away during a flood, but was, two centuries later, restored by Antiochus V, and called after him, *Antiochia*. The second town was not fortunate in a much longer duration than the earlier city. It appears to have soon fallen into decay; till, at length, after many years, it was rebuilt by the Prince of a neighbouring tribe of Arabs, called *Spasines* or *Pasines* (the son of *Saggonadaces*), from whom it derived the title it has usually borne since of *Charax Pasinu* (or *χάραξ Σπασίνου*), and by which, as we have seen, it is recorded in Stephanus. Pliny adds, that it was first built on the shore about ten *stadia* from the sea, and had a small port attached to it, called *Vipsanda*. Owing,

however, to the vast quantity of alluvial deposit, brought down annually by the combined waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, already in the time of Juba (a little before the Christian year), Charax is said to have been fifty miles from the sea: while, at the time when Pliny wrote, in the middle of the first century of the Christian era, the merchants, who came to Rome, informed him, that it was then as much as 120 miles from the sea. There is no doubt that the Roman geographer has been much misinformed with regard to these distances, and that he has made them much greater than they really were. There is, however, no question whatever that there has been a regular and well authenticated increase of land, at the rate of something like three miles in a century; so that places are now fifty miles from the Persian Gulf, which, at the commencement of the Christian era, were standing on the sea-shore.

Charax Pasinu is famous in History and Geography, as the birth-place of two eminent ancient geographers, Dionysius (called from his extensive wanderings *Periegetes*) and Isidorus (who from his birth-place is usually called Isidorus of Charax). The Princes who have hitherto been attributed to this province, and of whose money specimens have been preserved, are named, Apodacus, Tiraeus, Attambilus I., Adinnigaus, Attambilus II., Monneses, and Meredates and his Queen Uiphoba.

As I stated at the commencement of this paper, I do not regard the determination of these personages as rulers of Characene, as a matter absolutely certain:—I am willing, however, to accept it for the present, in the absence of any direct proof to the contrary. The period when they reigned can, in some instances be fixed by the dates on their coins: in other cases, may be inferred

from the similarity of the workmanship they exhibit, with that of other coins of known personages or of certain periods.

The earliest, in point of date, is unquestionably the first mentioned in our list :

I. APODACUS.

It may be described as follows :—

Obv.—Head of king to the right. Filleted.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΔΑΚΟΥ. Heracles seated on seat to left, his right holding club, his left reposing on his seat. In the field, Monog., Ν—in the exergue, ΓΣΜ. (243) B.C. 69.

The coin is in silver; and bears considerable resemblance to a debased type of the money of the Seleucidæ.

II. TIRAEUS.

Obv.—Head to right, filleted—and wearing a long beard. The character of the physiognomy decidedly Parthian, and unlike that of *Apodacus* which is clearly *Greek*.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΡΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΩΣ, some letters, perhaps, of ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. or ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ, same type. Monog., Α, but no date.

As this coin bears no date, its period can only be inferred from the analogy of the portrait, and from its resemblance to the coins of the later Arsacidæ. On these grounds I should be inclined to attribute it to the first century before the Christian era—a date not much later than the coin of *Apodacus*. The coin is in silver :—

III. ATTAMBILUS I.

Obv.—Bearded head of the king to right, before it ✱. The same remark on the physiognomy of the last coin applies also to this. The features are clearly Parthian or Oriental.

Rev.— . . . ΑΣΙΑ . . . ATTAMB . ΣΩΤΗΡ . . . ΕΥΕΡ.
Same type much degraded.

Several coins exist of this prince, with different
dates

HQΣ . 298 (B.C. 15.)

T . 300 (B.C. 13.)

ΠΤ . 313 (A.D. 1.)

ϞIT . 316 (A.D. 5.)

IV. ADINNIGAUS.

Obv.—Same type.

Rev.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕ . . . ΑΔΙΝΝΙΓΑΟ . . . ΩΤΗΡ—in the exergue, AKT. 321. A.D. 9. Same type.

The coin is in very base silver. The Museum possesses this one specimen only, but Mionnet has published another with the date, ΤΑΓ. 333, A.D. 21.

V. ATTAMBILUS II.

Obv.—Same type—but head unbearded and marked with
Monog., .

Rev.—ATTAMB CΩΤΗΡ . ΕΥΛ. Same type,
but much degraded.

Monog., . Date TOF (376), A.D. 64.

The general character of the work fully bears out this data, and shews how much a style, originally even, somewhat barbarous, had degenerated during a period comparatively short.

VI. MONNESES.

Mionnet records a prince of this name, the character of whose coinage is precisely like that of those monarchs we have already noticed, but bearing the date YKB, 422, A.D. 110. If this be correct, there can be no doubt that he must have been contemporary with Trajan, the Roman Emperor, and Chosroes of Persia. If so, it is clear that Dion Cassius' statement, which makes Attambilus follow, instead of precede Monneses, must be incorrect.

The last rulers we have to notice are Meredates and Uiphoba, and concerning the attribution of the coins bearing these names, we have considerable doubt. They are not uncommon; and the Museum possesses several specimens—there is nothing, however, certain to be made out from what remains of their legends.

Obv.—Head of the king to right—wearing a beard and head dress like that of the Sassanians.

Rev.—ΜΕΡΕΔΑΤΟΥ -ΒΑΙΙΑΕΩC .ΥΙΦΟΒΑ—Meredates and Uiphoba—and the date ΥΝΔ, 454 (A.D. 142.)

As far as I have been able to ascertain, all the known specimens of the money of these rulers are alike, and bear the same date, namely, the fourth year of *Antoninus Pius*. It will, however, be noticed that their type is wholly different from that of the coins previously described, while the workmanship and portraits have a character directly connecting them with those of the later Arsacidæ or earlier Sassanian. Besides these types, to which I have referred, there are a large number of coins exceedingly rude in their workmanship, which are usually comprehended in this class, and which may not improbably be derived from the later specimens of these princes of Characene. For the present, I believe, we must be content, with the brief notice I have given above, but I am not without hopes, that, as the attention of collectors in the East, is now drawn to this subject, we may ere long obtain new and better specimens, from the comparison of which a more clear and satisfactory account may be deduced.

W. S. W. VAUX.

VI.

TETRADRACHM OF ALEXANDER.

Copenhagen, 27st February, 1858.

SIR,

No. LXXIV. of Numismatic Chronicle, published in November, 1857, contains, pp. 221, 222, an examination of the late Mr. W. H. Scott on a tetradrachm of Alexander, concerning which I make so free as to send you some remarks.

Mr. Scott thinks this tetradrachm is unpublished, or at any rate unexplained, and maintains the opinion, that it has been struck at Aradus, because it has a bee and an A below the throne, and before the figure a mark resembling an F, which he takes for the Phœnician Ⲁ. With respect to the fabric, he does not decide if it is of Syrian or Phœnician workmanship, and admits, that it has the thick massive form which, according to Cousinery, belong to those usually found in Macedonia, though he thinks the fabric different from that of the coins of Alexander classed to Amphipolis.

This tetradrachm is also in the British Museum, and has been published in my work on the coins of Alexander ; it is to be found, p. 185, Pl. VII. No. 513, in a series belonging to Melitæa in Thessaly. I shall take the liberty to give the reasons why it must have been struck in this town.

A bee is seen as a mark on different coins of Philip, father of Alexander, and of Demetrius II. of Macedonia,

and can on all these coins denote no other city but Melitæa in Thessaly, this land, as well known, having been joined by Philip to Macedonia. Melitæa was first noticed, as a place that struck money, by M. Prokesch von Osten, in whose collection there are several autonomous coins with the names of this city and a bee as "*armes parlantes*" on the reverse.¹ No other city in the lands belonging to Philip's empire had this type. A number of Alexander's coins must be assigned to the same city for the following reasons. On the coins of Alexander, an A is several times adjoined to the bee, and this letter is likewise seen on some of Philip's coins, together with the bee; hereof may be concluded, that both the first and the latter are from the same city, and that the letter A represents the name of a person employed at the mint, who has passed from Philip's reign to that of Alexander. A considerable number of the initials and monograms, which, on Alexander's coins, accompany the bee and signify persons, are found on other coins of the same king, which, according to their marks and fabrics, are struck in Macedonian cities; it is natural that the same persons were employed to superintend the minting in Macedonia and Thessaly, as both these lands were under the same government. The tetradrachms with these marks are of the thicker kind, and have a strong relief, as in general those which issued from the mints of the European provinces of Alexander's empire. All Alexander's coins with the mark of a bee have usually been assigned to Ephesus. The coins here treated of cannot be attributed to this city, firstly, owing to their fabric, as those that were coined in the West of Asia Minor, were

¹ Gerhard, Archæol. Zeitung, 1847, No. 10, Taf. X., 7—9. Wien. Acad. Deutschr., 1854, p. 248, Taf. I., 30—34.

flatter or at least of a less elevated relief; secondly, because some of the tetradrachms contain the title of king, which is never appended to the name of Alexander on the coins struck in the western part of Asia Minor; and lastly, because there are on the drachmas monograms, which are repeated on the drachmas of Philip III. (Arrhidæus), with the bee, and must be explained as indicating the same magistrate as upon these; but the coins of this last king were not struck in the cities of Western Asia Minor. That, especially the tetradrachm in question must be classed not to Ephesus, but among those struck at Melitæa, is to be seen both by the fabric, which points to Greece, and by the letter A, which also is added on the coins of Philip II.

The reason why Mr. Scott has assigned this coin to Aradus, is particularly the character before the figure, which he has thought to be a Phœnician $\aleph$. I do not know if this mark on the specimen Mr. Scott has examined has been indistinct; but it is certain, that on the coin in the British Museum, this mark can be no Phœnician letter. It is either F (the Æolian digamma), which is not unfrequently found on Greek coins, or a similar Greek monogram, which has the horizontal line above prolonged to the left; as the coin on the left of the monogram is somewhat worn, this is not certain. All the coins of Alexander, that can with certainty be assigned to Aradus, contain a monogram, arranged different ways, composed of P, the signification of which as the monogram of Aradus is proved either by the addition of a palm tree, of distinct Punic letters or numbers, of Greek initials or monograms representing other Syrian cities, that were connected with Aradus, or by the fabric of the coin as peculiar to the tetradrachms of Alexander struck in Syria. There is no coin of Alexander containing a bee, that can with any reason be attributed to Aradus.

VOL. XX.

G

As in this article of Mr. Scott, reference is made to the works of Pellerin, Eckhel and Cousinery, but not to my work, I conclude that this was not known to him at the time he wrote this paper — nor, perhaps, even now to many English Numismatists — I may, therefore, be allowed to state, that it was published in 1855, in French, under the title: “*Numismatique d’Alexandre le Grand, suivi d’un Appendice contenant les monnaies de Philippe II. and III.*” The coins described in this work, of which scarcely a third part has been before edited, are principally those which are found in the public and many of the private collections in England, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Scandinavia, at St. Petersburg, and in some Italian cities. I have myself examined the greatest part of them. The different coins of Philip II. amount to 309, those of Alexander to 1,714, and those of Philip III. to 139. Twenty-nine engraved plates contain, first a number of the coins themselves, in order to show the principal differences in the fabric, and afterwards all their marks, which are ranged in the form of tables, with the names of the cities or countries where the coins are struck. To these are added some tables, giving a review of all the marks of cities occurring on the coins of the Macedonian kings and of Lysimachus, for the use of the classification. In the text is to be found both the fullest details relating to the coins, and the motives that have led to their present classification. An alphabetical register of the small types of cities makes it easy to find the single coins.

Yours respectfully,

L. MÜLLER.

Inspector of the Roy. Danish Cabinet of Coins.

To John Yonge Akerman, Esq.

VII. — ON A BARBAROUS COIN OR AMULET OF
HELENA, THE MOTHER OF CONSTANTINE.



THE coin represented in the accompanying woodcut, is in the possession of Mr. Goddard Johnson, who kindly transmitted the original for exhibition to the Numismatic Society.

It is of gold, weighing 52 grs., and was found at Chapel Hill, in Markshall, a hamlet to Caistor, the Venta Icenorum,¹ a locality well known as prolific of Roman remains.

On the obverse is a female head to the left, having the hair plaited so as to give rather the appearance of a helmet, and encircled with a jewelled diadem; the bust enveloped in a jewelled and embroidered collar, and altogether presenting a close imitation of the head of Helena, as she appears upon some of her third brass coins. The legend is as follows: ✠ EILEIIA ✠ AVGVETV. On the reverse is the legend TNPH ✠ EATA THРАН QVILT with CON following, reading the reverse way, as if intended for an exergual inscription, though in reality it is at the left hand side of the commencement of the legend at the top of the coin. In the centre is a wreath enclosing the inscription—

S
IGEV
X

¹ See Archæ., Vol. xxii. p. 412, etc.

There can be but little doubt that this coin was struck at a period long posterior to that of the Helena whose name and effigy it bears. This would, according to the classification of ² Eckhel, have been regarded as Helena the wife of Julian the Apostate—the latest of the three Helenas to whom coins have been ascribed. It would, however, appear from the researches of Marchant, Lenormant, and our late lamented associate, Dr. W. H. Scott,³ that even Eckhel is occasionally in error; and that there is good reason for referring all the coins bearing the name of Helena, to the mother of Constantine the Great, some having been struck before and some after her decease. Eusebius⁴ records that Constantine caused her to be recognised as Augusta, and struck gold money with her effigy. Of these, however, but one type is known in gold; viz. of *Securitas Reipublicæ*, with a standing female figure holding a palm-branch, and that is of extreme rarity. Her coins in third brass are common; and from one of these, I am inclined to think, the engraver took the design for the obverse of his coin.

The reverse is also derived from a third brass rather than a golden source, though it is apparently not taken from any single coin. It runs back to not quite so early an age as the obverse; the inscription in the centre being probably imitated from the SIC V. SIC X. of the coins of Constans, but instead of the "*Gaudium Populi Romani*," we have a barbarous imitation of the *Beata Tranquillitas* legend of the era of Constantine, with a trace of the *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* of a later age, in the TNPH prefixed; making the entire legend "*Temporum Beata Tranquillitas*;" a formula I believe not known upon Roman coins.

² See Eckhel, Vol. viii. p. 145.

³ Num. Chron., Vol. xv. p. 188.

⁴ As also Theophanes, Sozomen, and Niccphorus.

Though the whole would appear to have been formed from memory, rather than from actual imitation of genuine coins, it is very remarkable that the exergual CON. for Constantinople, should have been preserved, though in a position it never could have originally occupied. Altogether, it is a most remarkable piece, and belongs to a class of which but few examples are known. It cannot well be ranked with the Saxon imitations of Roman coins, of which many have been found in Kent and elsewhere, as their workmanship is more rude, and they are generally degenerate imitations of actual gold coins: this, on the contrary, has a considerable degree of finish about it; and some of the letters, if taken separately, might appear to be really of Roman work. The sign of the cross too, prefixed to several words of the legend, is a remarkable feature, and encourages the opinion that it was struck in Christian times. It is, however, to be remarked, that a similar small cross appears on the field of some of the small brass coins both of Helena and Theodora.

It is a curious fact, that during the middle ages, the coins of Helena were believed to be endowed with healing powers, and enjoyed some therapeutic celebrity in consequence. This was pointed out by Mr. Hudson Turner, a few years ago, in the pages of *Notes and Queries* (Vol. i. p. 100), in the following "Note," which I venture to reproduce entire.

"In the Wardrobe Account of the 55th year of Henry the Third, it is stated, that among the valuables in the charge of the keeper of the royal wardrobe, there was a silken purse, containing '*monetam Sancte Helene*.'

"It is well known that during the middle ages, many and various objects were supposed to possess talismanic virtues. Of this class were the coins attributed to the mother of Constantine, the authenticity of which is questioned by

Du Cange,⁵ in his treatise '*de Inferioris ævi numismatibus.*' He observes, also, that the same name was given, vulgarly, to almost all the coins of the Byzantine emperors, not only to those bearing the effigies of St. Helena, but indeed to all marked with a cross, which were commonly worn suspended from the neck, as phylacteries; 'hence,' he subjoins, 'we find that these coins are generally perforated.'

"It was quite in accordance with the superstitious character of Henry the Third, that coins of St. Helena should be preserved in his wardrobe, among numerous other amulets and relics. But what was the peculiar virtue attributed to such coins? Du Cange, in the same treatise, says, on the authority of Bosius, that they were a remedy against the "*comitiale morbum*," or epilepsy. The said Bosius, or rather Bozius, wrote a ponderous work, '*de Signis Ecclesiæ Dei*,' (a copy of which, by the by, is not to be seen in the library of the British Museum, although there are two editions of it in the Bodleian), in which he discourseth as follows:—'*Monetæ adhuc aliquot exstant, quæ in honorem Helenæ Augustæ, et inventæ crucis, cum hujusmodi imaginibus excusæ antiquitus fuerunt. Illis est præsens remedium adversus morbum comitiale: et qui hodie vivit Turcarum Rex Amurathes, quamvis a nobis alienus, vim sanctam illarum expertus solet eas gestare; e morbo namque hujusmodi interdum laborat. Nummi quoque Sancti Ludovici, Francorum regis mirifice valent adversus nonnullos morbos.*'—Lib. xv. sig. 68.

"The mention of the Sultan Amurath carrying these coins about his person as a precaution against a disease to which he was subject; and, indeed, the whole passage shows that a belief in their efficacy was still prevalent in the sixteenth century, when Bozius wrote. It only remains to add,

⁵ Qy. Du Fresne?

that Du Cange, in his Glossary, does not enumerate the 'Money of St. Helena' under the word 'Moneta'; nor does he allude to the coins of St. Louis, which, according to Bozcius, were endowed with similar properties."

Mr. Johnson therefore suggests, that this coin, for so it may still be called, must be regarded as an amulet, and that the numerous crosses that are intermixed with the barbarous legend, are so many additions to its prophylactic powers. There is certainly some probability in such a supposition, though the coin is not perforated, and shows no sign of ever having had a loop attached for its suspension. The belief in the efficacy of certain coins and gems as amulets or charms, is of very early date; we find St. Chrysostom⁶ inveighing against the use of the coins of Alexander the Great, as amulets; Trebellius Pollio mentions the virtues attaching to the portraits of Alexander in his history of Quietus, one of the Thirty Tyrants, and narrates how the family of the Macriani were remarkable for wearing the head of Alexander in their gold and silver rings and other ornaments, and adds that he mentions this fact, because those who wear the head of Alexander expressed in gold or silver, are said to be prospered in all their undertakings. Alexander⁷ himself had probably no idea of the virtues attaching to his sculptured likeness, when he issued his edict that no one should presume to carve his likeness on gems, except Pyrgotales; but Augustus may have promoted the idea of some innate virtue in the head of Alexander, when he adopted it as his seal and discarded the sphinx.

But our present business is with the *Moneta Sanctæ Helenæ*; and on this subject I am not able to add to the

⁶ Ad Illum. Catechesis, tom. ii. p. 287; and in Epist. ad Ephes., cap. iv.; Hom. 12, tom. xi. 108. Ed. Paris, 1834-40.

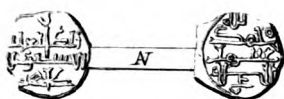
⁷ Plin. Nat. Hist., xxxvii. 1.

information collected by Mr. Hudson Turner, except that there is an article on the subject of the Heleniani Nummi, in that mine of learning, Hofmann's *Lexicon Universale*; and that, singularly enough, a Michael de Sanctâ Elenâ was Reparator Cuneorum, or repairer of the dies to the mint of Henry III., among whose effects the Moneta Sancte Helene is mentioned..

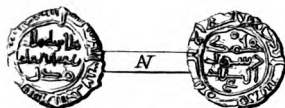
An interesting notice of the virtues attaching to various gems, will be found in Mr. Roach Smith's *Coll. Ant.*, vol. iv. p. 65, and in a paper by Mr. Wright, *Arch.*, vol. xxx. p. 449.

As to the period to which Mr. Johnson's coin is to be attributed, I cannot think that is of nearly so late a date as the time of Henry III. ; and though the fact of its being so good an imitation, that at first sight it might be taken for a Roman coin, renders any attempt to determine the age in which it was minted a difficult task, I am inclined to consider it as dating from the fifth or sixth century of our era. This is, however, purely conjectural, as there is so little collateral assistance to be gained from other specimens. It is much to be desired that some one would take in hand the numerous, and not unimportant class of coins struck in imitation of those of the Roman Emperors, such numbers of which are to be found in every district of this country, and from which possibly some light might be thrown upon the darkest period of our history.

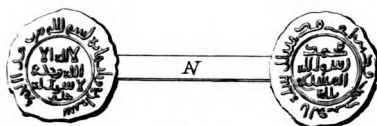
JOHN EVANS.



N° 1.



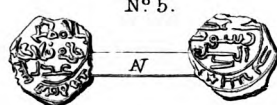
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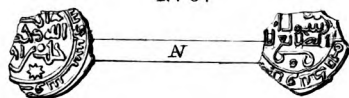
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J. Alghorn, del et Sculp.

COINS OF SEISTÂN.

VII.

COINS OF SEISTÂN.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 28th, 1858.]

AT the last meeting of the Numismatic Society, I exhibited some gold coins from Col. Sir H. C. Rawlinson ; but, as I believe, I stated at the time, I had only received them the same day, and had, therefore, not had time to attempt decyphering them. Since then, I have examined them carefully, and as they turn out to be more curious than I had anticipated, I propose to give the Society, this evening, a brief description of them.

I stated, when I exhibited them previously, that they had been lately forwarded to Col. Rawlinson from Seistân, a district of Eastern Persia, which has been little visited by travellers, and about which, therefore, we know comparatively little.

The result of my examination is, that the coins, thirteen in number, belong to the following classes of dynasties, in the following chronological order :—

1. One *Samanide*, *Mansur ben Nuh*, A.H. 361, A.D. 972.
2. Nine *Soffaride*, of which one belongs to *Taher*, ten to *Khalf ben Ahmed*, A.H. 334—375, A.D. 946—985.
3. One *Ghaznavide*, *Mahmud* of Ghazna, A.H. 418, A.D. 1028.

With regard to the first of these, *Mansur ben Nuh*, it is a gold coin in very perfect preservation, and was struck

VOL. XX.

H

at Bokhara in the year of the Hejra, 361, corresponding with A.D. 972.

Obv.—

لله - محمد رسول الله - المطيع لله - منصور بن نوح

Round.—محمد رسول الله أرسله etc.

Rev.—First general symbol; above which, لعدا

الملك المظفر below,

Round.—etc. ضرب ببخارا

A.H. 361—A.D. 972.

Mansur was the *seventh* Prince of the *Samanian* dynasty, one of the earliest that arose on the first decline of the *Khaláfat*. These princes, of whom there has been found, not only in Asia, but along the Baltic—in the islands of that sea—and even in England, at Cuerdale, and elsewhere, a considerable quantity of money, ruled over part of Central Asia between the years A.H. 261—389, A.D. 874—998, having for part of that period their chief capital at Samarkand. A large number of other places of mintage, however, occur, such as Bokhara, Shash, Balkh, Badakhshan, Nishápur, Enderabe, Ferghana, etc. It is not at all, therefore, contrary to probability, that coins of one of these rulers should be found in the province of Seistân not more than 300 to 400 miles from Bokhara.

I may add, that though the silver coins of the Samanian princes are very numerous—those in gold are rare—and that I have not as yet met with any specimen of the same date in collections at home or abroad.

With regard to the next piece, which I have assigned to the Soffaride or Taheride dynasties, I am ready to admit that there are some grounds for doubt whether this attribution can be maintained; at the same time, I am not

aware of any other dynasty to whom it can with more probability be ascribed. The chief difficulty consists in the legends, which are anything but satisfactory.

The *Obv.* is apparently —

الطايح لله - الحسين بن - طاهر

The *Rev.* is clearly —

له - محمد - رسول - الله - ع

The margin is entirely cut off.

Pl. No. 1.

No date remaining on the coin, it is of course impossible to assign the exact period when this money was struck; but as the Khalif's name, *Al Tai*, is perfectly legible, I have no doubt it must have been between A.H. 363 (A.D. 974) and A.H. 381 (A.D. 991). It is a much more difficult point to determine who was the striker of it; and upon this question I am not at present able to give any decided opinion. In character of workmanship, and date, it is nearly connected with the coins we are about to notice of *Khalf ben Ahmed*. I am not, however, aware of any prince of Seistân who bore the name of *Tâher*.

As we are not acquainted with the names of any of the princes who preceded or followed *Khalf*, it is quite possible that this man may have been ruler of that district a few years before *Khalf* obtained the power.

About the next coin, No. 3, I admit I have been long in doubt; and when I read the paper to the Society six months ago, I stated my belief, that it must belong to one of the princes of the *Soffaride* dynasty — one of the smaller ruling families which made their appearance in Oriental history in the fourth century of the Khâlfat. I expressed, too, a doubt whether or not it might not be classed with the coins of *Noh ben Nasr*, the fifth prince of the *Samanides*, who ruled at Bokhara between A.H. 331 — 343, A.D.

943—954. These doubts are now dispelled, as I am now able to read on the *obverse* the name of *Khalf*, the ruler of Seistân of whose coins I have this day exhibited to the Society some of the best specimens.¹

The legends are as follow :—

Obv. —

لا اله الا - الله وحده - لا اله الا - لاشريك له - خلف

Marg.— ضرب اربع وثلاث مائه

A.H. 334.

Several letters are left out in this inscription, but the date is sufficiently clear.

Rev.— مہمد - رسول الله - المستکفی - بلله

Margin.—Apparently the remainder of the Second Symbol, commencing with ارسله بالهدی, etc., etc. — Pl. No. 2.

There can be no doubt that the name *حلف*, the letters of which are very small, refer to *Khalf*, to whom, also, the following coins belong.

With regard to *Khalf ben Ahmed*, to whom I have attributed this coin, it is known that he ruled in Sejistân, or Seistân, during the 4th century of the Hejra. They have considerable interest, from the light they thus throw upon a very obscure portion of Oriental history, and on a district about which we have few, if any, records; and also from the fact, that no other coins of this Prince have been published in any of the many works which record the Oriental treasures of the European museums. I may

¹ Mr. Thomas attributes this coin to *Hussain ben Tâhir*, a co-temporary of *Khalf ben Ahmed*, whose identification will be found in full detail in the forthcoming number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, in a paper on the coins of the kings of Ghazni.

state, too, what indeed the members of the society are able to judge from their own inspection, that the coins are in a perfectly unaltered condition, and though, in some instances, partially broken or defaced, have no appearance of having been injured by circulation. They would seem, indeed, with the exception of occasional fractures, to be as nearly as possible, as when they left the die. As the inscriptions are generally nearly the same, I will not occupy the time of the society by a separate description of each specimen, but will content myself with stating the principal features of the whole collection, and with throwing together at the end of the paper, for the information of Oriental students, all the inscriptions on each coin in one list.

The usual inscription is, on the —

Obv.—The name of the Khalif, and then —

خلف بن احمد - جدل

Kholf ben Ahmed.

And on the

Rev.—The usual inscription, Muhammed is the Prophet of God, with the date.

The names of three Khalifs who reigned in succession are found upon them; those of *Al-Mostakfi-lillah*, A.H. 333—334, A.D. 944—946; *Al-Moti-lillah*, A.H. 334—363, A.D. 946—974; and *Al-Tai-lillah*, A.H. 363—381, A.D. 974—991. The dates of A.H. 360, 366, 375 (A.D. 971, 977, 985) are distinctly legible; on others, there are other individual numeral words, but none sufficiently complete for us to be perfectly sure of the year. As, however, the first-named Khalif, *Al-Mostakfi*, only reigned part of two years (namely, A.D. 944—946), we are able to determine, with considerable accuracy, the date of the

commencement of the series. If then, A.H. 333, A.D. 946, be taken as the beginning of the rule of the dynasty, we know, at least, that Kholf was still on the throne, A.H. 375, A.D. 971, 42 years subsequently; and we have, therefore, evidence capable of proof from these coins, that the dynasty to which he belonged, endured at least as long as this. The only place of mintage is *Seistân*, which is of some interest, as showing how purely a local currency this was. Indeed, it is this very limitation of its sphere, which has, doubtless, rendered these coins themselves unknown. This name may be quite distinctly read on one of the coins, and can be inferred from part of the word which occurs on another.

The well-known Oriental history of the Khalásat al Akhbár, gives the following account of this Prince—

“In the year A.H. 353, Kholf, the son of Ahmed, descended by the mother’s side from the Sufariah or race of Leis ibn Omar, being compelled, by the revolt of one of his principal subjects, to abandon the province of Seistân, now sought the assistance of Amir Mansur, and receiving from him an ample supply of troops and treasure, was enabled to return to his capital, and to resume, with additional lustre, his authority in the territory of Nemniz. This Kholf, the son of Ahmed, is represented at the same time as equally adorned and distinguished by his acquirements in all the learning of his age and country, by the liberality and benevolence of his mind, and by his unbounded patronage of genius and science, however exhibited” (Price, vol. ii. 243).

We further learn, from a subsequent passage, that Kholf was living as late as A.H. 394, in which year he incurred the wrath of Mahmud of Ghazna, then the chief ruler of Asia, West of the Indus, who ultimately defeated

him, and shut him up in the fortress of Jurgán where he died, probably soon after; but the date is not given.

The last coin of this collection is a very well preserved one, of the famous Mahmud of Ghazna. It is, like the rest, in gold, and was struck at Ghazna in A.H. 418, A.D. 1039. It is not unlike several published by Mr. Edward Thomas, in his memoir on the Kings of Ghazna. As Mahmud reigned from A.H. 388—421, A.D. 998—1030, it must have been issued near the close of the eventful reign of that celebrated conqueror.

The coin bears on the *Obverse* in the *area*, the usual legend, "There is no God but God, and He has no equal," and the name of the Khalif, "*Al Kader Billah*," whose reign extended to the unusual length of forty years, and synchronizes exactly with the whole of that of Mahmud.

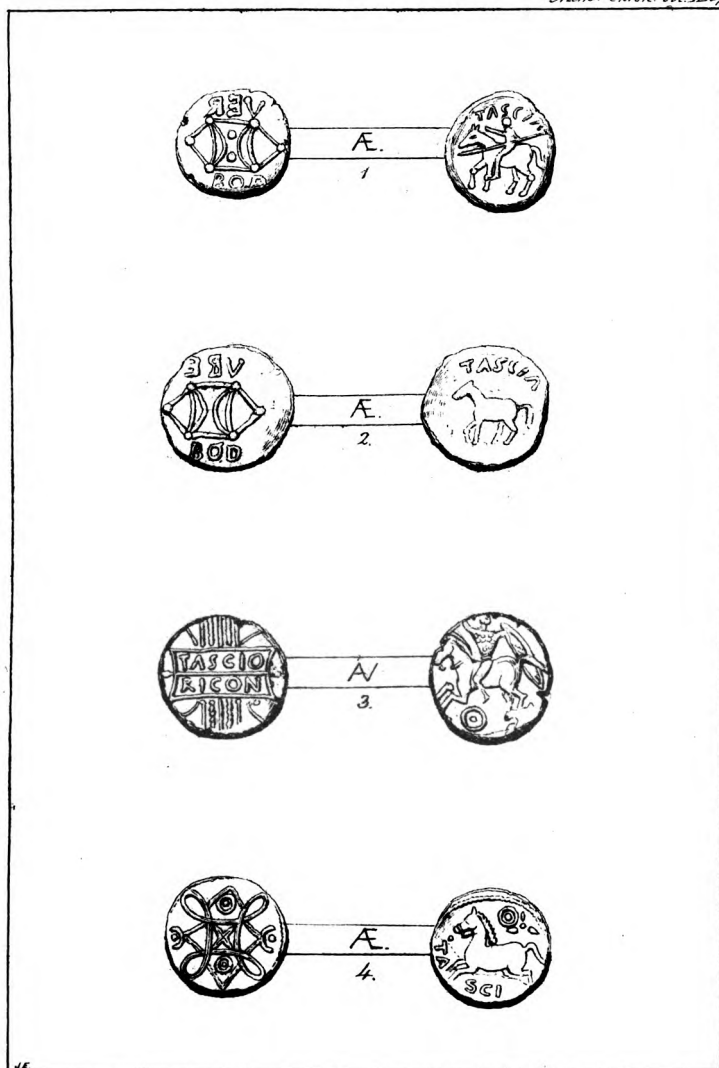
Round the *inner circle* is the date, A.H. 418, and the place of mintage, *Ghazna*; and on the *outer circle*, is a legend, taken from the xxx Surah of the Koran, ver. 4, 5, to the effect—"That dominion, both past and future, is of God, and in *that* day the faithful shall rejoice in the aid of the Lord."

On the *Reverse* is the usual statement that Mohammed is the Prophet of God, and on the *margin*, a longer legend, made up of two selections from Surah ix. ver. 33, and lxi. ver. 9, of the Koran, to the effect—"Mohammed, the Apostle of God, whom He sent with instruction and the true faith, that he might exalt it above all other creeds, even though unbelievers be adverse thereto."

With the transcript of the legends on each specimen, which here follow, I conclude what I have at present to say of the small but curious collection of coins, which Sir H. C. Rawlinson has placed in my hands.

LEGENDS ON COINS OF KHOLF BEN AHMED.

4. *Obv.*— محمد - رسول - الله - ع
Marg.— لا اله الا الله - وحده لا شريك له
Rev.— المطيع لله - خلف بن احمد - عدل
Marg.— ضرب بسجستان - سنه ست ستين - وثلثمائه
 Pl. No. 3.
5. *Obv.*— لله - محمد - رسول الله - الطابع لله
Marg.— Illegible, but probably part of Second Symbol.
Rev.— لا اله الا - الله وحده - خلف بن احمد
Marg.— نه خمس و - سبعين وثلثمائه
 A.H. 375.—Pl. No. 4.
6. *Obv.*— محمد - رسول - الله - مك
Marg.— Nearly obliterated, but part of First Symbol.
Rev.— المطيع لله - خلف بن احمد - عدل
Marg.— . . . ست و خمسين - وثلثمائه
 A.H. 365.—Pl. No. 5.
7. *Obv.*— . . . رسول الله - الطابع لله -
Marg.— . . . هادا الد هم -
Rev.—
 * . . لا اله . . . الله وحذ . . . خلف بن احمد . . .
Marg.— . . . وسبعين . . . Pl. No. 6.
8. *Obv.*— محمد - رسول - الله - ع
Marg.— Part of First Symbol—
 . . . له وحده لا شريك . . .
Rev.— المطيع لله - خلف بن احمد - عدل
Marg.— ضرب بسجستان - . . . ثلثمائه
 Sejistan, A.H. 3—.



COINS OF TASCIOVANVS.

9. *Obv.*—الله - محمد - رسول - الله - خلف

Marg.—Probably part of First Symbol.

Rev.—لا اله الا - الله وحده - لاشريك له

Marg.—Date? but nearly gone.

10. *Obv.*—الله - رسول - محمد

Marg.—Gone.

Rev.—المطيع لله

Marg.—Gone.

VIII.

ON SOME COINS OF TASCIOVANUS, WITH THE LEGEND "VER. BOD."

[Read before the Numismatic Society, March 25th, 1858.]

ON the 23rd of May, 1850, Mr. Roach Smith presented to this Society casts of a copper coin found in Suffolk, on the borders of Essex, bearing on the obverse an ornament, partly formed of two crescents back to back, with an inscription partly retrograde, then supposed to be VRE above the ornament, and RCI below; the device of the reverse being a horse, walking, with the legend TASCI. This coin was commented upon by Mr. Beale Poste, in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, Vol. VII. p. 22, who made out the legend to be VREIS R—which,

VOL. XX. I

in conjunction with the TASCI on the reverse, he expounded as meaning, *Prasutagus, Rex Tasciovanus*, "Prasutagus, King and Ruler," and regarded the coin as finally establishing the titular sense of TASCIO, as sovereign or ruler.

In some remarks upon Mr. Poste's Coins of Cunobeline, and of the Ancient Britons, which were published by me in the pages of the Numismatic Chronicle (Vol. XIV. p. 126), I ventured, from the singularity of the weight, type, and workmanship of the coin, to throw some doubts on its authenticity; but maintained that, even supposing it to be genuine, the inscription VRE RSI had yet to be explained. I must now confess, that my doubts with respect to the authenticity of the coin, have proved to be entirely unfounded, and that I was in error in supposing it otherwise than genuine. But this is not the only error that has now to be rectified, as from the two specimens of the same class lately discovered, it is evident that the legend of the obverse was misread on Mr. Roach Smith's coin.

In the accompanying Anastatic plate, I have given, I hope, faithful representations of two out of the four coins of this class, that are at present known; they are both in the National collection, the third in that of Mr. Roach Smith, and the fourth in my own collection.

On the obverse of each is an ornament, formed of two crescents, back to back, their cusps terminating in four of the angles of an elongated hexagon. On the first coin the legend is distinctly VER, retrograde above the ornament (in which two pellets are inserted between the crescents), and BOD below. On the other coins, the legend is VRE (retrograde) BOD, the more perfect preservation of the coin No. 2, enabling us to correct the

reading of the specimen that was formerly exhibited by Mr. Roach Smith, which is of the same type.

The reverses present us with two types, that of No. 1 and of my own coin, being a horseman with a spear to the left, and the legend, TASCIA. That of No. 2 and Mr. Roach Smith's coin, being a horse without a rider, and the same legend. They are all of brass or copper, and their weights are 57 grs., 52 grs., 23 grs., and 64 grs. respectively.

Three of the coins are stated to have been found in a barrow in Suffolk. The fourth, as I have before remarked, to have been found in Suffolk, on the borders of Essex.

The questions suggested to my mind by the examination of these coins, are, first, is there anything in the type, workmanship, or inscriptions, such as would lead to the conclusion that the word TASCIA upon them, must be regarded in some other light than as representing Tasciovanus the father of Cunobeline? And secondly, in what manner is the inscription VER or VRE BOD to be interpreted?

Now with regard to the types of these coins; it is true that the ornament on the obverse bears a considerable general resemblance to that which appears upon some of the silver coins of the Iceni,¹ and on the gold coins found in Norfolk (Hawkins, No. 2), and some of the gold coins of Addedomarus (Num. Chron. Vol. xviii. p. 155), and, therefore, suggests a probability, that these are coins of the Iceni, and, in consequence, not to be classed with the other coins bearing the name of Tasciovanus. But it by no means follows that this is the case; on the contrary, I have shown some eight or nine years ago (Numismatic Chronicle Vol. xii. p. 127), how nearly the types of the Icenian coins

¹ See Num. Chron. Vol. xv. p. 98.

are allied to those of coins of Tasciovanus ; and the discovery of the present coins with TASCIA upon them, and with a type very similar to that on the Icenian coins, is now only an additional instance of a resemblance already known. The provenance of these coins in Suffolk, upon the borders, or even within the bounds of the supposed territory of the Iceni, does not assist the hypothesis, that these are not coins of Tasciovanus, but only goes to prove that his dominions abutted upon, or even comprized some portion of the Icenian territory. I have, indeed, heard of an instance of one of the coins inscribed TASCIO RICON, having been found near Norwich, and possess one found at St. Ives. On all the silver Icenian coins, there are, moreover, remains of the wreath (the badge of the derivation of the type), running at right angles to the hexagonal ornament, containing the crescents, and a sort of leaflets, springing out from the angles. These are both wanting on the coins now under consideration, and the ornament upon them bears as close, if not a closer resemblance, to the centre portion of that on one of the coins of Verulamium struck by Tasciovanus, as to that on the Icenian coins. A representation of this type is given in the Pl. (No. 4), from an imperfect specimen in my own collection, restored in part, from Ruding, Pl. v. No. 5. The reverse of this piece is also a horse to the left, with the legend, TASCI. In Stukely, Pl. xiii. No. 5, is engraved a coin, which, though not at present known, may, possibly, have been in existence in Stukeley's time, and which much more nearly resembles these coins ; it cannot, however, legitimately be brought forward in evidence. As to the horse on the reverse, it is a common type on coins of Tasciovanus in all metals ; the horseman is also a favorite device, though I am not

aware of any instance where he is armed with a spear in a similar manner, to what he is on No. 1.

There is nothing, therefore, in the type of these coins, that is in any way irreconcilable with their being the produce of the mint of Tasciovanus.

With regard to the workmanship, there can be no doubt that its character is very peculiar and very different from that of some of the coins of Tasciovanus. The horses, more especially, are tamer, and drawn with less spirit, than those usually found on his coins. There is, however, so wide a range in the art displayed upon the different pieces struck both under Tasciovanus and Cunobeline, their workmanship varying from the most barbarous style (such as Ruding, App. Pl. xxix. 9, and Akerman, Pl. xxiv. 16), to one nearly approaching that of contemporary Roman coins (such as Ruding, Pl. v. 34 and 17), that we cannot say that there is anything in the workmanship of these pieces to preclude the possibility of their having been struck under Tasciovanus. If their style does not closely resemble that of any of the known coins of this monarch, it certainly comes no nearer to that of any other class of British coins, and is entirely different in feeling and character from that of the silver Icenian coins, the ornament on which approximates in general form, though, by no means, in the minor details, to that on the obverse of these coins. The same may be said of the weight of the coins, which is nearly equally anomalous with the workmanship. But does their inscription militate against the hypothesis that they were struck by Tasciovanus? Most assuredly not; for we find TASCIA upon them, which, in all other cases, there are reasonable grounds for supposing to represent his name, and his name alone, being found only upon his coins or those of his sons, Cunobeline and Epaticcus. Its con-

junction with VER-BOD forms only an addition to a series of similar inscriptions, where the name of Tascia is found in combination with apparently the name of some town, as TASCIA—VER (for Verulamium), TASCIO-SEGO (for Segontium), TASCIO-RICON (for the name of some town, probably unknown, and which I cannot agree with Mr. Haigh¹ in thinking to have been Uriconium).

A specimen of this latter class of coins, which was found at St. Ives, is given as No. 3 on the Plate and will serve still farther to illustrate the analogy of the types of the coins under consideration with those of other recognized coins of Tasciovanus.

My answer, then, to the first question propounded is, that there is nothing in the type, workmanship, or inscriptions on these coins inconsistent with their attribution to Tasciovanus.

The second question, in what manner is the inscription VER or VRE-BOD to be interpreted is not so readily answered. It would not be fair upon my part to forestal the school of antiquaries, who disbelieve in the existence of Tasciovanus, and regard his name as a mere title, or I might at once suggest, that we had here on the first type the name and titles of "the female Vergobrete, Boadicea the Ruler," and on the second, the joint names of "Prasutagus or Vreisutagus and Boadicea the Rulers," the one type having been struck before and the other after the decease of Prasutagus. I might also point out how the finding in Suffolk confirmed this attribution, and how the horseman with the spear, on the reverse of the first coin, typified the masculine spirit of Boadicea ; but I will refrain from occupying another's ground, and acknowledge that I

¹ Num. Chron. Vol. iv. p. 27.

have no solution of the legend to offer that can be based on a surer foundation than that of the merest conjecture.

When, however, we meet with such inscriptions upon ancient British coins, as TASCIA VERBOD, TASCIO RICON, etc., we must be content either to receive a hypothetical interpretation, founded upon historical and numismatic analogy, or else to leave the interpretation of such legends entirely in suspense. If adopted "without prejudice" to any future discoveries, the former course is perhaps the more satisfactory, though, beyond doubt, the latter is the safer plan. An explanation of a difficulty, even if erroneous, may sometimes form a stepping-stone to a true solution, so that I have the less reluctance in offering the following interpretation of the legend now before us.

It appears to me, then, that the name of some town may have been intended by the VER BOD upon the coins, but whether that of Verulamium, with the addition of some distinguishing title commencing with Bod, or that of some other town which may formerly have existed, with some such name as Verbodunum, is a matter for further conjecture. The probabilities are rather against its having been intended for Verulamium, as in that case the transposition of VRE for VER, which occurs on three out of the four coins, could hardly have occurred with even such rude and barbarous workmanship. In favour of the latter hypothesis, is the fact that we have already the names of several British towns commencing with Ver besides that of Verulamium, as Verlucio, Verometum, Verteræ, Viroconium, Virosidum, in Britain, and Verbinum and Virodunum, in Gallia Belgica, so that such a name as Verbodunum would be borne out by analogy, both with these and such names as Cambodunum, Camulodunum, Branadunum, Maridunum, Burgodunum, etc. It will also

be borne in mind, that a goddess, Verbeia was worshipped in Britain,¹ an altar inscribed VERBEIAE SACRVM having been discovered at Ilkley, in Yorkshire (Olicana). If it were then from the Celtic divinity Camulus?² that Camulodunum received its name, we should here have a Verbodunum receiving its name in like manner from the goddess Verbeia. Verbeia has, however, been supposed to have been a local nymph or goddess personifying the river Wharf, which runs by the place where this altar was found. That there is no mention of such a place as Verbodunum or Riconium (assuming such a place to be typified by the RICONI of the coins), is the less surprising, when we consider that it is quite as improbable, that the names of all the British towns should have been recorded by the Roman geographers as that those of all the British princes should have been chronicled by the Roman historians. Of the princes whose names appear upon the coins, but few are mentioned in history; we find, indeed, the names of Commius, Cunobeline, and probably Dubnovellaunus; but who has ever read of Tasciovanus, Eppillus, Addedomaros, Tincomius or Epaticcus, and the many others whose names we are as yet unable to complete. The supposition that VER BOD represents the name of a town, is moreover, as I have before incidentally remarked, supported by the analogy of the coins reading TASCIA VER, undoubtedly struck at Verulam, and those reading TASCIO SEGO, which, especially since the discovery of the gold coin of Epaticcus, there is good reason for supposing to have been struck at Segontium.

¹ Gough's Camden vol. iii. p. 239 and 289; Weight's Celt, Roman, and Saxon, p. 295.

² See Lelewel Type Gaulois, sect. 115; Gough's Camden, vol. ii. p. 122, etc.

Such, then, is the conjectural hypothesis I venture to throw out; and those who adopt it in preference to leaving the question entirely in suspense, will regard these coins as having been struck under Tasciovanus, at some town within his dominions, whose name they will, for the present, consider to have been Verbodunum, until further discoveries either confirm or lead them to change their opinion.

JOHN EVANS.

VOL. XX.

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MISCELLANEA.

(*The following, taken from the American "Historical Magazine," Vol. I., No. 10, may be regarded as a supplement to Ruding's Account of Colonial Money.*)

An American Coin, or Medal was issued in 1776, an inch and a half in diameter; on one side was inscribed, in a circular ring near the edge, CONTINENTAL CURRENCY, 1776, within the ring, a rising sun, with the word FUGIO at the side, shining upon a dial, under which was the motto MIND YOUR BUSINESS. On the reverse were thirteen small circles joined together like the rings of a chain, on each of which was inscribed the name of some one of the thirteen States: on another ring, within these, was inscribed AMERICAN CONGRESS, and in the centre, WE ARE ONE. No coins were ever in circulation, as currency, of this type; but copies of the Medal are extant struck in white metal.¹

In 1783, there were coined at Annapolis, in Maryland, Shillings, Sixpences, and three-pences; they bore on the obverse the inscription, J. CHALMERS, ANNAPOLIS, around a wreath, in which are two hands clasped. On the reverse, ONE SHILLING 1783, inclosed by a circle; in the centre of the coin are the figures of two birds with a branch in their beaks.

These coins are quite rare, and are seldom to be found, even in the locality where they were coined.

There is, in the collection of the writer, a copper coin, believed to be *unique*, of nearly the size of the half-dollar. Obverse, MASSACHUSETTS STATE, with a pine tree, in the centre of the coin. Reverse, LIBERTY AND VIRTUE, 1776, a female seated on a globe holding in her right hand an olive leaf, in her left a staff. Of this date there is also a copper coin the size of a half-cent, having on one side a Janus head, and on the reverse GODDESS OF LIBERTY,

¹ A medal of this type, in white metal was procured by H. G. Somerby, Esq., while in England in 1853, and presented by him to M. A. Stickney, Esq., of Salem, in whose collection the writer saw it.

1776.² The die for this and the preceding coin, is believed to have been cut by that well known patriot of the Revolution, Col. Paul Revere, who was by trade a goldsmith and engraver.³

A copper coin of the size of a half-cent, supposed to have been struck at this time (1776), has upon one side thirteen stars, which run parallel to and are equi-distant from each other. Upon the reverse are the letters U. S. A., the s being of larger size and partly extending across the other letters.

Another copper coin, called the Columbia Token, without date, of about the size of a dime has on the obverse a head with the word COLUMBIA; reverse, a female figure seated, holding a balance; of this there are three varieties.

The most common of the so-called Washington Cents, bears on the obverse a laureated head with the inscription WASHINGTON AND INDEPENDENCE, 1783. Reverse, a wreath with UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ONE CENT. Another of the same date, with a similar head, has on the reverse a figure of Liberty seated, holding in her right hand a branch of olive, and in her left a staff surmounted by a liberty cap, with the words UNITED STATES above.

In 1783 a cent was issued having in the centre of the obverse an eye, with rays diverging from it and surrounded by thirteen stars, encircling which are the words, NOVA CONSTELLATIO, the reverse bears a wreath of laurel inclosing the letters U. S.; around the coin is the legend, LIBERTAS ET JUSTITIA, with the date, 1786.

In 1776, was coined a New York cent; the obverse bears a bust supposed to have been intended for General Washington in the costume of the Continental Army; encircling it is the motto

² In the collection of M. A. Stickney, Esq.

³ Paul Revere and Nathaniel Hurd, of Boston, Amos Doolittle, of New Haven, and an Englishman, named Smithers, in Philadelphia, were the only engravers in America at that time (1775). Hurd engraved as early as 1760. Revere began a little later. In 1766, he engraved a picture emblematic of the repeal of the Stamp act. This, and a caricature, called the Seventeen Rescindors, were very popular, and had an extensive sale. He engraved and published a print in 1770, representing the "Boston Massacre," and in 1774 he engraved another of a similar size, representing the landing of the British troops in Boston. In 1775, he engraved the plates, made the press, and printed the bills of the paper money ordered by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts.—*Lossing, Vol. I, p. 317.*

Feb. 2, 1781. The Government of Massachusetts paid to Paul Revere, of Boston, for engraving a seal under the Constitution of the State, £8 in silver, £15 of the State paper money, of the *new emission*, and £600 of the old emission.—*Mass. Records.*

One Spanish milled dollar was equal to forty dollars of the old emission of paper money, at this time; and one dollar and seven eighths of a dollar of the new emission was equal to one dollar of silver.—*J. B. Felt.*

NON VI VIRTUTE VICI. The reverse has the figure of Liberty, seated on a pedestal, holding in her right hand a staff surmounted by a liberty-cap, and in her left the scales of justice; around the coin are the words NEO EBORACENSIS, with the date, in the exergue, 1786.

The Vermont Cents were coined for four successive years—one variety has on the obverse an eye with rays extending from it which are divided by thirteen stars; around the coin are the words QUARTA DECIMA STELLA; reverse, the sun rising from behind the mountains, a plough in the foreground, with the legend VERMONT ENSIUM RES PUBLICA, with the date, 1785. Another type has, upon the obverse, a poorly cut head with the words VERMON AUCTORI; on the reverse, INDE ET LIB. with the date, 1788. Another with the same legend, reads ET LIB INDE, 1788.

The Connecticut Cents bear dates 1785, 1786 and 1787. The obverse has a head with the words AUCTORI CONNec: on the reverse a figure of Liberty holding a staff in one hand, and an olive branch in the other, surrounded by the motto INDE ET LIB: and the date. There are many varieties of this cent, all of which are very poorly executed.

There is a rare cent of the following description. Obverse, a laureated head with the inscription AUCTORI: PLEBIS. Reverse a female seated; at her right hand a globe, on her left an anchor on which she is reclining; legend, INDEP: ET. LIBER. 1787.

Without date, is a Cent having on one side the motto UNANIMITY IS THE STRENGTH OF SOCIETY, encircling a hand holding a scroll, on which is subscribed OUR CAUSE IS JUST. Reverse, fifteen stars in the form of a triangle; on the stars are indented the initials of the several States, Kentucky heading the column. This was struck at Lancaster, England, in 1791, for circulation in America, and was called the KENTUCKY CENT.

The New Jersey Cents bear dates 1786, 1787, and 1788, of several different types varying slightly from each other; on the obverse a shield surrounded by the legend E PLURIBUS UNUM; on the reverse, the State Arms, a horse's head and a plough, with NOVA CAESARAE, 1786.

A rare copper coin of 1787 has upon the obverse a female figure in a sitting posture, holding in one hand a spread banner, and in the other a balance; around the coin is inscribed IMMUNIS COLUMBIA, 1787. On the reverse, a spread Eagle with the legend E PLURIBUS UNUM.

In 1787, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts ordered from its mint, a copper coin having on one side an Indian with his bow and arrow, near his forehead a star—around the coin the word COMMONWEALTH; on the other side the American Eagle holding

in his right talon an olive branch, in the left a bunch of arrows, on its breast a shield on which is inscribed the word CENT, around the edge of the coin MASSACHUSETTS, 1717. Half cents of the same type were struck.¹ This coinage was continued for two years, but upon the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, which prohibited the several States from coining money, the mint was abolished.² A few thousand dollars had been struck in cents and halves, but without any profit arising from it.

A New York Cent of 1787, has upon the obverse an Indian standing with a raised tomahawk in his right hand, and in his left a bow; encircling the coin is the inscription LIBER NATUS LIBERTATUM DEFENDO. On the reverse are the arms of the State of New York, with the date 1787 and the motto EXCELSIOR. Another type has the same obverse, but bears on the reverse an eagle standing on a half globe with the inscription NEO EBORACUS EXCELSIOR, 1787.

In 1787, the General Government ordered that their coin should bear the following devices. On one side, thirteen circles linked together, a small circle in the centre with the words UNITED STATES around it, and in the circle WE ARE ONE. On the reverse, a dial with the hours expressed upon it, with FUGIO on the left, and the date, 1787, on the right; a meridian sun above the dial, and, below it, the words MIND YOUR BUSINESS.

In 1791, the celebrated Washington Cent was issued bearing a well-cut bust of Washington in military costume, around which is inscribed WASHINGTON PRESIDENT. On the reverse a spread eagle with upraised wings; eight stars below a circle of clouds; in the right talon of the eagle a branch of olive, in his left a bunch of arrows; below the figure the words ONE CENT. This type is of the greatest rarity. Another variety bears the same style of head and inscription; the eagle on the reverse is much larger than the first mentioned, and holds in his beak a scroll on which is inscribed UNUM E PLURIBUS — over its head the words ONE CENT; in his right talon a branch of olive and in his left a bunch of thirteen arrows — on the outer edge of the coin is indented UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

¹ Oct. 17, 1786. A vote was passed by the Massachusetts Assembly to establish a mint; and 70,000 dollars of cents and half cents were ordered to be made. Part of the works and machinery for the mint was erected on Boston Neck, and a part at Dedham.

² One section of the U. S. Constitution provides that no state should "coin money, emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts."

In the collection of the United States Mint is a very remarkable gold coin, equal in value to a doubloon; it was coined in New York by Blasher, whose name it bears. Obverse, a range of hills, sun rising behind them; in front a representation of the sea; encircling this, the inscription NOVA EBORACA. COLUMBIA. EXCELSIOR. Reverse, a spread eagle surrounded by a wreath, outside of which is UNUM E PLURIBUS, with the date 1787.

A copper coin or Medal, was struck in 1792 of about the size of a half dollar, having a fine cut bust of Washington in military costume, around the coin, G. WASHINGTON PRESIDENT. I. 1792. Reverse, a spread eagle with fifteen stars, and UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. A few coins were struck in silver from this die; they are known as the Washington half-dollars.

Bearing date 1794, is a cent of the usual size with the inscription on the obverse TALBOT ALLUM & LEE, NEW YORK. ONE CENT. Device, a ship under full sail. Reverse, a full length figure of Liberty, holding a staff surmounted by a liberty cap in her right hand; with her left she supports a rudder at her side. A bale of merchandise on her right. Legend, LIBERTY & COMMERCE, 1794. Another variety bears date 1795. The first is engraved in "O'Callaghan's History of New York."

Besides the Washington Cents, previously mentioned, are the following: Obverse, bust of Washington. Legend, WASHINGTON PRESIDENT, 1791. Reverse, LIVERPOOL HALF PENNY; device, Ship under full sail.

Another, same obverse as the preceding. Reverse, HALF PENNY, 1793, Ship under full sail.

Another, bust; GEORGE WASHINGTON. Reverse, LIBERTY & SECURITY, 1795. Device, spread eagle over the American Shield, on which are emblazoned the stars and stripes.

Another, GEORGE WASHINGTON — having a finely executed bust of Washington, but without date. Reverse, the American Eagle over a shield which bears the stars and stripes. On the edge of the coin AN ASYLUM FOR THE OPPRES'D OF ALL NATIONS.

Another of larger size probably intended as a medal. Obverse, bust, GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1796. Reverse, GEN'L OF THE AMERICAN ARMIES, 1775. RESIGN'D THE COMM'D, 1783. ELEC'D PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1789. RESIGNED THE PRESIDENCY, 1796; within a circle in the centre, military trophies and a banner on which is inscribed REPUB: AMER.:. All of the above are finely executed, and specimens of them are quite rare.

Upon the establishment of a mint by the United States, in 1792, Congress passed a law that no copper coins, except the

cents and half cents, authorised by the act, should be current; thereby preventing the circulation of the English pennies, half-pennies and farthings, and also the copper coins of the several states, New York, Vermont, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts.¹

J. C.

THE WASHINGTON CENTS.

(From the "*American Historical Magazine*," Vol. I., No. 4.)

Herewith is a communication made to the "*Pittsburg Morning Chronicle*," in 1843, by Dr. Jonas R. McClintock, who was then the Chief Refiner of the United States Mint. As various and conflicting statements have appeared from time to time, respecting what is termed the "Washington Cent," this paper may (if not too long) be deemed worthy of insertion in the "*Historical Magazine*." Full reliance may be placed on the facts stated; they were furnished to Dr. McC., by the venerable Mr. Adam Eckfeldt, a most estimable gentleman, who had been engaged in the construction of the first machinery for the mint, and who had always held an office in the establishment until his voluntary retirement in the year 1839, on account of advanced age. During the most of the time he had filled the office of Chief Coiner. After his retirement from duty, and until his decease in 1852, he passed the most of his time at the mint, in which a room was allotted to his use. In that room I have passed many pleasant hours with him in interesting conversations about the early operations of the mint, as well as about matters of the "olden time" generally, of all which his recollections were very clear.

¹ The immense quantity of old copper money had become burdensome to the community; in addition to the coinage of several States, was the miserable worn-out English half pence. In 1749, the Government of Great Britain granted to the Colony of Massachusetts 653,000 ounces of silver and 10 tons copper which was received for redemption of paper money. The copper was in coins of George II. principally "Wood's half-pence,"—large quantities of them were melted up by founders. In 1854, a large hoard of the latter coins was found on excavating for the foundation of a block of warehouses in Congress street; they were buried several feet under ground.

Mr. Eckfeldt had reserved a few of these Washington Cents. The one, which I possess, was kindly presented to me by him several years before his decease. It is now before me as sharp and fresh as when it was first struck. The date is 1791, and it corresponds exactly with the description given by Dr. McClintock. Wax impressions of both the *Obverse* and the *Reverse* are furnished herewith; around the edge are the words, "United States of America."

RETSILLA.

Philadelphia, Sept. 19, 1857.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 5th, 1843.

To the Editors of the Morning Chronicle.

In perusing your paper a few days since, I noticed a description of specimens of the "Washington Cent," said to be in possession of residents of your city, accompanied by a statement, that only thirteen similar pieces had been struck at the mint. I would have corrected the error at the time, had not business interposed, and am now induced to undertake the task, in view of the multiplied mistakes of a subsequent article, contained in the Chronicle of the 28th ultimo.

In the course of your latter observations on the subject, you introduce the story (perhaps true) of the discovery, some fourteen years ago, at Norfolk, Va., of *one hundred pounds* of copper coins, bearing the likeness of Washington, that had been imported from Birmingham, England, which, with the numerous resurrections of like character, that from time to time have been reported, is calculated to lead to the belief, that the cent in the possession of the Albany Institute, and those in the private collections of your citizens, are of like spurious origin.

The correspondent of the "Albany Daily Advertiser," it appears, expresses the opinion, "that neither of the specimens referred to, were taken from the die General Washington ordered to be broken,"—having been led to this conclusion, from what he assumes as a fact, "*that there were no cents coined in the United States until 1783.*"

The judgment expressed in the first part of the preceding paragraph, as well as the statement in the latter clause, will in the sequel be clearly demonstrated to be erroneous.

The cent preserved in the Albany Institute, is thus described, proving it to be a *fac-simile* of the pieces at Pittsburg, and presenting the distinguished marks of the genuine die. "It has on the front the bust of Washington, with the circular inscription, 'Washington President,' and below '1791;' on the reverse, is the American Eagle, with arrows in one claw, a leafy branch in the other, and a scroll issuing from his mouth; and supported on the shoulders, with the inscription, 'Unum E Pluribus;'" neither of the surfaces presenting stars.

The foregoing would have been more conclusive in relation to the true character of the specimen, if it had given the words, "United States of America," on the edge, and "one cent" (the denomination of the piece) on the reverse, which the genuine specimen presents.

You have here, a perfect likeness of *one* of the *two* designs for the cent of 1791, which has been ascertained by a careful comparison with a well authenticated sample in the cabinet of the U. S. Mint, from which I have taken a *matrix* in *fusible metal*, the accompanying impressions in wax having been thus obtained. These models, will enable the possessors of those interesting relics of the past century, to judge of their true or counterfeit character. (The writer here refers to the impressions in wax, which he has been so kind as to send. We regret that we cannot give an engraving of them, for the satisfaction of our readers.)

I have confined my remarks to but *one* of the *three* different designs of the Washington copper coins, prepared for the adoption of the Government, in consideration of the fact, that it is not only more generally known, but the *one*, on which the recent newspaper speculations have been founded.

To prevent, if possible, the destruction of any of the *three varieties* now in the keeping of the *curious* the following description, and fac-similes of specimens in the custody of the Treasury Department, are appended.

These cents were unquestionably coined at the periods indicated by their dates, and consequently *one*, and *two years* previous to the issue of the *first adopted* copper coinage from the presses of the mint in the latter part of 1793, under the provisions of the act of the preceding year.

The first cent of 1791, corresponds with the description already given. The second issue of 1791, has the same *obverse* as the first, with the exception of the absence of the date; the *reverse*, exhibiting a change in the model of the eagle, in the substitution of stars for the motto and scroll, and in the transfer of the *year* from its position below the bust to *this*, its opposite

VOL. XX.

L

surface — the words, "United States of America." being *milled* on its edge or circumference, as in the previous specimen.

The increased diameter of the "1792" cent, will readily distinguish it from the former two. It presents on one side, an enlarged bust, underneath which is the date 1792, and encircling which is the inscription, "G. Washington President, I: " and on the other surface, an Eagle, much larger, but of similar model to that of No. 2, the date being restored to the obverse, as in No. 1; and neither surface displaying the words, "one cent."

The *dies* from which these specimens were struck, were the only ones known as "experimental," (of the cent domination), and that were executed with the knowledge and consent of the public authorities. Others, it is true, were engraved, retaining the Washington head and coupling it with various devices, but without the countenance of the officers of the Treasury.

Nos. 4 and 5, are impressions from this spurious, or other unauthorized coinage, the history of which, it is found impossible to trace.

No. 4 presents on one side, the likeness of Washington, and bears the record, "George Washington, born Virginia, Feb. 11th, 1732," (old style,) and on the opposite "General of the American Armies 1775 — resigned 1783 — President of the United States 1789."

No. 5 is much larger, with the name and likeness of Washington, on the obverse, and the Eagle perched on the shield, overhung by the motto, "Liberty and Security;" on the reverse, the edge displaying the sentiment, "An Asylum for the oppressed of all nations."

These are but two representatives of a great variety of *unauthorized* coinage, now carefully cherished in the cabinets of Institutes and individuals, as the true impressions from the dies executed under the eye of Washington.

It may not prove uninteresting whilst engaged in discussing the subject of the "Washington cents" to refer briefly to their history.

At an early period after the establishment of the Government under the present Constitution, the question of a national coinage commenced to be agitated, and whilst the Secretary of the Treasury and Congress were deliberating on the matter, and prior to the passage of the law establishing the mint in April, 1792, artists were engaged, with the knowledge of the proper authorities, in devising models and sinking dies for their approval.

It was under this partial supervision, and antecedent to the completion of the mint, that Mr. Jno. Harper, (an extensive

manufacturer of saws), then located on the corner of Sixth and Cherry Streets, caused dies to be engraved under the direction of Mr. Robt. Birch, [Qu. Robert Scott?] and which were, it is believed, executed by a German artist in his employment, with the exception of the *lettering*, which in all probability was done by himself.

From these dies, all the Washington cents were struck; those of 1791 having been manufactured in the *cellar* of the premises occupied by Mr. Harper, on a press supposed to have been imported from Great Britain on his own account, and those of 1792 on a press fitted up in an *old coach* shop in Sixth street near Chesnut, and directly opposite Carpenter street, its site being at present occupied by a more modern building, appropriated to the manufacture and sale of coaches.

The latter press was manufactured at Mr. Harper's own expense, under the supervision of Mr. Adam Eckfeldt, who subsequently superintended the building of all the machinery of the mint, and finally became the chief coiner of that Institution.

The *planchets* used in both the authorized and unauthorized experimental coinage, were obtained from old stills, (the purest copper to be found at that period), the refining of copper ores having been very imperfectly understood.

There were more than *two hundred* of the experimental Washington cents stamped during the years 1791 and '92, at the place indicated in this city, the dies for which were severally rejected. The first "Liberty Head" cent without the "cap," derived from a French Medallion, was not adopted until the latter part of 1793, and circulated but little until the following year, when the "cap" was introduced and the *chain* that encircled the words "one cent" on the reverse, was abandoned for the *wreath of laurel*.

The various designs of the artist were discountenanced by both President and Congress, having been viewed as too close an imitation of the "Royal Master," from whose domination the people had so lately declared themselves free. The dies were thereupon secured, and destroyed, and the pieces manufactured withdrawn from the artist, not having been recognized as of any value by the laws. Of the number withdrawn many fortunately have been preserved as curiosities. It is very reasonably supposed that a quantity of these pieces were left in the hands of the engraver's friends, and in the possession of members of Congress, of which a number, no doubt, are the Pittsburg and Albany specimens.

The foregoing facts, connected as they are with the earliest

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movements of one of the Departments of our Young Republic, and of which no record has heretofore been made, are rendered the more valuable from the knowledge that they have been derived from a contemporary of the master spirits of our Revolution. If in correcting the unintentional mistakes of the Press, it has been my privilege to rescue the smallest point of history from oblivion, my purpose will be fully realized.

J. R. Mc——.

En 1843, parut l' " Annonce d'un ouvrage sur les médailles de l'ancienne Afrique, par MM. Falbe et Lindberg," dont se souviendront sans doute encore ceux qui s'intéressent à la numismatique ancienne. L'annonce portait que le Roi de Danemark, alors Christian VIII, avait chargé MM. Falbe et Lindberg de préparer et de publier cet ouvrage; on y donnait un aperçu des recherches de M. Lindberg sur les monnaies de Carthage, de la Numidie et de la Mauritanie, et un article sur les monnaies de Lixus y était joint comme specimen. Cette annonce contenait en même temps une invitation à MM. les directeurs de tous les cabinets publics et à MM. les propriétaires de collections particulières d'envoyer au cabinet royal de médailles à Copenhague des empreintes de monnaies appartenant à l'ouvrage.

M. Falbe, connu comme numismate habile, était resté longtemps à Tunis et à Athènes en qualité de consul danois et avait des relations très étendues en divers pays. M. Lindberg, par ses traités sur des inscriptions et des monnaies phéniciennes, s'était attiré l'attention des savans étrangers, et ce qu'il communiquait dans l'annonce faisait naître des espérances bien fondées. Les ambassadeurs et les consuls de Danemark s'étant aussi intéressés à l'entreprise, l'invitation eut un plein succès, et il arriva au cabinet de Copenhague un grand nombre d'empreintes (plus de 5000) avec les désignations y appartenantes de presque toutes les collections de quelque importance de l'Europe. Les deux auteurs se mirent aussitôt à l'examen de ces riches matériaux.

Mais bientôt des circonstances imprévues mirent empêchement au progrès de l'ouvrage. M. Lindberg fut nommé à des fonctions ecclésiastiques qui l'éloignèrent de la capitale et détournèrent son activité de l'ouvrage. M. Falbe mourut en 1849, et le travail cessa tout à fait. Enfin en 1857, M. Lindberg

était sur le point de le reprendre lorsque la mort vint aussi le ravir à la science.

Cependant le Gouvernement danois n'a pas voulu abandonner une entreprise scientifique qui avait déjà causé tant de travaux et de si grandes dépenses, et à laquelle on s'était intéressé à l'étranger avec tant d'empressement; c'est pour cette raison qu'il a chargé le sousigné d'achever et de publier l'ouvrage. Je ferai tous mes efforts pour que cet ouvrage réponde aux exigences actuelles de la science, et je compte employer à ce travail tout le temps dont je pourrai disposer.

Une suite d'années s'est écoulée depuis que le cabinet de Copenhague, grâce à l'annonce faite par MM. Falbe et Lindberg, reçut les empreintes de monnaies des collections de l'étranger. On a fait de nouvelles découvertes de monnaies africaines, et il n'y a pas de doute que les collections n'en aient reçu des pièces importantes pour l'ouvrage en question. Pour ne rien négliger de ce que pourrait contribuer à le rendre aussi complet que possible, je prends la liberté de m'adresser à MM. les directeurs ou propriétaires des collections qui ont déjà auparavant prêté leur assistance et de les supplier, au cas qu'ils aient acquis depuis des pièces qu'ils regardent comme inédites ou rares, ou qui se distinguent par leur conservation surtout sous le rapport des légendes puniques, de vouloir bien en faire remettre des empreintes au cabinet de Copenhague. Si dans d'autres collections qui n'ont pas encore contribué à l'ouvrage, il se trouvait de telles pièces, je me permets, dans l'intérêt de la science, de faire le même appel à la bienveillance de leurs possesseurs. Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter, qu'il est d'importance, que les empreintes soient bien distinctes et que le poids des monnaies soit indiqué.

Dans la première annonce on promettait un exemplaire de l'ouvrage, à titre de don, à qui aurait fait parvenir une centaine d'empreintes. Un nombre assez considérable de collections, tant publiques que particulières, ont pas leurs envois acquis des droits légitimes à recevoir un exemplaire dès que l'ouvrage paraîtra. Je m'estimerais heureux de pouvoir réussir à remplir cette promesse dans une époque pas trop éloignée.

L'ouvrage sera publié en français et contiendra les parties suivantes : 1. Cyrénaïque, 2. Syrtique, 3. Byzacène, 4. Zeugitane, 5. Numidie, et 6. Mauritanie. Ces parties paraîtront successivement dans l'espace de deux ou trois ans.

L. MÜLLER,

Copenhague, Mars, 1859.

Inspecteur du Cabinet Royal de Médailles.

IX.

NOTE ON SOME ROMAN COINS DISCOVERED IN A
HYPOCAUST AT WROXETER.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, April 28th, 1859.]

Temple-place, Strood, April 26th, 1859.

SIR,

BY the kindness of Mr. Wright and Dr. Johnson, I am enabled to communicate to the Numismatic Society a list of 132 Roman coins, found under circumstances which invest them with particular interest.

You are doubtless aware, that excavations are being made upon the site of the Roman Uriconium, under a committee, from funds contributed by voluntary donations. The site was one of very unusual promise for exploration. Uriconium was one of the most important towns of Roman Britain, enclosing, I believe, upwards of 1000 acres within its walls. After its ruin, this wide extent of ground remained unoccupied, except to the comparatively small extent of the village of Wroxeter: the foundations, therefore, of the Roman buildings were left *in situ*. The plough and draining operations had, from time to time, disclosed here and there tessellated pavements, shafts and capitals of decorated columns, inscriptions, and coins innumerable, among which was the unique full-faced Carausius formerly in my Cabinet and now in the British Museum. From such antecedents, it was rightly judged that well-directed researches would be rewarded; and the result of the excavations up to this day (although not more than two acres have been examined)

VOL. XX.

N

is most encouraging. Of the full discoveries made I do not pretend to speak. They have been well reported from time to time. It is only to an episode in these researches to which I wish to direct the Society's attention, as one of particular interest and importance.

Mr. Wright states, that in the hypocaust, or one of the hypocausts, "of what appears to have been a splendid mansion, were found three skeletons; one of a person apparently crouching in a corner, the others stretched on the ground by the side of the wall. An examination of the skull of the person in the corner shows it to have been that of an old man. One, at least, of the others was a female. Near the old man lay a little heap of Roman copper coins, in such a manner as shewed they must have been contained in a confined receptacle; and a number of small iron nails lying among them, with traces of decomposed wood, leaves no doubt that this was a little box or coffer. We are justified, from all circumstances, in concluding, that in the midst of the massacre of the inhabitants of Roman Uriconium, these three persons, perhaps an old man and two terrified women, had sought to conceal themselves by creeping into the hypocaust, and perhaps they were suffocated there."

Mr. Wright, after giving some further details (which I need not here quote), remarks on the interest attached to this authenticated discovery, inasmuch as by it we learn what were the identical coins actually carried about by an inhabitant of this Roman town in Britain at the moment when the town was destroyed.

The catalogue I send herewith will give you full information on this point; and I am sure you will agree with us in thinking it is not without value.

The two earliest (chronologically), those of Tetricus and

Claudius Gothicus, and the latest, that of Valens, are much worn from circulation; and the coin of Constans is in much the same state. But the others, and they are all of the Constantine family, are comparatively fresh, and bear no marks of having been worn much, if at all, by traffic.

The worn condition of the coin of Valens indicates that the catastrophe which hastened the death of the three persons in the hypocaust, and probably destroyed the town, took place at some period during the reign of Valens, or a little subsequent to it. Now, it was in this very reign that Theodosius was sent into Britain to check the inroads of the Saxons and Picts, as well as to put down what appears to have been an internal insurrection (see Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxvii., xxviii.); and it is extremely probable that Uriconium may have been one of the towns which had, ere his arrival, been partially overthrown, and which was then restored by Theodosius. On this extremely interesting question, we may hope for fresh evidence from the excavations now being made.

I have stated, that the coins of the Constantine family appear as if but little affected by circulation. My opinion is, that they were portions of the vast quantities minted in the time of the emperors whose names they bear; but not issued until a considerable time had elapsed, probably not until the reign of Valens. The uniformity of type, and the prevalence of two places of coinage, Lugdunum (Lyons) and Augusta Trevirorum (Trèves), favour this conjecture.

C. ROACH SMITH.

To W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., *President of the Numismatic Society.*

List of Coins (chiefly in small brass) found with the Skeletons in the Hypocaust at Wroxeter.

TETRICUS.

One of the Fides Militum type, much worn.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

Rev.—CONSECRATIIS. An eagle.

CONSTANTINVS MAXIMVS.

Obv.—CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. Diademed or wreathed head to the right.

Rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers: between them, two standards, or (in three instances) a single standard.

*Mint Marks.*¹—P . CONST., 3; TR . P, 6; SL . C., 1; illegible, 3. Total 13.

CONSTANS.

Rev.—FEL . TEMP . REPARATIO. The emperor standing in a galley, rowed by a Victory. (Much worn.)

CONSTANTINVS II.

Obv.—CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . C. Head, to the right, laureated; bust in armour.

Rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers standing; between them two standards.

Mint Marks.—TR . P. or TR . S., 15; P . E . C., 9; CONST., 3; illegible, 9. Total, 36.

CONSTANTIUS II.

Obv.—FL . IVL . CONSTANTIVS . NOB . C. Laureated head to the right; bust in armour.

Rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers and standards.

Mint Marks.—TR , S., 3; D, 1; SMTST, 1. Total, 5.

JULIANVS.

A plated Denarius.

Obv.—FL . CL . IVLIANVS . P . P . AVG. Diademed head, to the right.

Rev.—VOTIS X . MVLT . XX, within a wreath.

HELENA.

Obv.—FL . IVL . HELENÆ (sic) AVG. Head to the right.

Rev.—PAX PVBLICA. A female figure standing, holding in the right hand a branch, in the left a *hasta pura*; in the field a cross ✠. In exergue, TR . P.

Another, without the ✠. Total, 2.

¹ Exergual letters.

THEODORA.

Obv.—FL . MAX . THEODORAE AVG. Head to the right.

Rev.—PIETAS ROMANA. A female standing, suckling an infant. In the exergue, TRP.

VRBS ROMA.

The usual type.

Mint Marks.—PL . C., 11; TR . P. or TR . S, 10; illegible, 8. Total, 24.

CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

The usual types.

Mint Marks.—TR . P., 20; P . L . C. or S . L . C., 9; O . SIS., 1; S . CONST, 1; illegible, 3. Total, 34.

VALENS.

Obv.—D . N . VALENS

Rev.—SECVRITAS Victory, with wreath and palm branch, marching to the left. Much corroded. 1.

Rude copies of some of the foregoing coins 6
Extremely corroded 6

Tetricus	1
Claudius Gothicus	1
Constantinus I.	13
Constans	1
Constantinus II.	36
Constantius II.	5
Julianus	1
Helena	2
Theodora	1
Urbs Roma	24
Constantinopolis	34
Valens	1
Barbarous copies	6
Corroded and illegible	6

Total number 132

X.

ON COINS OF MARATHUS, AND OF KAMNASKIRES
AND ANZAZE.

I HAVE much pleasure in laying before the Numismatic Society copies, in gutta percha, of some very curious coins which have been lately acquired by the British Museum, and which are now deposited in the national collection. They consist of

- 2 coins of Marathus, in Phœnice.
- 2 — of Kamnaskires and Anzaze.
- 1 — attributed by me to Enydra.
- 1 — of Byblus or Gebal.

These coins, I shall, for convenience, describe consecutively; reserving for a later part of this paper such observations upon each as I may think it advisable to make.

I will now describe each of these coins separately.*

1. MARATHUS. Tetradrachm.

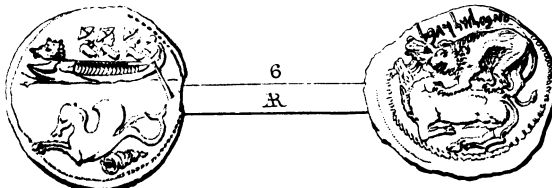
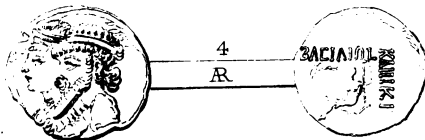
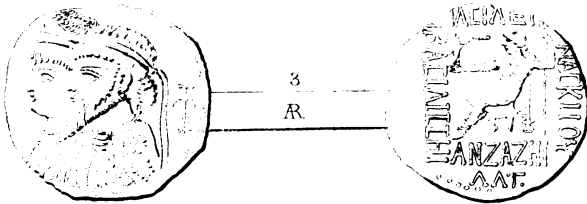
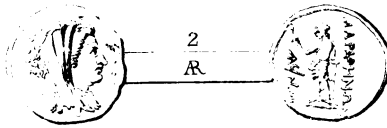
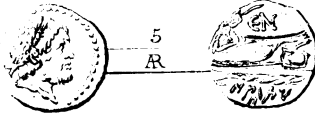
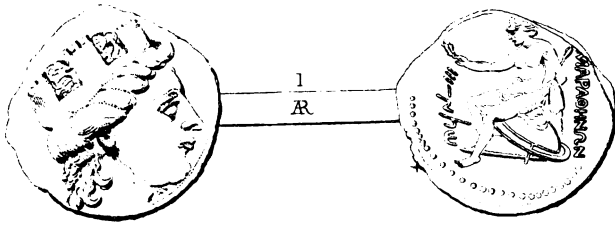
Obv.—To right, a female head, wearing a turreted head-dress. The hair massed over the forehead and along the line above the ears, and falling in tresses on the neck.

Rev.—Two inscriptions —

ΜΑΡΑΘΗΝΩΝ, to right.
(33-ΠΨ 33rd year.) to left.

Between the inscriptions, a naked male figure seated to the left on shields, holding in the right hand an acrostolium—the ornament of the prow of a galley—and in the left a light spear or javelin; over the left

* From the want of a complete fount of Phœnician letters, the inscriptions in that character, which are generally on the reverse, will be rendered, as far as possible, by the corresponding Hebrew letters.



J. Laghorn Sc.

COINS OF MARATHUS.

arm a small portion of drapery may be noticed. The coin is slightly hollowed, which has tended to preserve the reverse.

R. Size, 8 ; weight, 257 $\frac{5}{10}$ grs.

2. MARATHUS. Hemidrachm.

Obv.—Female head to right [perhaps that of an Egyptian or Syrian queen] ; over the hair at the back of her head, and over the neck, a close-fitting veil.

Rev.—Two inscriptions —

. . . APAΘHNΩN, to right.

(34. $\Pi\psi$, 34th year.) to left.

Between the inscriptions, a half-draped male figure standing, holding in the right an uncertain object, and resting the left arm on an upright base or column.

R. Size, 3 ; weight, 36 grs.

3. KAMNASKIRES and ANZAZE. Tetradrachm.

Obv.—Busts placed side by side, but turned to the left, of Kamnaskires and Anzaze. The head of Kamnaskires is bound by a broad fillet ; his hair is massed over the forehead ; his neck is bare, but over his chest and shoulders is a closely-fitting dress, apparently adorned with pearls and jewels ; he has a moustachio, and a long peaked beard. Anzaze wears a high Oriental diadem, above which her hair is visible in two principal masses. Her breast is draped, and she wears a necklace of pearls. Behind the busts is the monogram constantly found on the coins from southern Babylonia. [See Num. Chron. vol. XVIII. p. 139.]

Rev.—.. BAIIAEI AEKIPOY. . . . BAIIAIEEH E ANZAZHE. Zeus Nikephoros sitting, to the left, on his throne, holding a small victory in his right hand, who stretches out a wreath towards him, and resting his left hand on a spear. Below date, $\Delta\Delta$.

R. Size, 7 ; weight, 242 $\frac{1}{10}$ grs.

4. KAMNASKIRES and ANZAZE. Drachm.

Obv.—The same type exactly as in that of the preceding coin.

Rev.—BAIIAEQE KAM . . . KI Same type exactly as in that of the preceding coin, but nearly defaced.

R. Size, 3 $\frac{3}{4}$; weight, 61 grs.

These coins of Kamnaskires and Anzaze are not absolutely new, two specimens (the first that arrived in England) having been described by me in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVIII. p. 139, etc., and also by Colonel Leake. In that paper I stated, that there had been a doubt whether the royal name should be read Kamnaskires or Kapnaskires, and that I inclined to the former. The present specimens do not throw any additional light upon this point, the inscriptions having been much injured: I have however deemed them worth engraving, because the types of the obverses are in such fine preservation.

I proceed now to give some account of the individual coins themselves, and of the places or personages which are commemorated on them; and I take first those of Marathus.

The general history of Marathus is pretty well known, it having been noticed more or less by many ancient writers who have turned their attention to the East. It was a city on the coast of Syria, to the north of, but nearly opposite to, the island of Aradus, and on the borders of the province of Phœnice. Diodorus,¹ Polybius,² Arrian,³ Curtius,⁴ and Pliny,⁵ speak of its wealth and greatness; while the first-named writer gives a special account of the feuds which constantly existed between it and the islanders of Aradus; who, in the end, after more than one attempt, succeeded in destroying the power of their rival by the aid of Ammonius, the prime minister of Alexander Balas. The story of the Sicilian historian states, that Ammonius was bribed by the treacherous Aradians with a present of 300 talents;

¹ Diod. Sic., Reliq., lib. xxxiii. 5 (Ed. Didot).

² Polyb. v. 68, who states, that Antiochus put an end to the disputes between the people of Aradus and Marathus.

³ Arrian, Exped. Alex. ii. 13, who calls it, at the time Alexander was there, *μεγάλην καὶ ἐνδαίμωνα*.

⁴ Curt. iv. 1.

⁵ Plin. v. 19. 17.

and that the islanders set at nought the usual laws of civilized warfare, by destroying some very ancient images of the local deities, and stoning the ambassadors whom the people of Marathus had sent to treat with them. The fall of Marathus is attributed to the period between the 162nd and 166th year of the Æra of the Seleucidæ, corresponding with the date of B.C. 149—145, at which period Alexander Balas was on the throne.

Strabo⁶ adds this information, that, in his day, the district round Marathus was under the dominion of the Aradians, whose yoke it was probably never able to shake off.

It is worthy of remark, that, in the text of Strabo,⁷ another place, which he calls Enydra, occurs immediately before Marathus; and from the course of his description, which passes from north to south, must have been immediately to the north of it. Of this place I believe I have found a small coin, which has hitherto remained unobserved among the class called, in our ignorance, "Uncertain Phœnician." It may be described as follows:—

5. ENYDRA.

Obv. Head of Jupiter to the right, within a circle of dots.

Rev.—ΕΝ, in the field, and below Phœnician letters probably for *מאת ש* [100th year], and a galley, on which is, apparently, a figure of victory.

AR. Size, $2\frac{3}{4}$; weight, 37 grs.

Now no one, I believe, who examines this coin, in connection with those of Marathus, would doubt that it must have belonged to some place in the immediate neighbourhood of Marathus. The general character of the workmanship, and the identity of the form of the Phœnician letters on the

⁶ Strab. xvi. p. 753: Ἐνδρὰ καὶ Μάραθος πόλις Φοινίκων ἀρχαία κατασπασμένη τὴν δὲ χώραν Ἀράδιοι κατεκληρούχησαν.

⁷ Strab. xvi. p. 753.

reverse — the occurrence of the galley, so common a type of the coins of Phœnicia — all, in my mind, point to the same conclusion. Again, the name of Enydra, no less than that of Marathus, may fairly be considered to refer to some local peculiarities of the place. Now Marathus seems to be only a Græcised form of the Phœnician מרת (Marath), itself for the Hebrew מרה (Marah, bitter; cf. Lat. *Amarus*); and there is a story in Strabo so curious, and so much to the point, that I cannot doubt that the name is connected with the incident recorded by that geographer, if not derived from it. Strabo,⁸ speaking of Aradus — which, he says, was opposite to, and about two miles from, Marathus on the mainland — remarks, that they obtained their necessary water either from cisterns, or from the opposite shore; “but in war-time they obtain their water from the strait itself, a little in front of the town, where there is an abundant fountain of water (i. e., rising from under the sea);” adding, “but the water that is first drawn up is salt like the sea; but after waiting awhile for the flow of the pure and potable water, they collect it in vessels prepared for the occasion,” etc. Now, it seems likely enough, that this remarkable fountain should have given its name to the place so near it. Moreover, if the hypothesis with regard to the name of Marathus be correct, it is quite probable that the word Enydra (*Ενυδρα*) conveyed to a Greek ear the same idea that Marath did to a Phœnician. Possibly, too, after the fall of Marathus, this latter name may have been preserved among the Græcised population of the sea-coast.

Again, it is remarkable, that both Marathus and Enydra have left their names among the modern local appellations. Thus, Pococke⁹ speaks of abundant ancient remains, such

⁸ Strab. xvi. p. 754.

⁹ Pococke (Richard), *Description of the East*, vol. ii. p. 203. (Lond. fol. 1745).

as a rock-hewn temple, a monolithic house and chambers, and a circus, at *Amreet*; and of a remarkable spring close to it, called the *Ain-el-Hyeh*, or "Viper's Fountain." It is no great stretch of imagination, to conceive that *Amreet* may represent *Marath*, and *Ain-el-Hyeh*, *Enydra*, even if the Arabic name be not an actual corruption of, or assimilation to, the original Greek. In any case, the story of the submarine fountain, as recorded by Strabo, and the fact of the existence, in modern times, of the "Viper's Fountain," is curious, and seems to point, not improbably, to an ancient connection between these places, if not to their actual identity.

I may add, that, with regard to the form *Marath*, there are many other not dissimilar examples in Semitic numismatics; as, for instance, Amathus, in Cyprus, is, doubtless, from ܐܡܬܐ (*Hamath*).

To recur to the coins themselves. The first point to be established is, whether the specimens I have laid before the Society this evening, and others to which I shall allude in the course of this paper, are really coins of Marathus?

Now, on this head, I think there can be little doubt; indeed, none at all, if MAPAΘHNΩN, the Greek word on the reverse, be admitted, as I presume it will be, to refer to the people of Marathus in Phœnice. We are not, however, left to conjecture on this question; for the ethnical name of the people is written, in Strabo and other authors, *Μαραθῆνως* and *Μαραθηναῖος*; while the Phœnician letters, taken in connection with those on other coins, hitherto on good ground admitted to belong to this place, confirm satisfactorily the analogy pointed out in the case of Amathus and Hamath. The types, too, on these other coins, bear out this statement. Of these, the following have been commonly recognised as belonging to this place.

1. *Obv.*—A female head, turreted, like the tetradrachm I am now describing; over shoulders, a wreath.
Rev.—Male draped figure, standing, turned to the left; in right, acrostolium or aplustre; left resting at the elbow on a short column.
2. *Obv.*—Laureated youthful head, perhaps that of Hermes; behind, over shoulders, a caduceus.
Rev.—Male draped figure, standing, turned to the left; in right, acrostolium or aplustre; over left, a portion of drapery.
3. *Obv.*—Veiled female head, turned to the right, as on the drachm before us.
Rev.—Male figure, as on the reverse of type No. 1.

Besides these, there are some other specimens, with slight modifications of these types, which are also, in all probability, coins of Marathus, but which do not, however, admit of such complete proof.

Each of these reverses bears Phœnician legends, more or less extensive, and consisting generally of two or more letters, to which I shall presently call your attention. All these types have, I believe, been given by Mionnet, though some of them are placed under what he has called the “*Incerti Phœniciaë*,” but the inscriptions he has engraven are not always trustworthy. In the British Museum there is a good collection of each variety, some of which I have placed before you this evening in gutta-percha copies. I may add that, with the exception of the two silver specimens I have just described, all the coins of Marathus preserved in the Museum are in copper.

With regard to the Phœnician legends on these coins. I mentioned earlier in this paper, that, on the opposite side of the two coins I am describing, are the Greek words ΜΑΡΑΘΗΝΩΝ, and certain Phœnician letters. On comparing the various specimens of the series I have above

alluded to, as they are given in Mionnet, and as they exist in the Museum collection, I find that the majority of those which have been the best preserved contain a legend in four Phœnician letters, placed *behind* the standing figure: and then a second inscription, the letters of which vary in number, placed *before* the standing figure. The three first of these letters, behind, are invariably מרת; and with regard to them, we think all the palæographers, from Swinton to Gesenius, are clearly right in believing that they indicate the native name of the ancient town, *Marath*. The fourth letter is not in all cases the same; but admits of an explanation which is, on the whole satisfactory. It must be taken in connection with the letters following, and which may be seen in front of the standing figures. These letters no doubt represent numbers; the mass of evidence, on this subject, which has been brought together by Gesenius and others, leaving no ground for any question as to the general correctness of this interpretation. The varieties I have noticed are as follows:—

IIIIIO	for	שנת	16
IIIIIIIO	„	„	18
NN	„	„	20
IIN	„	„	23
III—N	„	„	24
IIIII—N	„	„	26
IIIIII—N	„	„	27
IIIIIIINN	„	„	47
IIIIINN	„	„	64
IIIIIIINN	„	„	66
NNNN	„	„	80
IIIIIIINN	„	„	86
IIIIIIINN	„	„	87

Where the O or — indicates 10, and N indicates 20. In

three cases the number of the year exceeds 100, and then either **מאת**, 100, is written at length, or one or more letters of that word precede the units on the coin.

Thus we have —

IIIIMאת	year	104
IIIIII „	„	106
IIIIII „	„	107

Besides these letters, which form legends more or less complete, and which we consider to admit of a certain interpretation, other Phœnician letters are to be met with scattered on other parts of the coins, but rarely in sufficient numbers to form any recognisable word. They are most frequently one on each side of the standing figure. There is no means of determining to what they refer ; but it is not unlikely that they are the initial letters of the name of the magistrate during whose rule the coin was struck. They clearly do not refer to the value of the coin, as they constantly vary, while there are apparently only two sizes of the copper specimens.

I have noticed the following :—

- | | | | | |
|--------|---------|--------|----------|---------|
| 1. בנה | 2. בא | 3. ממ | 4. ב | 5. בא ? |
| 6. ברך | 7. במ ? | 8. א ? | 9. ברך ? | 10. שם |

And this list might, I doubt not, be increased.

It is to these shorter legends, that the letter often seen immediately following after the name of the town is to be referred.

With regard to the dates, it is a more difficult matter to determine the æra from which they are reckoned. As I have already said, the sequence of years I have my-

self noticed ranges between 14 and 107. Now, if these be supposed to refer to the æra of the Seleucidæ, the date most usual on Syrian coins, we must suppose these coins to have been struck between the years B.C. 297—204. Nor do I imagine, that there is anything unnatural in this hypothesis, if we except the coin of Enydra, which is of late and Roman times; for the general character of the workmanship on these coins may belong to a period as early as the third century before the Christian æra, while the form of the letters harmonizes very well with that observable on other money of that age.

There is, however, one difficulty which must not be passed over; and it is this: that on many of the coins which exhibit the smaller dates, such as 20, 47, etc., a portion of the inscription is not perfectly legible; so that it is quite possible that there may once have been an additional 10 or 20, now no longer to be detected; while in the case of the smaller numbers, such as 14, 16, and 18, it is not improbable that they may really refer to the years of the magistrates whose initials (according to the former hypothesis) are supposed to be indicated by those letters which are not included in the name of the town, or in other parts of the numeral words. We are not assisted in the determination of this question, by the period when Marathus was finally overthrown by the Aradians; for it is remarkable, that, though this event is distinctly described by Diodorus, and the attack referred to the reign of Alexander Balas, the precise year is nowhere mentioned; while there is another passage in the same writer, from which it may be inferred that the actual destruction of the town was not till somewhat later. All that can be assuredly gathered from a comparison of the different passages is, in fact, what Strabo relates a hundred years afterwards; namely,

that the town of Marathus was destroyed by the Aradians, and its lands divided by lot among the conquerors.

With regard to the type, so common on these coins, that of the female with the turreted head-dress, I have nothing especial to notice. This type, as is well known, was a very common one in Syria; indeed, is the one under which the personage commonly called the *Dea Syria*, or Syrian goddess (*Astarte*, or *Venus Anaitis*), is usually represented. I may, however, remark, that this type is now proved to be of earlier occurrence than has, I believe, been generally suspected. On one of the best preserved of the sculptures recently brought from ancient Nineveh, is a representation of a king and queen seated at a banquet, under festoons of vines and other foliage. It is remarkable, that the queen wears a head-dress ornamented with towers; not, indeed, the same as that on this tetradrachm of Marathus, but an earlier modification of the same type. The name of this queen has not been preserved; but that of the king is well known. He was Ashur-ban-i-pal, the last great sovereign of Nineveh, who was on the throne of Assyria about the middle of the seventh century before Christ. We know, then, from undoubted evidence, that this style or fashion of ornamenting the head-dress was in practice in Western Asia about four centuries before we find it represented on the money of the Græco-Syrian towns, like Tyre, Sidon, and Marathus.

On the obverse of the hemidrachm, and, as I have already noticed, on several of the copper coins, the type is that of a *veiled female head*, which, from the general character of the work, would appear to be intended for a portrait: it is not, however, so easy to determine who the lady really is. It has been conjectured, from an apparent similarity, that it represents the countenance of

Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy III. (Euergetes), king of Egypt. I confess, however, that though there is a slight resemblance in the two portraits, in the manner in which the hair is dressed, and in the veil which covers the back of each head, I do not find in history any sufficient justification of this hypothesis. The history of this Egyptian Berenice is simply this: she was the daughter of Magas, and was married to Ptolemy III. about B.C. 247; but, except that her husband, a few years later, reduced Syria under his rule, I do not find any other circumstance that would connect her with that country or the town of Marathus.

Nor do I think the evidence in favour of a Syrian Berenice—who, curiously enough, was on the Syrian throne at nearly the same period—is at all more conclusive. Of this Berenice, we know that she was the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and that she became the wife of Antiochus II. (Theos), king of Syria, who put away his former wife, Laodice, in agreement with a treaty he made with the king of Egypt, and married Berenice in her stead, B.C. 249. It appears, however, that she could only have remained the wife of this Antiochus for about two years; for it is expressly stated, that, on the death of her father, Ptolemy Philadelphus, in B.C. 247, Antiochus took back his former wife, Laodice, who murdered Berenice and her infant son, shortly afterwards, at Daphne in Syria. I am not aware that any portrait of this Syrian Berenice has been preserved; and though it is possible, and the dates would so far agree with the coins, I am not disposed, on such slight evidence, to assert that the veiled heads on these coins are portraits of either the Egyptian or Syrian Berenice. Nor, indeed, are we driven to this necessity; for on comparing the copper coins of the first Antiochus

and of one of the early Seleuci (probably the first, though which is not absolutely certain), I have found several which bear a type strikingly analogous to the one on the silver hemidrachm. Who may be the personage represented on these Syrian copper coins is not ascertainable; but I conceive it is much more probable, that the type on the coins of Marathus—itsself a place of considerable importance in the northern part of Phœnice—should be connected with them, than that a connection should be made with Egypt upon an hypothesis which I must hold to be imaginary.

With regard to the two other coins—viz., those of Kamnaskires and Anzaze—I have little to add to what I have already stated in the paper I alluded to at the commencement of this article, and which has been printed in Vol. XVIII. of the Numismatic Chronicle. In that paper, I expressed my belief, that the rulers whose portraits are given on those coins must have held sway over a district usually known in ancient times by the name of Characene, and now represented by the country called Irak-al-Arabi, near Bussorah and the united mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris. I then pointed out, that—so far as it is of any value—the evidence of discovery was in favour of this supposition, the only specimens then known having been procured from a district south and south-east of Baghdad; while the assertion of Lucian, in his dialogue called *Macrobii*, that Mnaskires (or rather Kamnaskires) was *Βασιλεὺς Παρθυαλῶν*, is not necessarily adverse to this supposition, inasmuch as the name of Parthians was used by the Roman and later Greek writers with great laxity, and with a singular geographical indistinctness, in reference to almost any oriental people, who, as a tribe or race, occupied lands in and adjoining Persia. Further than this, I, at that time, remarked, that I could see no satisfactory reason for Colonel

Leake's hypothesis, that Kamnaskires was a Scythian, who at some unknown period had seized on the western part of Bactriana.

To all these views I still adhere. The only question that can, I think, arise, is, whether these coins should be attributed to Characene, or should be placed in what has been generally termed the sub-Parthian class. For my own part, I own I have little doubt, that the first attribution is, of the two, the more correct; for on these coins, though the physiognomies are eastern, the inscriptions are always in pure Greek, however badly the characters may in some instances have been designed. On those of the sub-Parthian class, on the other hand, the legends, no less than the types, are invariably in oriental characters. It will be observed, that, for the correct reading of the names of the king and queen, we are still indebted to the specimens first known and published; and that, had the present coins been the first found, or the only ones preserved, we could not have determined, with any approach to certainty, who they were who struck them. For the portraits, the admirable preservation of the obverses of the present specimens is invaluable; and the inferior execution of their reverses may, I think, be in great measure attributed to the carelessness with which the die has been placed upon the metal.

It will also be noticed, that the manner in which the hair is represented as rising above the diadem, is very peculiar; indeed, unlike that of any other coin with which I am acquainted; and, at the same time, that the general character of these coins has considerable resemblance to that of the money of the Parthian and Sassanian princes.

In conclusion, I shall briefly notice two remarkable coins of Gebal, or Byblus, in Phœnicia, the first of which I have only just acquired.

6. GEBAL.

Obv.—A galley, terminating in the head of a lion; below, a hippocamp, going to the left, and a shell; in the galley are three warriors.

Rev.—עזבעל מלך גבל (Azbaal Malek Gebal). A lion, to left, springing upon and throwing down a bull.

℞. Size, 6¾. Weight, 203 gr.¹⁰

The second has been already published by the Duke de Luynes, from a specimen which has been for many years in the British Museum. It may be described as follows:—

7. AZBAAL.

Obv.—Hercules fighting.

Rev.—A lion devouring a stag, and turned to the right; above is the inscription, לעזבעל (To Azbaal; that is, the coin of Azbaal).

℞. Size, 5¾. Weight, 169 gr.¹¹

I couple with these, chiefly for the purposes of illustration and comparison, some other coins, which I have no doubt belong to the same place and ruler, but which are not in all cases so well preserved or so legible. I have not, however, deemed them of sufficient importance to have them engraven.

8. Is a small specimen or drachm of the same.

This, though so small, is a remarkably satisfactory specimen, as the whole of the legend is so clearly written, that there cannot be a doubt about a single letter. The principal type or subject on the coin is turned to left.

℞. Size, 1¾. Weight, 11⁹/₁₀ grs.¹²

¹⁰ See De Luynes, Pl. XVI. fig. 46, for similar type on the obverse; the reverse, however, is different, and there is no trace of any inscription. For this reason, it is probable that the Duke de Luynes has classed this specimen among the "uncertain" of Phœnicia.

¹¹ De Luynes, Pl. XV. fig. 37.

¹² *Ibid.*, Pl. XV. No. 41.

9. Another small coin of the same place.

Only two letters of the inscription can be read upon it, viz.,
 . . . 21. It serves, however, to confirm the reading
 on the previous coins. The type of obverse and
 reverse is the same as on the preceding.

R. Size, $1\frac{1}{4}$. Weight, $10\frac{2}{10}$ grs.

10. Is also a specimen of the same coinage.

The type is the same as that of the preceding coins, but
 more of the legend has been preserved. Indeed,
 were it not that the coin has been pierced to enable
 some modern personage to wear it, the whole of the
 legend might be decyphered.

R. Size, $1\frac{1}{4}$. Weight, 11 gr.

All these coins, I may add, are of considerable rarity ;
 and, except in the collections of the British Museum and of
 the Duke de Luynes, I am not aware that any other spec-
 imens have been preserved. Of their date, as no numeral
 cyphers have been found on them, various opinions have
 been and may readily be held. I have, however, myself
 little doubt that they belong to the period of Artaxerxes I. ;
 a time at which we know that several of the towns along
 the Phœnician border of the Mediterranean possessed a
 quasi-independence, with the power of striking money.

The Duke de Luynes observes (p. 90), that the type of
 the lion devouring the bull follows that of the lion devouring
 the stag ; and that this fact, taken in connection with the
 disappearance of the square incuse, suggests that the money
 of Azbaal is of a somewhat later period. I venture, how-
 ever, to doubt the accuracy of this judgment ; because I
 observe, that in the first of the coins of Byblus I have noticed
 in this paper (No. 6), the type is that of the lion devouring
 the bull, while the coin itself is evidently of the earlier
 period ; and, secondly, because, on the second coin of that
 place and king (No. 7), the square incuse still remains,
 though the type is that of the lion devouring the stag.

Gebal was the Hebrew or Phœnician name of the town known in Greek history by the title of Byblus: it is mentioned in the prophet Ezekiel among the allies of Tyre: "The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad [Aradus] were thy mariners: thy wise men, O Tyrus, that were in thee, were thy pilots. The ancients of Gebal and the wise men thereof were in thee thy calkers" (Ezek. xxvii. 8, 9).

The name Azbaal may itself be translated, the "power of God."

11. In conclusion, I will notice one coin, which the Duke de Luynes has been inclined to attach to a distinct place — *Cittium*, or of *Cyprus* — but not, so far as I can comprehend, with any sufficient reason. It may be described as follows:—

Obv.—The usual type of the Syrian Hercules.

Rev.—The lion devouring the stag; the type turned to right, with the inscription, לבעל מלך (To Baal, the king).¹³

I cannot help observing, that, as the type is so nearly identical with that of the previous pieces, which certainly belong to Byblus, and as the only thing wanting is the actual name of the king, the probability is strong that this coin, like the preceding one, belongs to the same place. It is in admirable preservation, and as fresh as if it had been struck yesterday.

W. S. W. VAUX.

¹³ De Luynes, Pl. XIV. fig. 25 *bis*; with which compare the coins attributed to Azbaal, and engraven in De Luynes, Pl. XV. figs. 35—40.

XI.

ON THE COINS FOUND UPON AND NEAR THE SITE
OF ANCIENT VERULAM.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 25, 1858.]

AMONG the monuments of antiquity which from time to time are found in this country, bearing witness to the extent and duration of the Roman rule in Britain, none perhaps are so important as the coins. Not only do they afford the most conclusive evidence of the presence of the rulers of the world; but, when found upon and near the sites of the towns which formed the centres of Roman occupation, we may, in some measure, from their number and the circumstances under which they are found, form an estimate of the relative importance of these towns at various periods of their history.

Even when all other traces of the towns have vanished, beyond, perhaps, a few mounds of earth, or here and there a fragment of a wall, cemented with mortar of too imperishable a nature to allow of its being ruthlessly destroyed for building materials, or to mend the parish roads, the coins, with which even now the soil seems to abound, carry us back to the period when the now deserted fields were covered with houses, and there were busy throngs of men instead of the grazing cattle or solitary ploughman.

Jam seges est ubi Troja fuit: reseccandaque falce
Luxuriat Phrygio sanguine pinguis humus;
Semispulta virum curvis feriuntur aratris
Ossa, ruinosas occulit herba domos.

But "Time, which antiquates antiquities, and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments;" and the coins which, some sixteen or eighteen centuries ago, may have formed part of the pay of the Roman soldier, or the treasured hoard of a Romanized Briton, are found uninjured, and even, in many cases, their beauty improved, by their long sojourn in the soil.

As to the causes of the abundance of Roman coins in particular spots, it may be worth while briefly to speculate. Many of them, and especially those of the more precious metals, probably formed part of hoards hidden in the ground by their owners, who were afterwards, by some unforeseen accident, prevented from coming to reclaim them from their place of concealment. It must be borne in mind, that, in addition to the greater insecurity of property that then existed, as compared with the present time, there were probably no banks of deposit in which small sums could be received, nor were there many methods in which the accumulations of money from trade and other sources could conveniently be invested. It is therefore to be expected, that, in towns of any magnitude, there must have been a considerable aggregate amount of coined money, of which a portion, at least, must have been kept in places of concealment by its owners. It is also not unlikely that considerable sums were carried about the person; and, as we all know by experience, a large number of coins must, in consequence, have been accidentally lost; while, from the small intrinsic value of many, especially of the later coins, but little search would be made after them, at the same time that their diminutive size would render them more liable to loss. Of these *minimi*, the number found upon most Roman sites is almost incredible.

Even in times more nearly coming down to our

own, the number of coins which, in one way or another, have been committed to the keeping of the soil, is more than at the first glance would have been considered possible. From the day that they were lost to the present time, numbers of them have been no doubt continually recovered; but who that has been in the habit of looking over the small handful of coins amassed by some village collector or country watchmaker, has not been struck with the number of coins of the first Edwards and Elizabeth, and farthing tokens of James and Charles I., that are continually coming to light, and apparently in undiminished numbers. In estimating, from the coins found at any given spot, its comparative importance at the various periods whose date is given by the coins, there are two or three sources of error which must be taken into account. We must bear in mind that coins of the more precious metals are not so likely to come into the hands of local collectors as those of copper or brass. Their greater value, and the laws of treasure-trove, have both a tendency to cause them to be disposed of by the finder at some little distance from the place of finding, or to an itinerant jeweller, rather than to the village amateur. Such coins, also, if lost, were probably more diligently sought after than those of less value, so that the bulk of those now found probably formed part of buried hoards.

Another cause, also, has interfered to prevent their being discovered so abundantly as the brass coins, inasmuch as, from their not being so liable to oxidization, they more readily attract the eye when turned up by the spade or plough, and have accordingly, when near the surface, fallen a prey to earlier generations of ploughmen. Moreover, the gold and silver coins were at some periods scarcer in proportion to the copper coins than at others, the Roman

VOL. XX.

Q

coinage having undergone most material alteration between the days of Julius and of Arcadius; that period of some five hundred years, over which the Roman coins found in this country may safely be considered to extend. Another cause of the comparative abundance of the copper coins is their small intrinsic value; so little that, in many cases, if picked up by the ploughman, they had a fair chance of being again restored to their resting-place in the soil, as not being worth keeping; and the same coins may thus have been found over and over again by successive generations, until the inquiries and remuneration of some local collector may have caused the finders to preserve what had hitherto been regarded as worthless. It is, I think, this class of coins which have long lain near the surface, exposed to the action of the air and rain, which are now found so oxidized as to be no longer capable of recognition, even by a practised eye. They bear, in most cases, a large proportion to the better-preserved coins, which are mostly found at a greater depth in the soil, and have been less exposed to atmospheric influences.

A reason for the scarcity of the brass coins of the so-called first and second magnitude, in comparison with those of smaller module, consists in their larger size having rendered them more easy of discovery by former generations, and more likely, from their greater intrinsic value, to be retained when found.

The site of ancient Verulam has long been known as prolific of coins. Camden speaks of the "pieces of Roman coine other whiles digged up there;"¹ and, since his time, numerous collections have been formed upon this spot. Gough¹ mentions, that Mr. Routh, who retired from

¹ Camden, vol. ii. p. 71, ed. 1806.

London, and died at St. Albans about 1770, had made a large collection of Roman coins, which passed into the hands of his daughter, Mrs. Affleck, of Colchester; and that Mr. Whiston and Mr. Webster had many more. None of these collections have I seen; but among others, from which, in addition to my own, the following catalogue has been formed, I may mention, with all due gratitude to the owners, those of the Earl of Verulam (to whom the greater portion of the soil once covered by the ancient city from which he derives his title now belongs), the Rev. Dr. Nicholson, R. Grove Lowe, Esq., the St. Albans Archæological Society, the late James Brown, F.S.A., and the late Mr. Nash.

The number of coins which have been examined by me, I should estimate, speaking within moderate bounds, at from three to four thousand; but I have, unfortunately, kept no record of the number of coins of each type that I have seen, but have merely chronicled new types as they have been submitted to my notice during the last sixteen or eighteen years. Some idea of the proportion of coins found to the new varieties which I thought it necessary to enter in my catalogue, may be formed from the fact, that of 171 coins, comprising those of twenty-three emperors, found at the excavation of the Roman Theatre at Verulam, so long ago as 1847, eighty-six were illegible, and the remainder afforded but twelve additions to my catalogue.

Before proceeding, however, to the enumeration of the coins, it will be advisable to give some slight sketch of what was at one time a principal city of the land, and one where probably there was a royal mint before ever the Romans set foot in Britain under Julius, and certainly before the days of the Roman occupation under Claudius.

The city of Verulam stood nearly due west of the present town of St. Albans, only a small portion of which, including

the church of St. Michael, is situate within the ancient walls. It lay upon a gentle declivity, facing the east, and running down to the small river Ver, or Verulam, which formed its eastern boundary, while the remaining sides of its somewhat irregular form were protected by a vallum and deep fosse.

Its name is given as *Οὔρολανιον* by Ptolemy, *Verolanium* in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and *Verulamium* in Tacitus, while it appears as VERLAMIO on its coins. What was its state before the Roman invasion, it is impossible to determine. It has, however, been considered by some, that this was the "Oppidum Cassivellauni" mentioned by Cæsar; and from the fact that we find the name of Verulam upon coins which were struck within a short period of his landing, it is probable that at that time it was a place of importance. Certainly, it was the capital of Tasciovanus, the father of Cunobeline, some of whose coins, beside those bearing merely the name of the town upon them, have been found here. The following may be mentioned :—

Obv.—VERLAMIO within the rays of a star-shaped ornament.

Rev.—A bull to the left, within a garland.

Æ. Weight, 33½ grs.²

Obv.—A cruciform ornament of converging branches, with two crescents in the centre.

Rev.—TASC. A horseman wielding a battle-axe; above and behind the horse, a wheel.

A'. Weight, 84 grs.³

Obv.—VER within a beaded circle.

Rev.—TASCIA. A horse to the right.

AR. Weight 21½ grs.⁴

² Ruding, Pl. V., No. 3, 4.

³ Ibid., Pl. A., No. 96, 98.

⁴ Ibid., Pl. V., No. 1.

Obv.—A rude head.

Rev.—VER. Pegasus to the left, above a trefoil.

Æ.⁵

It is interesting to find these types, with the name of the town upon them, upon the spot where they were struck, as they place beyond doubt the correctness of the attribution of these coins to Verulam. There were many other types of British coins minted at Verulam; but as no specimens have been found upon the spot, I need not here enumerate them. Several new types, in addition to those given by Ruding, will be found in the *Numis. Chron.*, Vol. XVIII., p. 44. One uninscribed type, in copper, has been found there, similar to that engraved in the *Numis. Chron.*, Vol. XIX., p. 64, No. 11.

Of Cunobelinus there are none that can with certainty be affirmed to have been struck at Verulam. It is, however, probable that many of those on which the name of Tasciovanus appears in conjunction with his own, were struck here, though Camulodunum appears to have been the chief city of his dominions. Of his coins, some few have been found here, but mostly in indifferent preservation. Beside the two described below, I remember to have seen one with the type of the centaur blowing a horn, and another with the Victory killing a bull.

Obv.—CVNOBE } In two lines, on a tablet, across the
LINI. } field.

Rev.—Victory, to the left, seated, and holding a garland.

Æ.⁶

Obv.—CVNOBELINI. Galeated head to the right.

Rev.—TASCIOVANI · F. Boar, standing, to the right.

Æ.⁷

⁵ *Numis. Chron.*, Vol. XVIII., p. 44, 7.

⁶ Ruding, Pl. V. 26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. V. 23.

Such are the principal coins of the ancient Britons which of late years have been discovered upon the site of one of their principal cities. With them, indeed, the ancient British coinage seems to terminate; for soon after the death of Cunobeline, the Roman occupation of Britain took place; and we know, at present, no coins struck by any of the sons of Cunobeline, though possibly some may yet be discovered, to fill up the short interval that the native coinage could have subsisted after the termination of Cunobeline's reign.

Verulam was, no doubt, soon taken in possession by the Roman forces, as one of the strongholds of the Britons. Indeed, in the days of Nero, it had become so Romanized, that it was raised to the rank of a Municipium. The following coins, found there, must have been brought over by the invaders, as they bear a date prior to the age of Claudius. It will be observed, that there are several family or consular coins among them, which may be regarded as a sign of the early occupation of this part of the country; a fact to which the large⁸ proportion of family coins found near the site of a Roman villa at Hemel Hempsted, some six miles from Verulam, also testifies.

Family Coins.

ANTONIA.

Obv.—LEG. III. A standard between two eagles.

Rev.—ANT. AVG. III. VIR. R.P.C. A galley.

AR.⁹

CARISIA.

Obv.—MONETA. Female head.

Rev.—T. CARISIVS. The implements of coinage.

AR.¹⁰

⁸ See Arch. xxxiv, p. 397.

⁹ Riccio, 40.

¹⁰ Ibid. 3.

NAEVIA.

Obv.—S. C. Head of Diana.

Rev.—CNÆ. BALB. Victory in a quadriga; above,
LXXVII. R.¹¹

PROCILIA.

Obv.—Head of Juno Sispita. Behind, S.C.

Rev.—L. PROCILI F. Juno Sispita in a biga. R.¹²

All the above are denarii.

AUGUSTUS.

Obv.—CAESAR AVGVSTVS. DIVI. F. PATER PATRIÆ.

Rev.—C. L. CAESARES. AVGVSTI. F. COS. DESIG.
PRINC. IVVENT. Caius and Lucius, standing,
with shields and hastæ. Above, the lituus and
simpulum. R.

Obv.—DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER.

Rev.—PROVIDENT. S. C. A temple. Æ. 2.

TIBERIUS.

Obv.—TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVSTVS.

Rev.—PONTIF. MAXIM. A seated figure. R.

CLAUDIUS.

Obv.— . . . CLAVDIVS CAES. AVG.

Rev.—Illegible. Æ. 1.

Obv.—TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR. AVG. P. M. TR. P.
IMP. P. P.

Rev.—S. C. Minerva, standing, with spear and shield.
Æ. 2.

It is evident that most of these coins must have been brought into this country by the first Roman settlers or soldiers, which are, in fact, probably synonymous terms. The expedition of Claudius and Plautius into Britain took

¹¹ Riccio. 1.

¹² Ibid. 2.

place in the year A.D. 43 ; but it was not till A.D. 51 that Caractacus was carried in chains before Claudius, about which time, apparently, the town of Verulam was promoted to the rank of a Roman Municipium, and probably extensively colonized. In the revolt of the Britons under Boadicea, A.D. 61, this place, in common with Camulodunum and Londinium, was exposed to the fury of our barbarian ancestors ; and the unfortunate Romans and their allies suffered atrocities only paralleled by those attributed to the Sepoys in the late outbreak in India. " All those," says Tacitus, " whom the weakness of their sex, the infirmities of age, or attachment to the place, induced to stay behind at London, fell into the enemy's hands. The same slaughter took place at the Municipium of Verulam ; for the barbarians, neglecting the castles and military garrisons, and regardless of anything but booty, plundered those places which offered the richest spoil, and were most difficult of defence. It appears that seventy thousand citizens and allies perished in the above-mentioned places"; and, as we learn from both Tacitus and the abstract of Dion Cassius by Xiphilinus,¹³ under every variety of torture.

Of this destruction of Verulam we cannot expect to find many traces in the coins. It may, however, be remarked, that the denarius of Tiberius shows evident signs of having passed through fire. After Nero, in whose reign this overthrow took place, the Roman rule was speedily re-established by Suetonius Paulinus, the coins become more numerous, and it will not be necessary to give more than their reverses, except in particular cases.

¹³ Xiphilinus, lib. lxii.

NERO.

Rev.—IVPPITER CVSTOS. Jupiter seated.

ÆR.

Rev.—GENIO AVGVSTI. S.C. A figure sacrificing at an altar; in his left, a cornucopia.

Æ. 2.

Rev.—S.C. A temple.

Æ. 2.

Rev.—S.C. Victory holding a shield, on which S.P.Q.R.

Æ. 2.

Of Galba, the murderer of Petronius Turpilianus (the successor of Suetonius Paulinus in the command of the Roman army in Britain), and who wore the purple but for seven months, we have but one coin.

GALBA.

Rev.—CONCORDIA PROVINCIARVM. A standing figure; in her right a branch, and in her left a cornucopiæ.

ÆR.

Of Otho and Vitellius, whose reigns were of nearly equally short duration, I have met with no coins; but of Vespasian, who was first called to the imperial throne by the legions in Britain, they are sufficiently numerous. There is also one of his son, Titus, whose reign saw the commencement of the memorable campaigns of Agricola in Britain.

VESPASIAN.

Rev.—PONTIF. MAXIM. A seated figure, with the hasta pura and laurel branch.

ÆR.

Rev.—TR. P. COS. V. PON. MAX. A caduceus.

Rev.—IVDAEA CAPTA S.C. A female seated beneath a palm-tree, behind which stands a male figure. In poor preservation.

Æ. 1.

VOL. XX.

R

Rev.—ÆQVITAS AVGVSTI. S.C. Equity, standing.
Æ. 2.

Rev.—FORTVNAE REDVCI.—S.C. Fortune, standing;
in her right a rudder. Æ. 2.

Rev.—ROMA. S.C. Rome seated on a pile of arms, hold-
ing a wreath. Æ. 2.

Rev.—S.C. An eagle standing upon a globe.
Æ. 2.

TITUS.

Rev.—TR. P. IX. IMP. XV. COS VIII. P.P. A dolphin
above a tripod. Æ.

Of Domitian, under whom the conquest of Britain may be regarded as having been completed by Agricola, the coins are numerous; nor is the short reign of his successor, Nerva, without its representatives. Of Trajan, under whom this island appears to have been peaceably held by the Romans, they are, as usual, very numerous.

DOMITIAN.

Rev.—COS. V. . . . The wolf and twins; below the
hull of a ship. Æ.

Rev.—TR. P. II. COS. VIIII. DES. X. P.P. Minerva
standing. Æ.

Rev.—IMP. XXI. COS. XV. CENS. P.P. Minerva
standing. This occurs with both T.R. P.X. and XI.
on the obverse. Æ.

Rev.—GERMANIA CAPTA. S.C. A female seated at the
foot of a trophy, behind which stands a captive.
Æ. 1.

Rev.—IOVI VICTORI. S.C. Jupiter seated.
Æ. 1.

Rev.—PAX AVGVST. S.C. Peace standing, her arm rest-
ing on a column. Æ. 2.

Rev.—S.C. Hope standing. Æ. 2.

Rev.—FORTVNAE AVGVSTI. S.C. Fortune standing, with a cornucopiæ and rudder. Æ. 2.

Rev.—VIRTVTI AVGVSTI. S.C. A soldier standing, with a spear and Parazonium. Æ. 2.

NERVA.

Rev.—COS III. PATER PATRIAE. The capeduncula, aspergillum guttus and lituus. Æ.

Rev.—CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM. S.C. Two right hands joined. Æ. 2.

TRAJAN.

Rev.—COS. V. P.P. S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. On the exergue, DAC. CAP. A captive seated on arms. Æ.

Rev.—COS. V. P.P. S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINC. The emperor standing; in his right a victory, in his left a trophy. Æ.

Rev.—Same legend. Equity standing; in her right a balance, in her left a cornucopiæ. Æ.

Rev.—Same legend. Victory standing to the left. Æ.

Rev.—S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. A female standing; in her right a caduceus, in her left a cornucopiæ. Æ.

Rev.—P.M. TR. P. COS. VI. P.P. S.P.Q.R. PRO-VID. Providence standing, with her right pointing to a globe; in her left a hasta pura. Æ.

Rev.—S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINC. S.C. A female standing, with branch and cornucopiæ. Æ. 1.

Rev.—S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. S.C. An equestrian figure charging over a prostrate foeman. Æ. 1.

Rev.—PROVIDENTIA AVGVSTI S.P.Q.R. S.C. Providence standing, her right resting on a column, and extending her left over a globe. Æ. 1.

Rev.— . . . COS. V. P.P. A seated figure. Æ. 1.

Rev.—S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. S.C. Hope standing; in her right hand a bud. Æ. 2.

Rev.—TR. POT. COS. II. Victory holding a shield, inscribed S.P.Q.R. Æ. 2.

We now come to the reign of Hadrian, of whom, of course, the coins are abundant, though none of those commemorating his visit to Britain are among them.

HADRIAN.

Rev.—COS. III. Rome seated on arms; in her right a spear. Æ.

Rev.—Same legend. A female standing; in her right a cornucopiæ, in her left a hasta pura; her right foot resting on a globe. Æ.

Rev.—P.M. T.R. P. COS. III. LIB. PVB. Liberty standing. Æ.

Rev.—ANNONA AVG. The modius with ears of corn. Æ.

Rev.—SALVS AVG. Salus feeding a serpent twined round an altar. Æ.

Rev.—PON. MAX. TR. POT. COS. III. S.C. A female standing; in her right a caduceus, in her left a cornucopiæ. Æ. 1.

Rev.—PONT. MAX. TR. POT. COS. III. S.C. Rome seated, holding a victory. Æ. 1.

Rev.—COS. III. S.C. Salus standing, feeding a serpent. Æ. 2.

Rev.—S.C.—Salus seated. Æ. 2.

Rev.—MONETA AVG. S.C. Moneta standing, with balance and cornucopiæ. Æ. 2.

Though Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, never set foot in Britain, there are numerous types of his coins relating to its history, one of which will be found in the following list of his coins discovered at Verulam. Of both

the Faustinas, and of Marcus Aurelius, there are several coins; but those of the immediately succeeding emperors are scarce, until we come to the time of Septimius Severus; and of Albinus, who was proclaimed emperor in Britain, none have been found.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

Rev.—IMPERATOR II. A caduceus between two cornucopiæ, cross-wise. *R.*

Rev.—TR. POT. XX. COS. IIII. A female standing, holding a rudder, and resting her left on the prow of a ship. *R.*

Rev.—Same legend. A veiled figure seated, holding a wand. *R.*

Rev.—TR. POT. COS. IIII. On exergue, LIB. IIII. A standing figure, holding a tessera and cornucopiæ. *R.*

Rev.—COS. IIII. A female standing; in her right hand ears of corn over a modius; in her left a balance. *R.*

Rev.—FELIC. SAEC. COS. IIII. A female standing, holding a caduceus, and resting her left on a column. *R.*

Rev.—ANNONA AVG. S.C. A female standing, holding ears of corn over a panarium; in her left a cornucopiæ; at her feet the prow of a ship. *Æ. 1.*

Rev.—MONETA AVG. S.C. Moneta standing, with balance and cornucopiæ. *Æ. 1.*

Rev.—PAX AVG. S.C. Peace setting fire to a pile of arms. *Æ. 1.*

Rev.—LIBERALITAS AVG. V. S.C. A standing figure, with tessera and cornucopiæ. *Æ. 1.*

Rev.—INDVLGENTIA AVG. COS. IIII. S.C. A seated figure, holding out her right hand; in her left a hasta pura. *Æ. 1.*

Rev.—BRITANNIA COS. IIII. A female seated on a rock, resting her head upon her hand; before her a large oval shield. *Æ. 2.*

Rev.—LIBERTAS COS. IIII. Liberty standing, with the hasta and cornucopiæ. Æ. 2.

Obv.—DIVVS ANTONINVS.

Rev.—DIVO PIO. A column surmounted by a statue of the emperor. R.

Obv.—As last.

Rev.—Illegible. S.C. A column. Æ. 1.

FAUSTINA ANTONINI.

Obv.—DIVA . FAVSTINA.

Rev.—AETERNITAS. S.C. A standing figure. Æ. 1.

Obv. & Rev.—Same legends. A female standing; in her right a patera, with her left holding up her robe. Æ. 2.

Rev.—AVGVSTA. S.C. A female standing, holding a torch. Æ. 2.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Rev.—IMP. VI. COS. III. S.C. Victory inscribing VIC. GER. on a shield suspended from a tree. Æ. 1.

Rev.—CONCORD. AVGVSTOR. TR. P. XVI. COS. III. S.C. Aurelius and Venus joining hands. Æ. 1.

Rev.—TR. POT. VIIII. COS. II. S.C. Minerva standing, holding an owl and spear; at her feet a shield. Æ. 2.

Rev.—IMP. VII. COS. III. S.C. Minerva holding a victory and spear. Æ. 2.

FAUSTINA AURELIA.

Rev.—FELICITAS AVG. S.C. Felicity standing, holding a branch. Æ. 2.

LUCILLA LUCHI VERI.

Rev.—IVNONI LVCINÆ. The goddess seated, holding a flower. R.

COMMODUS.

Rev.—HERCVLI ROMANORVM. Bow, club, and
quiver. Æ.

CRISPINA COMMODI.

Rev.—S. C. A female seated in a chair.

Æ. 1.

Rev.—LAETITIA AVG. S.C. A standing figure, holding
a rudder, resting on a globe. Æ. I.

We now come to the reign of Severus, who found it necessary for the preservation of Britain as a Roman province, to take the command of the army of occupation. His son, Geta, who was left as governor of the southern provinces, while Caracalla accompanied his father in his expedition against the Caledonians, not improbably passed some portion of his time at Verulam. Severus, from the time when he first proceeded northwards in the beginning of the year 209, does not appear ever to have returned farther south than York, where he died in A.D. 211. Of both him and his family numerous coins have been found at Verulam, but none of them present the types bearing special reference to their victories in Britain.

SEPT. SEVERUS.

Rev.—P.M.TR.P.II. COS. II. P.P. Mars marching, to the
right. Æ.

Rev.—P.M.TR.P.V. COS. II. P.P. A standing figure, in
her right a rudder, in her left a cornucopiæ.
Æ.

Rev.—P.M.TR.P.XIII. COS. III. P.P. Jupiter standing,
with the fulmen and hasta pura; at his feet, an
eagle. Æ.

Rev.—P.M.TR.P.XVII. COS. III. P.P. Minerva standing,
holding a victory. Æ.

Rev.—FVNDATOR PACIS. The emperor, veiled, and
holding an olive branch. Æ.

Rev.—HERCVLI DEFENS. Hercules standing, holding a club and bow. Æ.

Rev.—IVSTITIA. Justice seated, holding a patera and hasta pura. Æ.

Rev.—LAETITIA · PVBL. A standing figure, holding a purse. Æ.

Rev.—SECVRITAS PVBLICA. Security seated, in her right a globe. Æ.

Rev.—VICTORIAE AET. A seated female, in her right a shield. Æ.

Rev.—VICT. PART. MAX. Victory marching, with a garland and palm-branch. Æ.

Rev.— . . . TR. P. COS. S.C. The eagle between two military standards. Æ. 1.

JULIA DOMNA.

Rev.—FELICITAS. Felicity standing; in her right a branch, in her left a hasta. Æ.

Rev.—Same legend. Same type, but a caduceus instead of a branch in the right hand. Æ.

Rev.—MATER DEVM. Cybele seated; in her right a globe, at her feet a lion. Æ.

Rev.—Same legend. Same type, but the goddess holds a branch instead of a globe. Æ.

ANTONINUS CARACALLA.

Rev.—PONTIF. TR.P.VIII. COS. II. A soldier standing; his right resting on a shield, in his left a spear. Æ.

Rev.—INDVLGENTIA AVGG. IN CARTH. A goddess seated on a lion, holding the fulmen and hasta, and riding over waves flowing from a rock behind. Æ.

Rev.—FELICITAS AVGG. A figure standing, in her left a cornucopiæ. Æ.

Rev.—LIBERALITAS AVG. II. A standing figure, holding a tessera and cornucopiæ. Æ.

Rev.—RECTOR ORBIS. The sun standing, holding a globe and spear. Æ.

PLAUTILLA.

Rev.—PROPAGO IMPERI. Caracalla and Plautilla joining hands. Æ.

GETA.

Rev.—CASTOR. Castor standing by the side of his horse. Æ.

Rev.—PRINC IVVENTVTIS. The Cæsar before a trophy. Æ.

Rev.—VOTA PVBLICA. A figure sacrificing at an altar. Æ.

Of the succeeding emperors, down to the time of Gallienus, the coins are again sufficiently numerous, but history is silent as to the occurrences in Britain, though no doubt the population of the southern parts was becoming more and more Romanized.

ELAGABALUS.

Rev.—VICTOR. ANTONINI AVG. Victory to the right, with palm-branch and garland. Æ.

Rev.—LIBERTAS AVG. Liberty standing, with hasta and cap; on the field, a star. Æ.

JULIA SOÆMIAS.

Rev.—VENVS CAELESTIS. Venus standing, with apple and hasta; in the field, a star. Æ.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

Rev.—P.M.TR.P. COS. III. P.P. A veiled figure sacrificing at an altar. Æ.

Rev.—Illegible. A seated figure. Æ. 1.

Rev.—MARS VLTOR S.C. Mars to the right. Æ. 2.

Rev.—MONETA AVGVSTI. S.C. Moneta standing.
Æ. 2.

Rev.—P.M.TR.P. COS. P.P. A female standing, holding
a wreath and wand. Æ. 3.

MAXIMINUS I.

Rev.—FIDES MILITVM S.C. A female standing between
two standards. Æ. 1.

GORDIAN III.

Rev.—DIANA LVCIFERA. The goddess standing, hold-
ing two torches. Æ.

Rev.—MARS PROPG. Mars Gradivus. Æ.

Rev.—PAX AVGVSTI. Peace standing, holding a branch
and wand. Æ.

PHILIPPUS SENIOR.

Rev.—LIBERALITAS AVGG. II. A female with tessera
and cornucopiæ. Æ.

Rev.—SAECVLVM NOVVM. A seated figure within a
temple. Æ.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVGG. Victory standing. Æ.

Rev.—ANNONA AVGG. S.C. A female, holding ears of
corn over a modius; in her left a cornucopiæ.
Æ. 1.

Rev.—LAET. FVNDATA. S.C. A female standing, hold-
ing a wreath and a rudder. Æ. 1.

Rev.—FIDES MILITVM S.C. A female holding two
standards. Æ. 2.

This coin, though ancient, is *cast*.

PHILIPPUS JUNIOR.

Rev.—PRINCIPI IVVENT S.C. The Cæsar standing,
with spear and globe. Æ. 1.

TREBONIANUS GALLUS.

Rev.—IVNO MARTIALIS. The goddess seated, holding a pair of shears and the hasta. Æ.

VOLUSIANUS.

Rev.—CONCORDIA AVGG. Concord seated, holding a patera and cornucopiæ. Æ.

VALERIANUS.

Rev.—FELICITAS AVGG. A female standing, holding a caduceus and cornucopiæ. Æ.

Rev.—RESTITVTOR ORBIS. The emperor raising a kneeling figure. Æ.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVGG. Victory standing. Æ.

GALLIENUS.

Rev.—VICTORIAE AVGG. II. GERM. Victory standing. Billon.

Rev.—P.M. TR.P.VII. COS. On Exergue, MP. The emperor sacrificing at an altar. Æ. 3.

Rev.—ABVNDANTIA AVG. A standing figure emptying a cornucopiæ. Æ. 3.

Rev.—AETERNITAS AVG. The sun standing; his right extended, in his left a globe. Æ. 3.

Rev.—Same legend. Same type; but G. on field. Æ. 3.

Rev.—APOLLINI CONS. AVG. On Exergue, N. A centaur, holding a globe and rudder. Æ. 3.

Rev.—DIANAE CONS. AVG. On the Exergue, E. A stag. Æ. 3.

Rev.—FELIC. PERP. Felicity holding a caduceus and hasta. Æ. 3.

Rev.—FORTVNA REDVX. (On the field, S.) Fortune standing, with rudder and cornucopiæ. Æ. 3.

- Rev.*—INDVLGENTIA AVG. (On the field, XI.) A standing figure; in her right a wand, in her left a cornucopiæ. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—IOVI CONS. AVG. (On exergue, S.) A goat to the left. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—LIBERO CONS. AVG. (On exergue, B.) A panther to the left. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—MARTI PACIFERO. (A on the field.) Mars standing, holding an olive branch; in his left a spear and shield. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—NEPTVNO CONS. AVG. (On the exergue, N.) A hippocampus. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—ORIENS AVG. The sun standing. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—PAX AETERNA. (On the field, Δ.) Peace standing, and holding a hasta transversely. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—PIETAS AVG. Piety standing, holding a wand and a cornucopiæ, which she rests on a column; at her feet a wheel. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—SECVRIT. PERPET. (On the field, H.) Security standing, holding a hasta, and resting her elbow on a column. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—SOLI CONS. AVG. (On the exergue, A.) A Pegasus to the right. Æ. 3.

SALONINA.

- Rev.*—IVNO REGINA. Juno seated, holding a patera in her right hand, in her left the hasta. Billon.
- Rev.*—IVNONI CONS. AVG. A stag. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—IVNO REGINA. A female standing, holding a hasta and patera. Æ. 3.

Among the so-called Thirty Tyrants, who at various times, and in various places, assumed the purple during the reign of Gallienus, we find coins of Postumus, who seized the empire in Gaul; his colleague, Victorinus; Marius, the

successor of the latter, whose reign is *said* to have endured but three days; and the two Tetrici, who were also usurpers in Gaul. There is little doubt that each of them in turn possessed the sovereignty of Britain, as is testified by the abundance of their coins (with the exception of those of Marius), and inscriptions found in this country. There are also coins found at Verulam of Claudius Gothicus, his brother Quintillus, Aurelian, and Probus; while those of Tacitus, Florianus, Carus, Numerianus, and Carinus, are missing from the series. It will be borne in mind, that the scene of the exploits of all these latter emperors was laid in the East; and this circumstance, combined with the extreme shortness of their reigns, fully accounts for the scarcity of their coins in Britain.

POSTUMUS.

Rev.—P.M.TR.P. COS. IV. P.P. The emperor standing, holding a globe and spear. Billon.

Rev.—FIDES MILITVM. A female holding two standards. B.

Rev.—HERC. DEVSONIENSI. Hercules standing, holding a club and the lion's skin. B.

Rev.—IOVI STATORI. Jupiter Stator, with the fulmen and hasta. B.

Rev.—MONETA AVG. Moneta standing, with balance and cornucopiæ. B.

Rev.—PROVIDENTIA AVG. A female standing; in her right a globe, in her left a hasta. B.

Rev.—PACATOR ORBIS. Radiated head of the sun to the right. Æ. 3.

VICTORINUS.

Rev.—ÆQVITAS AVG. Equity standing, holding a balance and cornucopiæ. Æ. 3.

Rev.—FIDES MILITVM. A female standing. Æ. 3.

Rev.—INVICTVS. The sun standing; his right hand extended, in his left a whip. On the field a star.
Æ. 3.

Rev.—PAX AVG. (V. and a star on the field.) Peace standing, holding a branch and hasta. Æ. 3.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVG. Victory with wreath and palm-branch. Æ. 3.

Rev.—VIRTVS AVG. A soldier standing, holding a spear and shield. Æ. 3.

MARIUS.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVG. Victory standing, with garland and palm. Billon.

TETRICUS PATER.

Rev.—COMES AVG. Victory standing. Æ. 3.

Rev.—FIDES MILITVM. A female between two standards. Æ. 3.

Rev.—HILARITAS AVG. A female standing, with a palm-branch and cornucopiæ. Æ. 3.

Rev.—LAETITIA AVG. A female standing, holding a purse and wand. Æ. 3.

Rev.—MARS VLTOR. Mars armed with a spear, and carrying spoils on his shoulder. Æ. 3.

Rev.—PAX AVG. Peace standing, with branch and spear. Æ. 3.

Rev.—SALVS AVGG. Salus feeding a serpent twined round an altar. Æ. 3.

Rev.—SPES PVBLICA. Hope holding a bud in her right, and with her left holding up her robes. Æ. 3.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVG. Victory marching. Æ. 3.

Rev.—VIRTVS AVG. A soldier standing, supporting a shield; in his left a spear. Æ. 3.

TETRICUS FILIUS.

Rev.—PIETAS AVGVSTOR. Pontifical instruments.
Æ. 3.

Rev.—PROVIDENTIA AVGG. A female standing, holding a wand and cornucopiæ.
Æ. 3.

Rev.—SPES AVG. Hope, as on the coins of his father.
Æ. 3.

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

Rev.—P.M.TR.P.II. COS. P.P. The emperor standing, holding a branch and wand.
Æ. 3.

Rev.—FIDES MILITVM. (In the field, E,) A female standing, holding an ensign and hasta.
Æ. 3.

Rev.—GENIVS EXERCI. Genius standing, holding a patera and cornucopiæ; on his head a basket.
Æ. 3.

Rev.—LIBERALITAS AVG. A female standing.
Æ. 3.

Rev.—MARS VLTOR. (In the field, H.) The god marching.
Æ. 3.

Rev.—PROVIDENT. AVG. A female holding a wand, resting her left arm on a column; at her feet a globe.
Æ. 3.

Rev.—SALVS AVG. Salus feeding a serpent twined round an altar.
Æ. 3.

Rev.—SPES PVBLICA. Hope standing.
Æ. 3.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVG. Victory standing.
Æ. 3.

Rev.—VIRTVS AVG. A soldier standing, holding a branch and sword; at his feet a shield.
Æ. 3.

Obv.—DIVO CLAUDIO.

Rev.—CONSECRATIO. An altar kindled.
Æ. 3.

Obv. & Rev.—Same legends. An eagle with extended wings.
Æ. 3.

Obv.— CLAUDIO.

Rev.—FORTVNA . . Fortune standing, holding a rudder. Of barbarous fabric.
Æ. 3.

QUINTILLUS.

Rev.—FORT. REDVX. (On the field, Z.) Fortune with rudder and cornucopiæ. Æ. 3.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVG. (On the field, Γ.) Victory marching to the right, holding out a garland, and pointing downwards with a rod she holds in her left. Æ. 3.

AURELIANUS.

Rev.—ORIENS AUG. (On exergue, N.I.) The sun, with his right hand extended, and in his left a globe, standing by a recumbent figure. Æ. 3.

PROBUS.

Rev.—AEQVITAS AVG. (On exergue, XXI.) Equity standing. Æ. 3.

Rev.—COMES AVG. A female holding a branch and hasta. Æ. 3.

Rev.—FIDES MILITVM. (On exergue, III.) A female with two standards. Æ. 3.

Rev.—MARS VLTOR. (On exergue, III.) Mars to the right. Æ. 3.

Rev.—VIRTVS AVG. A military figure; in his right a victory, in his left a spear. Æ. 3.

Of the reign of Diocletian, under whom St. Alban is said to have suffered, we have but few numismatic traces. The martyrdom of the saint would seem to have been avenged upon the town, without whose walls it took place, as not only has the name of Verulam been entirely lost in that of St. Albans, but the remains of the ancient city have been almost obliterated, from their having been dug up and quarried in for materials to build the church and monastery in honour of the protomartyr of Britain.

DIOCLETIANUS.

Rev.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Genius standing; in his right a patera, in his left a cornucopiæ.

Æ. 2.

Rev.—Same legend and type; but A on the field, and on the exergue P.L.C.

Æ. 2.

MAXIMIANUS.

Obv.—D. N. MAXIMIANO FELICISSIMO SEN. AVG.

Rev.—PROVIDENTIA DEORVM. QVIES AVG. Providence and Quies standing.

The coins of Carausius and Allectus, who each in turn usurped the imperial authority in Britain, are numerous, and several of those of Carausius of great rarity. A more fully detailed account of these rare types will be found in the sixteenth volume of the Numismatic Chronicle, p. 170. Though no doubt Verulam was a place of importance at that time, yet we find no mention of it in history, and even Stukely does not lay the scene of any of the exploits of Carausius at this place.

CARAUSIUS.

Rev.—CON. MILITVM. Two right hands joined in a vertical position.¹⁴

Æ. 3.

Rev.—FIDES MILITVM. A female standing, holding two standards.

Æ. 3.



Rev.—EXPECTATE. A female holding a standard, taking the hand of the emperor, who carries a hasta.¹⁵

Æ. 3.

¹⁴ Num. Chron. Vol. XVI. p. 170.

¹⁵ Ibid.

- Rev.*—COMES AVG. Victory marching, with garland and palm-branch. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—MONETA AVG. S.C. on the field. Moneta standing. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—PAX AVG. Peace standing, holding an olive-branch and the hasta. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—Same legend and type. F—O on the field. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—Same legend and type. Q on the field.¹⁶ Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—Same legend and type. F—O on the field, and on the exergue MLL. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—Same legend and type. F—O on the field. On the exergue, ML. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—Same legend and type. B—E on the field. On the exergue, MLXXI. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—Same legend and type. On the exergue, ML. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—Same legend and type; but on the obverse the emperor's bust to the left, in his hand a sceptre. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—PROVIDENT. AVG. On the field, B. Providence standing, with globe and hasta. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—SAECVLI FELICIT. The emperor standing, holding a spear and globe. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—SALVS AVG. Salus standing, feeding a serpent twined round an altar; in her left a cornucopiæ. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—SALVS AVGGG. On the field, S.P. On the exergue, MLXXI. Salus feeding a serpent from a patera. Æ. 3.
- Rev.*—SALVS PVBLICA. On the field, B—E. On the exergue, MLXX. Salus standing, with her right hand holding a serpent, which she feeds from a patera in her left.¹⁷ Æ. 3.

¹⁶ Num. Chron. Vol. XVI. p.170.

¹⁷ Ibid.

Rev.—SPES · PVBL. Hope to the left. Æ. 3.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVG. Victory to the left; at her feet a seated captive. Æ. 3.



Rev.—Two female figures joining hands over an altar; the one holding a cornucopiæ; the other, a wreath. A series of annulets and crescents instead of legend.¹⁸

ALLECTUS.

Rev.—LAETITIA AVG. A galley, with mast and six oars. Æ. 3.

Rev.—PAX AVG. On the field, S—A. On the exergue, ML. Peace standing, with the olive-branch and the hasta transversely. Æ. 3.

Rev.—Same legend and type, but the hasta erect. Æ. 3.

Rev.—Same legend and type; but SP on the field, and on the exergue, ML. Æ. 3.

Rev.—PROVIDENTIA AVG. S—P on the field. On the exergue, C. Providence standing, holding a globe and cornucopiæ. Æ. 3.

Rev.—The same; but legend of obverse, IMP. C. ALLECTVS P.F.I. AVG. Æ. 3.

Rev.—PROVID. AVG. On the field, S—A. On exergue ML. Providence holding a cornucopiæ, and pointing with a wand to a globe at her feet. Æ. 3.

Rev.—SALVS AVG. On the field, S—A. On exergue, ML. Salus standing, feeding a serpent, which she holds in her right hand, from a patera in her left. Æ. 3.

¹⁸ Num. Chron. Vol. XVI. p. 170.

Rev.—VIRTVS AVG. On the exergue, Q.L. A galley with mast and five oars. Æ. 3.

Rev.—Same legend. On the exergue, Q.L. A galley with four oars. Æ. 3.

Rev.—Same legend. On the exergue Q.L. A galley with mast and five oars. Æ. 3.

Rev.—Same legend. On the exergue, Q.L. A galley with mast and six rowers. Æ. 3.

Rev.—Incuse, the same as the obverse.

In the year 296, Allectus was overcome by Constantius, and Britain again annexed to the empire of Rome. Notwithstanding the long sojourn of Constantius in England, some ten years as Cæsar and Augustus, his coins are comparatively scarce. Those of his two wives, Helena and Theodora, which are abundant, were apparently struck in the days of his son and grandsons. Of Constantine the Great and his family, the coins are, as usual, excessively numerous; in fact, the majority of the coins found at Verulam belong to their era.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS.

Obv.—CONSTANTIVS NOBIL. C.

Rev.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. On the field, S—F. On the exergue, P.T.R. Genius standing, with patera and cornucopiæ. Æ. 2.

HELENA.

Obv.—FL. HELENA AVGVSTA.

Rev.—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICE. On the exergue, S.T.R.E. A veiled female, holding a branch. Æ. 3.

Obv.—FL. IVL. HELENÆ AVG.

Rev.—PAX PVBLICA. On exergue, T.R.P. Peace standing. Æ. 4.

Rev.—The same; but on the exergue, T.R.S. Æ. 4.

Rev.—The same; but S.I.S. Æ. 4.

Rev.—The same; but a cross on the field. Æ. 4.

THEODORA.

Rev.—PIETAS ROMANA. On the exergue, T.R.S. A female with an infant. Æ. 4.

Rev.—The same; but a cross on the field, and on the exergue, TRP. Æ. 4.

LICINIUS SENIOR.

Rev.—GENIO. POP. ROM. On the exergue, PTR. Genius standing. Æ. 3.

Rev.—The same. On the field a star. On the exergue, PLN. Æ. 3.

Rev.—The same. On the field, T—F. On the exergue, ATR.

Rev.—IOVI CONSERVATORI. On the field, III. On the exergue, SMNA. Jupiter standing, holding a victory; at his feet the eagle and a captive. Æ. 3.

Rev.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. On the field, T—F. On the exergue, PLN. The sun standing. Æ. 3.

Rev.—The same. On the field, S—F. On the exergue, SARL.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

Obv.—FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS NOB. C.

Rev.—GENIO. POP. ROM. On exergue, PLN. Genius standing. Æ. 2.

Rev.—BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. On exergue, S.T.R. A globe upon an altar inscribed VOTIS XX.; above three stars. Æ. 3.

Rev.—The same; but on exergue, PTR. Æ. 3.

Rev.—BEAT. TRANQLITAS. On exergue, PLON. The same type. Æ. 3.

Rev.—CONSTANTINVS AVG, across the field, in three lines. On exergue, PTR., above a garland. On the obverse, the laureated head of the emperor.
Æ 3.

Rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. On exergue, P. CONST. Two standards between two soldiers. Æ 3.

Rev.—The same; but on exergue, TR.P and TRP. Æ 3.

Rev.—The same; but on exergue, TR.S. Æ 4.

Rev.—The same, but only one standard. On the exergue, AQP. Æ 3.

Rev.—The same as last; but on exergue, CONST. Æ 4.

Third Brass.

Rev.—IOVI. CONSERVATORI. On the field, XIII. On exergue, SMN. Jupiter, as on the coins of Licinius.

Rev.—PROVIDENTIAE AVGG. On the exergue, PTR☉. The gate of a castrum; above, a star.

Rev.—The same; S—F. on the field. On exergue, S. CONST.

Rev.—The same. On exergue, STR.

Rev.—The same. On exergue, PTRE.

Rev.—ROMAE AETERNAE. On exergue, RE☉CS. Rome to the right, seated on a buckler, and inscribing XV. on a shield upon her knee.

Rev.—SARMATIA DEVICTA. On exergue, PTR☉. Victory placing her foot upon a captive, and holding a trophy and palm-branch.

Rev.—The same; but on exergue, P.LON.

Rev.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. On the field, TF. On exergue, PL.C. The sun standing.

Rev.—The same. T—F on the field. On exergue, BTR.

Rev.—The same. T—F on the field. On exergue, PTR.

Rev.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC. PERP. On exergue, SARL. Two victories supporting a shield inscribed VOT. P.R.; above, a cippus.

Rev.—The same; but on exergue, STR.

Rev.—VIRTUS EXERCIT. On exergue, STR. A labarum, inscribed VOT. XX., between two captives seated on the ground.

Rev.—D. N. CONSTANTINI MAX. AVG — VOT. XX. within a wreath. On exergue, A.Q.

Obv.—D.V. CONSTANTINVS P.T. AVGG. Veiled head.

Rev.—The emperor in a quadriga, received by a hand from heaven. On exergue TRS. Æ. 4.

CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

Third Brass.

Obv.—CONSTANTINOPOLIS. Galeated head, with sceptre.

Rev.—Victory with hasta and shield; at her feet the prow of a ship. Exergue, T.R.P.

Rev.—The same. On exergue, T.R.S.

Rev.—The same. On exergue, TRS✱.

Rev.—The same. On exergue, PLC.

Rev.—The same. On exergue, ☉PLC.

Rev.—The same. On exergue, BSIS.

Rev.—The same. On exergue, P. CONS. The Christian monogram on the field.

Fourth Brass.

Rev.—The same. On exergue, PLC.

URBS ROMA.

Third Brass.

Obv.—VRBS ROMA. Galeated head.

Rev.—The wolf and twins; above, two stars. On exergue, TR.S, TRS, TRP. and PLC; the latter also Æ. 4.

Rev.—The same; but a garland and two stars above the wolf. On exergue, P. CONS. and TRS.

Rev.—As Constantinopolis. On exergue, PLC.

POPULUS ROMANUS.

Third Brass.

Obv.—POP. ROMANUS. A laureated bust.

Rev.—CONST. A, within a garland; above, a star.

FAUSTA.

Third Brass.

Rev.—SPES REIPUBLICAE. On exergue, Q*AR. A female with two infants in her arms.

CRISPUS.

Third Brass.

Rev.—BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. On the field, P—A. On exergue, P·LON, A globe upon a cippus, inscribed VOTIS XX.; above, three stars.

Rev.—CAESARVM NOSTRORVM — VOT. X., within a wreath. On exergue. SIS. and PLC.

Rev.—PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. On the field, T—F. On exergue, BTR. The Cæsar with hasta and globe.

Rev.—VIRTVS EXENCIT. (sic.) On exergue, STP. Two captives seated beneath a labarum inscribed VOT. XX.

DELMATIUS.

Third Brass.

Rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. A standard between two soldiers.

CONSTANTINUS JUNIOR.

Third Brass.

Rev.—BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. A cippus inscribed VOTIS XX., as usual.

Rev.—The same. On the field, C—R. On the exergue, PLC.

Rev.—The same. On the field, P—C. On the exergue, P.LON.

Rev.—CAESARVM NOSTRORVM—VOT. X., within a wreath. On exergue, PLON^U. and STR.

Rev.—The same legend, but VOT. V. in the wreath. On exergue, PLON^U.

Rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two standards between two soldiers. Above, a star. On exergue, S.CONS.

Rev.—The same, but no star. On exergue, ^UPLC, TRS., TR.S, PLC, and R.F.S.

Rev.—The same, but a garland between the standards. On exergue, S. CONST.

Rev.—The same, but only one standard. On exergue, TRP. Small size.

Rev.—PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. A gateway of a castrum; above, a star. On the exergue BTR^U.

Rev.—VIRTVS EXERCIT. Two captives beneath a labarum inscribed VOT. XX. On exergue, STR.

CONSTANS.

Third Brass.

Rev.—FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. A soldier leading a captive from beneath a tree. On the exergue, SARL, TRP and PLC.

Rev.—Same legend. A phoenix upon a globe.

Rev.—Same legend. The emperor holding a victory and a labarum inscribed ^P, in a ship steered by another victory. On the exergue, TRP and RO. Large size.

Rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. A standard between two soldiers. On exergue, TRP^U. PLC. SMTS.

VOL. XX.

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Rev.—VICTORIAE D.D. AVGG. Q. N.N. Two victories holding garlands; a star in the centre. On the exergue, TR.P.

Rev.—The same, but a branch instead of a star. On exergue, TRS.

Rev.—The same, but D instead of a branch. On exergue, TRP.

CONSTANTIUS II.

Silver.

Rev.—VOTIS XXX. MVLTI XXXX., within a wreath. On the exergue, P.CON.

Third Brass.

Rev.—FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. On exergue, R.O. and TRS. The emperor in a galley, as on the coins of Constans. Large size.

Rev.—The same, but A on the field; and on exergue, P.L.C. Large size.

Rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two standards between two soldiers. On the exergue, TRP., TRS. TRΩT.

Rev.—Same legend, but a garland between the standards. On exergue, S. CONST.

Rev.—Same legend, but one standard only. On exergue, TRS. TRP. TRS. ✱.

Rev.—Same legend. The labarum with $\frac{D}{\times}$ between two soldiers. On exergue, AQS.

Rev.—FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. A soldier thrusting through a falling horseman. On the exergue, SPL, and TR.

Rev.—The same, but D on the field.

Rev.—Same legend. A phoenix standing on a pyre. On exergue, TRS.

Rev.—PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. Gate of a castrum; a star above. On exergue, SIS.

Rev.—VICTORIAE D.D. AVGG. Q. N.N. Two victories holding garlands. M on the field; and on exergue, PARL.

Rev.—The same; but on exergue, TRS.

Of Magnentius, a Briton by birth, and the murderer of Constans, as also of his brother Decentius, coins have been found at Verulam. Of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratianus, they are extremely numerous, though with no great variety of type; while the list is brought to a close by a few coins of Theodosius and Arcadius.

MAGNENTIUS.

Second Brass.

Rev.—FELICITAS REIPVBLICAE. The emperor standing, holding a victory and the labarum. On the field, A. On exergue, TRP.

Rev.—GLORIA ROMANORVM. The emperor on horseback, thrusting through a kneeling enemy. On exergue, TRP.

Rev.—VICTORIAE D.D. N.N. AVGG. ET CAES. Two victories supporting a shield inscribed VOT. V. MVL. X. Above, . On exergue, P.M.B.

Rev.—The same, but *third brass*.

DECENTIUS.

Second Brass.

Rev.—A barbarous legend. The Christian monogram, and A—Ω.

JULIANUS I.

Silver.

Rev.—VOTIS V. MVL. TIS X., in a garland. On exergue. LVG and T. CON.

VALENTINIAN I.

Third Brass.

Rev.—GLORIA ROMANORVM. The emperor standing, his right hand on the head of a kneeling captive, and in his left the labarum. On the field, OF. II. On exergue, LVGVS and LVGS.

Rev.—The same. On field, OF. III. On exergue, CONST.

Rev.—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE. Victory marching. On the field, OF. II. On exergue, CONS.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVGGG. Victory marching. On exergue, AQI. Small size.

VALENS.

Third Brass.

Rev.—GLORIA ROMANORVM. The emperor with a captive, as on the coins of Valentinian. On exergue, R. PRIMA and CON.

Rev.—The same. OF. II. on the field. On exergue, CON.

Rev.—The same. OF. I. on the field. On exergue, CONST.

Rev.—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE. Victory to the left. On exergue, SMAQC. and S. CONS.

GRATIANUS.

Third Brass.

Rev.—GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI. The emperor holding the labarum and a shield. On exergue, T. CON.

Rev.—SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE. Victory to the left. On exergue, T. CON. and S. CON.

Rev.—VOT. XV. MVLT. XX., in a wreath. On exergue, LVG. P. Small size.

THEODOSIUS.

Third Brass.

Rev.—VICTORIA. . . . Victory marching ; in her right,
a garland. On exergue, CON. Small size.

ARCADIUS.

Third Brass.

Rev.—VICTORIA AVGGG. Victory to the left. On the
exergue, T. CON. and LVG. P.

With the reign of Arcadius, or rather that of Honorius, his brother and colleague in the empire of the West, the Roman rule in Britain may be considered to have ceased. Their coinage also ceases ; at least, no coins of later emperors have to my knowledge been found at Verulam, and it is very rarely that coins of later emperors are found in Britain. None are given in Mr. Roach Smith's Catalogue of Coins found in London,¹⁹ nor among those found at Caerleon,²⁰ nor at Isurium,²¹ nor at Corinium,²² nor Caister,²³ nor Eburacum,²⁴ nor Camulodunum,²⁵ and but one is given by Mr. Roach Smith as having been found at Richborough.²⁶

"The testimony of coins," says this able antiquary,²⁷ "which heretofore served as a commentary on the narrative of the historian, ceases with the text it illustrated ; and nothing can be more significant of the state of Britain after

¹⁹ Num. Chron., Vol. IV. p.147 et seqq. Roman London, p.150.

²⁰ Lee's Antiquities of Caerleon, 1845, p.43.

²¹ Reliquiæ Isurianæ, 1852.

²² Burkman and Newmarch, Corinium, 1850, p.120.

²³ Mr. Goddard Johnson's Catalogue.

²⁴ Wellbeloved's Eburacum, 1842, p.143.

²⁵ Duncan's Walls of Colchester, 1856, p.11.

²⁶ Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne, p.151.

²⁷ Ibid., p.155.

the days of Honorius than the absence of intelligible coins. But these guides, even at a time when history fails, and all is obscure and doubtful, do not desert us: those which were previously so unerring and lucid, are followed by others, like the times in which they were struck, barbarous and rude."

Of these, which are usually barbarous imitations of the common types of Roman third brass, the soil of Verulam is prolific. Among them may be recognized imitations of the coins of Tetricus, Constantius, Magnentius, Decentius, and several other emperors.

Beside the so-called minimi, there are many of the regular third brass size, but all exhibiting extreme want of skill on the part of the engraver, and conveying the impression of the utter degradation of those whose currency they formed.

Such is the catalogue of the numismatic monuments remaining of ancient Verulam, which, though of no great interest to the mere collector, as affording little or nothing of rarity or novelty, and though differing but little from lists already published, will have some claims upon the attention of the more general antiquary, both as offering an additional exemplification of the class of coins usually found upon Roman sites, and also affording an insight into the nature of the currency of Britain during the four centuries of her Roman occupation. I cannot say that much light is thrown by it on the history of Verulam — a town of which, considering its early importance as a municipium in the days of Nero, there is singularly little mention in the pages of Roman writers. In fact, beyond its appearing among the towns in the Itineraries and in Ptolemy, its name does not appear in any other writer than Tacitus. Still, these coins convey to the mind more forcibly than any historical evidence, the reality of such a city having existed,

of which so few visible traces now remain, and give some idea of the extent of its population. We may picture it as we glance over the list of coins, first as the capital of one of the chief tribes of the Britons, becoming a military colony under Claudius, and burned to the ground by Boadicea soon after it had attained the rank of a municipium under Nero. We may see signs of its restoration under Vespasian and Domitian, when Agricola had carried the scene of the war with the Britons far away into the north, and of its peaceful occupation during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus; while the scarcity of coins of Aurelius and Commodus points to the disturbed state of Britain, which led to the arrival of Severus, whose presence is abundantly testified by his coins. We may then imagine a period of comparative inaction till the days when Postumus Victorinus and Tetricus successively held dominion in Britain, and find evidence that Verulam was a town of importance under the British emperors Carausius and Allectus. We may trace the prosperity it enjoyed under the able rule of Constantine, a prosperity which lasted during the reign of his sons; while the increasing barbarism and approaching dissolution of the Roman power in Britain becomes evident on the coins of their successors, and the series terminates with what can hardly be termed a coinage, the evident result of sheer anarchy and barbarism.

XII.

ESSAYS ON INDIAN ANTIQUITIES, HISTORIC,
NUMISMATIC, AND PALÆOGRAPHIC.BY THE LATE JAMES PRINSEP, F.R.S.¹

THE study of Indian numismatics has made a remarkable stride during the present century, and has taken a position by the side of that of the classical lands, such as Sir W. Jones and the earlier learned Anglo-Indians could scarcely have anticipated. What, too, is most remarkable about this fact is, that it is mainly due to the labours of one man, himself at the time engaged in a laborious office under the Indian government, with but little if any leisure he could be expected to devote to such a subject. We rejoice, therefore, that in the volumes before us, due justice has at length been done to one of the most eminent of many able scholars who have been formed under the encouragement of the East India Company: and that a series of papers, originally contributed during several years to the Asiatic Journal of Bengal, should, under the judicious editing of Mr. Edward Thomas, have been made accessible to the English public at home.

The volumes before us, indeed, do not contain all the miscellaneous papers inserted by Mr. James Prinsep in that periodical exactly as they were written, but rather exhibit

¹ Edited by EDWARD THOMAS, late H.E.I.C.S. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Murray, 1858.

them in a form at the present day much more valuable than if they had been simply reprints of those articles ; Mr. Thomas having taken care to append voluminous notes in illustration of them, together with many additions relating chiefly to more recent discoveries. By this means many of Mr. Prinsep's happiest investigations are rendered more satisfactory, while, at the same time, the student can peruse and compare them with what has since been made out by later and more extended research.

A short biography of Mr. James Prinsep has also been furnished by his brother, H. Thoby Prinsep, and forms a fitting introduction to the masterly papers that follow. From this biography, which we think our readers would gladly have seen in a more extended form, we learn that Mr. James Prinsep was born in 1799, arrived in India in 1819, and was at first employed at the Calcutta mint, under the able supervision of Professor H. H. Wilson, in superintending the assay of the precious metals received as bullion ; and subsequently, on the creation of a new mint at Benares by Dr. Wilson, as the general manager of the branch established in that city. Lastly, on the retirement from India of Professor Wilson, in 1832, we learn that Mr. Prinsep became the head of the assay department of the mint at Calcutta, which had been for many years under the administration of that distinguished scholar. To the general duties of assay-master, we find that Mr. Prinsep added those of engineer and architect, shewing in every subject in which he laboured the most remarkable acuteness and ability. Many of the structures which he designed or built still remain to attest the zeal with which he laboured, among which may be instanced the stone bridge over the Karam-nasa, not far from Benares ; the construction of an arched tunnel under that city to the Ganges, which has proved

of the greatest value to the inhabitants : and the erection of some locks in the midst of a soil of quicksands, to connect the river Hugli with the navigation of the Sunderbunds.

In 1830, he returned from Benares to Calcutta, and, in conjunction with Major Herbert, projected the publication of a periodical under the name of "Gleanings in Science"; the object of which was to establish in India a record of all the useful discoveries in arts or sciences made in Europe, and to afford to scientific men in India the opportunity of making known their own discoveries. This periodical, though itself of short life, proved eminently useful; and not the least in this, that it led in great measure to the preparation and subsequent publication of the innumerable able papers which, a short time afterwards, raised the Asiatic Journal of Bengal to the first rank among works of this nature.

It was in 1832 that Mr. James Prinsep became first directly connected with this society, being nominated to succeed Professor H. H. Wilson in the capacity of its Secretary. He seems at once to have felt that a good journal is the life — we might almost add, the object — of this and similar societies; hence he not long after proposed that the "Gleanings" should in future be considered as the publication of the society, a plan which, as might have been expected, was received most favourably by its members. The commencement of this remarkable work, which was in future to be known by the name of the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," dates from March 7, 1832; it was issued monthly, and furnished gratuitously to the members of the society. From this period till his failing health compelled him to return to England, in October, 1838, almost every number contains the record of valuable or interesting discoveries; the large majority

of which were from the ready pen of its accomplished editor.

James Prinsep died on April 22, 1840, of an affection of the brain, produced by long-continued over-work.

We shall now briefly notice the more important subjects treated of in these volumes, the whole of which have been most carefully arranged by the editor, Mr. Edward Thomas. The reader will thus more easily discern how laborious a student he must have been, whose life we have briefly noticed above.

Among the papers, originally published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* by James Prinsep himself, there is a series of most interesting documents, commencing with an account of the first collection of Bactrian coins made by Sir Alexander (then Lieutenant) Burnes in Afghanistan, wherein all that can be gathered from classical sources relative to the ancient kingdom of Bactriana is clearly set forth, with the first attempts at the decyphering of the Indian characters on some of these coins; followed, at a later period, with that fuller determination of their meaning which (with some modifications, arising chiefly from the discovery of more perfect specimens) has remained to the present day, a precious monument of Mr. Prinsep's skill as a palæographer.

To these papers have been added many able notices of the labours of the chief persons who were at that time prosecuting their researches in the Punjab; among whom we may enumerate General Ventura, M. Court, Dr. Gerard, Mr. Masson, Lieut. Cunningham, and Major Stacey.

A second series of papers embraces the history and the decyphering — almost entirely by Mr. Prinsep — of a large and curious series of coins, chiefly found over north-west India, in the ruins of old capitals, such as Behat and

Kanauj, and which, it has been presumed with some reason, represent the earliest type of money used in India. These were followed by a learned inquiry into the numismatic value and position of a class of coins commonly termed Indo-Scythic, which, from the characters they bear and the types they exhibit, must have been current subsequent to the extinction of the Bactrian monarchy, and long before the arrival of Muhammedan conquerors. With these we may notice, also, several able papers on what Prinsep has called the "Mithraic type," and on the "Hindu imitations of the Ardokro type," together with the decyphrement of the Sanscrit legends on a very curious series of small silver coins from Saurashtran, and of the old (perhaps we had best say, medieval) coins of Ceylon.

We should, however, underrate the value of James Prinsep's labours and the remarkable versatility of his genius, were we to lead our readers to suppose that he devoted his studies to coins alone. As we stated before, he had shewn remarkable skill as an engineer early in his Indian career, and the pages of the journal which he edited, and mainly supported, afford abundant evidence that his palæographical researches did not in the least interfere with his love for mechanical science. It has not been deemed necessary by the editor of the present volumes of "Essays on Indian Antiquities" to allude to these matters, nor, indeed, would they have been within the reasonable scope of the present work. Mr. Thomas has, however, reprinted four interesting papers, by J. Prinsep, on the decyphrement of the edicts of Asoka, on the application of the Bhilsa alphabet to the interpretation of ancient numismatic legends, on the Sáh inscription from Junagarh, and on the application of block-printing to the representation of coins, all of which will repay perusal, and demon-

strate how skilful a palæographer he was. We may add that, among other discoveries, he was the first to make real progress in decyphering the inscriptions on the pillars at Dehli and Alláhábád, which so long ago as the time of Sir W. Jones had been copied in *fac simile*, and published in the volumes of the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, but which had baffled that distinguished scholar, and even Colebrooke and Wilson. Mr. Prinsep discovered that the two inscriptions were identical, and had their counterparts on the rocks at Girnar, at Dhauli, and in some old Buddhist temples, and noticed likewise similar characters in the topes of Sanchi and Bhilsa.

We are bound to add, that besides the record of Mr. Prinsep's studies which these papers even in their original form would have afforded, they are now much more important, since they have been enriched by the notes and illustrations inserted by the learned editor. Not only do these abound in almost every page — so that it is sometimes difficult at first sight to know whether we are reading a portion of Mr. Prinsep's original writing, or what Mr. Thomas has most judiciously added — but many most valuable additional papers have been introduced in their appropriate places, so as to bring down the course of Indian discovery to the present time, and to correct some smaller errors into which Mr. Prinsep had inevitably fallen.

Among the separate papers, originally placed in the Journal by Mr. Prinsep (and now reprinted), we may call attention to Captain (now Sir Proby) Cautley's account of his researches at Behat, and Lieut. Conolly's memoir of his visit to the ruins of Kanauj; to notices by General Ventura and M. Court of the great tope at Manykyála; to short papers illustrative of different points in Indian numismatics, by Lieut. Cunningham and Major Stacey; to three valuable

memoirs by Mr. Masson on his discoveries at Beghram ; and to some interesting and learned remarks by Professor Wilson on the determination of the letters of the Bactrian alphabet, as proposed by Mr. Prinsep.

To the editor himself we are indebted for several very learned essays on the subjects treated by Mr. Prinsep, sufficient in themselves to afford a body of valuable information on almost all branches of Indian numismatology. Among these, we gladly specify his papers on the coin of Abdullah ben Hazim ;— on the interpretation of the inscription on the “Wardah” brass vessel ;— on Indo Sassanian coins ; together with a complete *resumé* of the ancient Indian alphabets ;— a clear account of the modifications the letters have undergone ;— a detailed description of the coins of the Sah and Gupta kings ;— a long and full examination of the Bactrian, Semitic, and Zend alphabets, and a catalogue of every variety of Bactrian coins at present known.

In conclusion, we may state that the editor has reprinted the whole of Prinsep’s “Useful Tables,” which had been long extremely scarce, indeed, unattainable in this country ; not forgetting to make here, as elsewhere, such additions as might render that most useful series of dates still more complete ; that the two volumes are enriched by more than forty plates, a large number of which were originally drawn on the copper by James Prinsep himself ; and that, in our opinion, Mr. Thomas justly deserves the best thanks of every one interested in Indian history and numismatics for the very laborious task he has accomplished so fully and so satisfactorily.

XIII.

LE MANCUS DES ANGLO-SAXONS.¹

Dans le Numismatic Manual de M. J. Y. Akerman, page 229, l'auteur fait mention d'une hypothèse, que le Mancus soit dérivé du latin *manica*, un bracelet; car on se servait quelquefois d'un bracelet dans les payments, puisqu'ils étaient ordinairement ajustés à un certain poids. Cette hypothèse me vint à l'esprit sous la lecture des anciennes lois de la Norvège, où il est souvent question de *baugar* (pluriel de *baug*, anneau) comme amendes pour différents crimes. Quelquefois le poids de ces *baugar* est indiqué et est différent pour différents cas; mais quelquefois, au contraire, seulement leur nombre est indiqué sans indication du poids. Dans ces cas le *baug* doit avoir eu un poids convenu, ce qui est expressément dit dans un article de la Frostethings' loi, c'est-à-dire la loi pour l'arrondissement de Froste, rédigée au commencement du 13^{me} siècle.²

Cet article est ainsi conçu: "Si le possesseur d'une terre blesse un homme, il doit payer une amende de six *baugar* au Roi;" et ici on a ajouté d'une manière insolite; chaque *baug* doit peser douze *aurar*. Or *aurar* est le pluriel du mot *eyri*, qui veut dire *ora*, uncia. D'après les recherches que j'ai faites sur les anciens poids de Norvège,

¹ See N. C. vol. v. p. 122.

² V. Norges gamle Love indhil, 1837, udgivne af R. Keyzer, og P. A. Munch. Christiania, 1846. I. p. 173.

l'eyri (au nominatif eyrir) équivaut à 1 Loth 39 vents 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ esschen de Cologne,² ou 412,58 troy grains. Par conséquent le baug sera égal à 21 L. 3 gr. 5 l esschen ou à 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ onces de Cologne.

Le Musée d'Antiquités du Nord de notre Université possède un bracelet d'or qui a été trouvé avec des monnaies du neuvième siècle, et qui pèse 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ onces de Cologne.³ Je pense que ce bracelet est un baug à douze onces antique quoique son poids ne répond pas exactement au calcul ; car dans les anciens temps on n'était pas toujours très-exact.

Mais le poids du baug doit, au fur et à mesure, avoir diminué considérablement ; car dans le Lexicon Islandico-latino-danicum de Björn Haldorson, dont les matériaux ont été rassemblés au milieu du siècle passé, nous lisons à la page 64 : *baugr*, annulus mulcta pecuniaria, duæ uncia argentī, et la phrase *baugi at bæta*, pendere mulctum duarum uncia.

Cette notice peut servir de support à la dérivation du *mancus* de *manica*. Mais il faut avouer, qu'il me reste un doute regardant la terminaison *us*, point de cas analogue de la transition d'un mot latin du genre féminin en masculin ne m'étant connu.

C.-A. HOLMBOE.

Christiania, au mois de Mars, 1858.

² V. De prisca re Monetaria Norvegie, &c. Scripsit C. A. Holmboe, Ed. nov. Christiania, 1844, p. 3.

³ V. la même dissertation, p. 54, et Pl. Vif. 4.

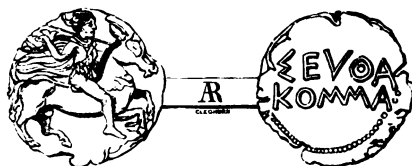


Fig. 1.

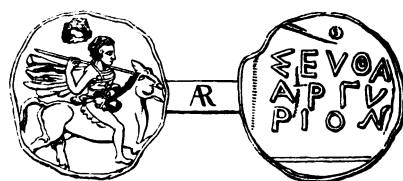


Fig. 2.

COINS OF SEUTHES I.

XIV.

REMARKABLE COIN OF SEUTHES I.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, F.S.A.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 24th, 1859.]

Obv.—Horseman wearing a chlamys, galloping, to the right; his right hand elevated behind him, as if hurling a javelin; his left hand holding the reins; his head and form naked.

Rev.—ΣΕΥΘΑ
ΚΟΜΜΑ } in an engrailed ring. Fig. 1.

R. 5. 132.5 grs.

THE above coin was obtained by Professor Verkovitch, of Belgrade, at Serres, the ancient Siris, in the territory of the Edoni. It weighs an Attic didrachm, and differs in this respect from the other archaic coins found in this territory, which are struck according to the Macedonian standard of 54.7 grains. The Attic standard, however, prevailed at Acanthus,¹ and in some places on the coast; and it is important to remember this fact in the discussion which must arise with respect to the prince to whom this coin is to be attributed. The inscription is in the Doric dialect, and reads, "The mintage," or "stamp, of Seuthes," and is one of the most remarkable legends on the Greek autonomous series. The existence of the Doric dialect in this district is

¹ Here the tetradrachm was about 267.8 grs., giving a drachma of 66.9 grs.

indeed already known from the remarkable coins of Getas;² but the later monarchs of this region adopted on their coins the usual Greek. The disposition of the legend, in two horizontal lines, resembles those of the later bronze coins of Epirus, on which the inscription is disposed in two lines, and is also in the Doric dialect—the thunderbolt being of very diminished proportions.³ The form *Σεύθα*, indeed, suggests that it may have been derived from a nominative in *as*, like that of Amyntas of Macedon, who flourished B.C. 397—371; and on whose coins is seen a similar figure on horseback, wearing on his head a petasus, a tunic round his form, a chlamys over his shoulders, and endromides on his feet, hurling a javelin at a lion. The work of the coin of Seuthes, which is bold, and rather *froissé*, is like that of the early kings of Macedon; and the probability is, that it was struck in the locality where Professor Verkovitch found it. The second word, *κόμμα*, first appears, as applied to the striking of money, in Phrynichus, and is frequently used by Aristophanes:—

τούτοις τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλκίοις
χθές τε καὶ πρῶτῃ κοπέῃσι τῷ κακίστῳ κόμματι.
Ranæ 735.

And in the “Plutus,” l. 843 (863), he applies the same metaphorically to “the stamp” or “character” of a man:—

ἔοικε δ' εἶναι τοῦ πονηροῦ κομμάτος,

alluding to base money; in which passage, according to the Scholiast, the word *κόμμα* is the same as *χαράγμα*, or, “striking of money,” a sense which it retained at the time of the Roman Empire; as in Lucian, *Pisc. Dial.* 14,

² Millingen, *Sylloge*, Pl. I., figs. 15, 16, p. 35.

³ Hunter, *Tab.* 26, fig. 17; Gusseme, III., p. 155.

χρυσίον ἀποσπώμενον τοῖς κόμμασιν; and in Dio Cassius, l.iv. c. 26, who calls the Triumviri Monetales *οἱ τοῦ νομίματος κόμμα μεταχειριζόμενοι*.

The name of Seuthes naturally suggests that this didrachm was issued by one of the Odrysian monarchs of that name. Certain small bronze coins, having on one side the laurelled head of Jupiter, and on the other a pacing horseman, have been attributed by Cary to Seuthes I., king of Thrace, by Visconti⁴ to Seuthes III.,⁵ and by Leake to Seuthes IV., an assignment agreeing with their type, style, and metal, which are decidedly later than Philip III. of Macedon. But the form of the *O*, the *Σ*, and the *M*, in the present coin, proves that it is older than the father of Alexander the Great, and must be attributed to Seuthes I., and the most flourishing period of the Odrysian line. At the time of Sitalces I., the Odrysians could place in the field an army of 150,000 men,⁶ one-third of which consisted of cavalry; and they were renowned for their horses, which pastured on the plains of Hebrus.⁷ Sitalces conquered Chalcidice, Anthemus, Crestonia, and Mygdonia, and was meditating further projects by the aid of an Athenian alliance. The Athenians, however, failed to join their forces with his; and he fell, B.C. 424, in a battle against the Triballi.⁸ He was succeeded by Seuthes I., in whose reign the material prosperity of the Odrysians had by no means declined, for his revenue amounted to 400 talents in money, and as much in presents and miscellaneous contributions.⁹ It was not till

⁴ Iconographie Grecque, tom. ii. p. 108, edit. in 4to; Sestini Descr. Num. Vet. p. 83.

⁵ Mionnet, Supp. tom. ii. 365.

⁶ Thucyd., ii. 89; Diodor., xii. 50.

⁷ Polyb., xxiv. 6; Livy, xlv. 42.

⁸ Thucyd., iv. 101.

⁹ Ibid. ii. 98.

after the death of Seuthes, that the power of the Odrysians rapidly waned before the rising kingdom of Macedon.

Previous to the fall of Sitalces, the power of the Odrysians had become so threatening, that Perdiccas of Macedon, in order to arrest their advance, had been compelled to give Stratonice, his sister, in marriage to Seuthes. This appears to be the period best suited to our didrachm; for only at a period of prosperity could pieces of such importance be issued, rivalling in standard and execution those of the contemporary kings of Macedon. The mines of Mount Pangæum had already furnished the Edones, Bisaltæ, and the Orescii, with abundance of silver, and induced them to issue heavier pieces, apparently octodrachms, than any in circulation in Greece proper.¹⁰ Like all princes who received large revenues, Seuthes probably desired to signalise his wealth in his monetary system. The tetradrachms of Athens and of Amphipolis, an Athenian colony, were already, in all probability, in circulation in his dominions; and Athenian influence and example must have induced him to adjust his currency to the Athenian standard.

The horseman, on the reverse, was a favourite device of those countries where cavalry abounded, and represented either the ruling monarch,¹¹ or some deified hero, engaged in the occupations of the chase or war. It is thus that Tereus is represented on a vase from Ruvo;¹² and hence to Seuthes I., rather than to Seuthes II., whom the Ten Thousand found, on their return, only archon of the coast¹³ above Byzantium, and whose service they entered for two months, and finally restored him to his kingdom, must this

¹⁰ Leake, Num. Hell., p. 20.

¹¹ Ibid., *l. c.*

¹² Bull. Arch. Nap., tom. ii. tav. 1.

¹³ Xenoph., Anab., vii. 2, 5, 6, 1.

coin be assigned. After the death of Seuthes I., the Odrysian power had visibly declined. Medocus, or Amadocus, had obtained the Thyni, Melanditæ, and Tranipsæ. Teres, son of Sitalces, held the coast above Byzantium; and Seuthes II., possessing only the coast, yet had treasure enough at his disposal to engage the aid of these roving adventurers, who offered a welcome aid to pretenders or disputants of succession. This event happened, indeed, only twenty-four years after the death of Sitalces; but the power of the Odrysians had declined, and Seuthes II. continued to wage war with his rival, Amadocus, till he was gained over to the Athenian alliance by Thrasybulus.¹⁴ Such political sympathies with Athens sufficiently account for the Attic standard and type of the present coin. Only copper coins of Amadocus and Teres exist; and neither of these monarchs seems to have possessed the wealth or power to issue pieces of silver. This coin must have been struck on some remarkable occasion, as it is quite abnormal to the Greek autonomous series. That it was struck within the territory of the Edones, by some city or people speaking a Doric dialect, is evident; and the coins of Getas show that this people had already departed from the usual numismatic brevity, and introduced unusual forms into their currency. Leake has, indeed, sagaciously conjectured, that the deep incisions found on these coins were a kind of Persian countermark; but I should rather conjecture them to have been made in the Persian or other mints, to see that the coins were not plated. The same incision occurs on the thick dekadrachm of Athens in the British Museum. It was only necessary, or practised, on large

¹⁴ Xenoph., *Hell.*, c. 5, 8.; 5, 25; Diodor., xiv. 94; Aristot., *Pol.*, v. 8, 15.

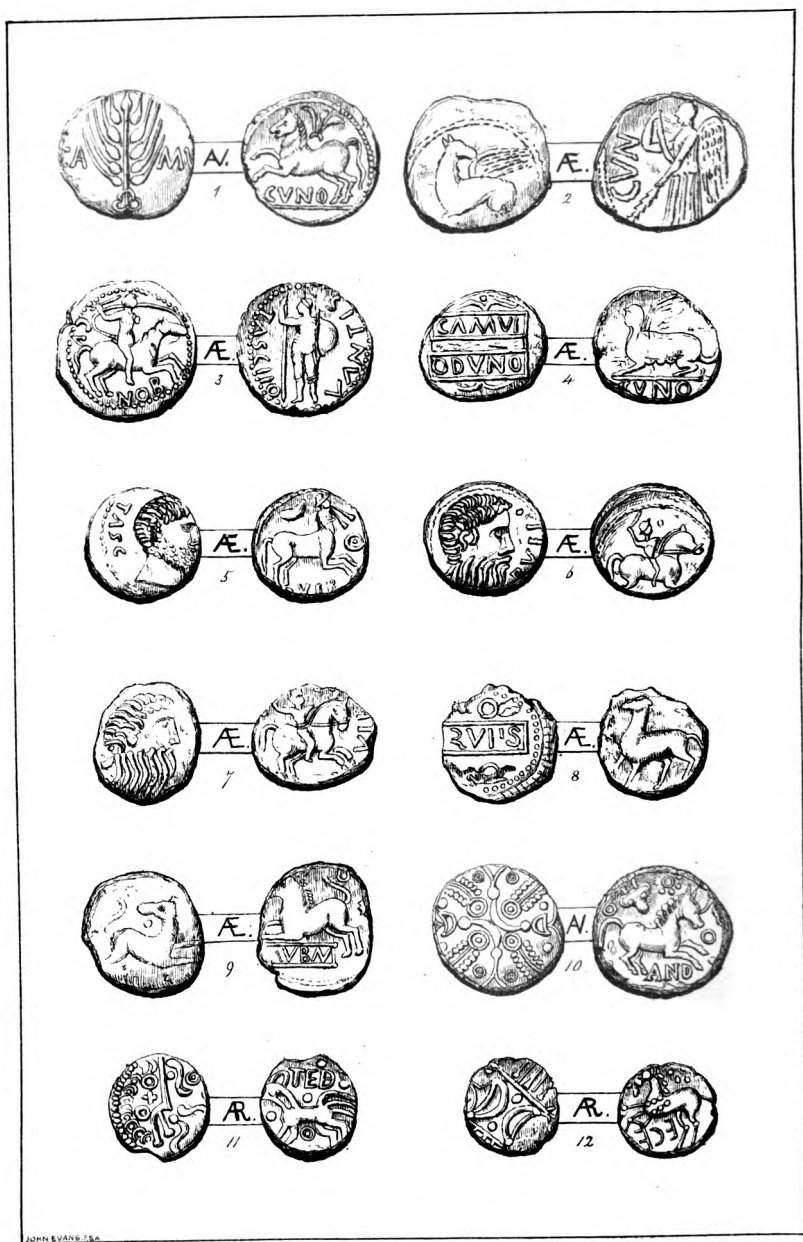
and thick coins, perhaps those paid in as spoil, and transported to Central Asia.

The title of *Βασιλεύς*, placed by Getas on his coins, was, in all probability,¹⁵ a distant imitation of the pompous designation of the Persian monarch; for, even in Macedon, the early kings were content, like the Eponymous magistrates of the free towns, to place their name only on the public currency, an example followed by the Odrysian princes.

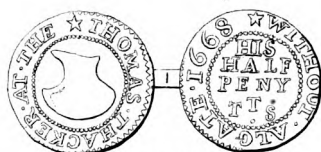
Another coin (fig. 2) of the same weight and fabric has been published by the Duc de Luynes.¹⁶ It reads, however, on the reverse, ΣΕΥΘΑ ΑΡΙΥΡΙΟΝ, "the money of Seuthes." This coin has been attributed by the Duc de Luynes to Seuthes III., the contemporary of Alcibiades, who flourished B.C. 405.

¹⁵ There was a suspected coin of Cassander, with the title of "king of the Macedonians" upon it, in the Pembroke Collection.

¹⁶ *Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapes*, 4to Paris, 1846, Pl. VI., p. 45 and foll. Mr. Borrell has called my attention to this coin.



ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.



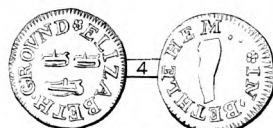
Aldgate Without.



Bartholomew Lane.



Basinghall Street.



Bethlem.



Bishopgate Without.



Budge Row.



Cannon Row.



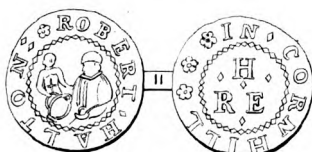
Cheapside.



Clare Market.



Coleman Street.



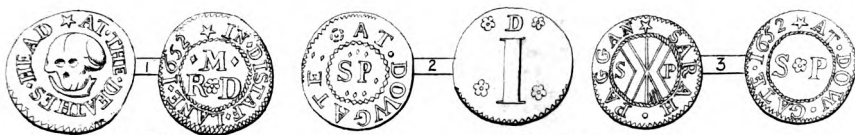
Cornhill.



Crutched Friars.

Localities of London.

MIDDLESEX.



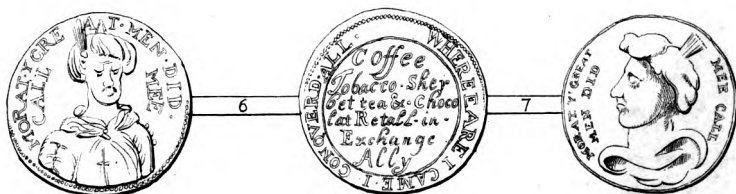
Distaff Lane.

Dowgate.

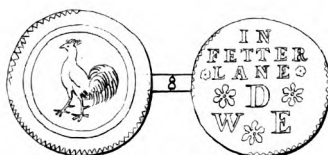


Duke's Place.

Exchange Alley.



Exchange Alley.



Fetter Lane.



Field Lane.



Fleet Street.



Golden Lane.



Grocers' Alley.



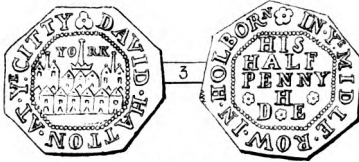
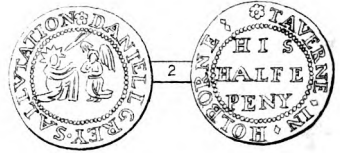
Grub Street.

MIDDLESEX.

Localities of London.



Holborn.



Holborn.



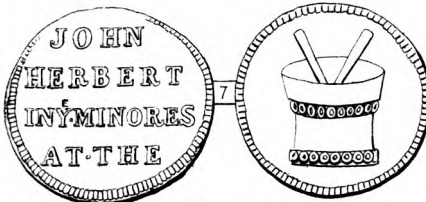
Iron gate.



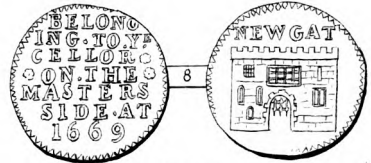
Leadenhall Street.



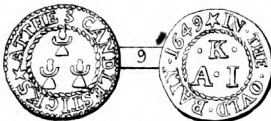
Mary Maudslays.



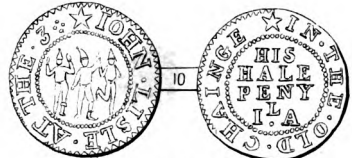
Minories.



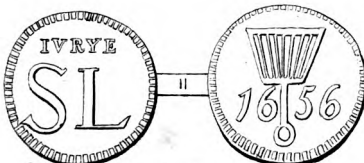
Newgate.



Old Bailey.



Old Change.



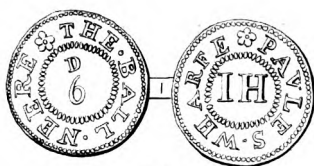
Old Jewry.



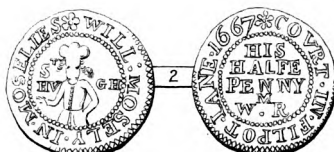
Old Street.

Localities of London.

MIDDLESEX.



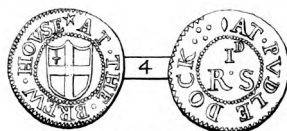
Paul's Wharf.



Philpot Lane.



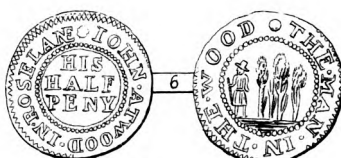
Postern Gate.



Riddle Dock.



Ratcliff Cross.



Rose Lane.



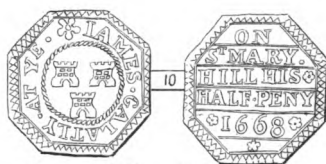
St Albans Street.



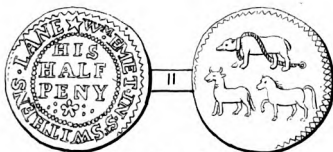
St James Market.



St Katharines.



St Mary at Hill.



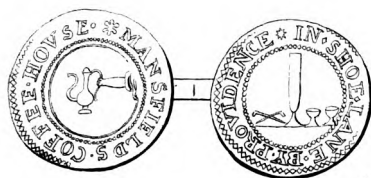
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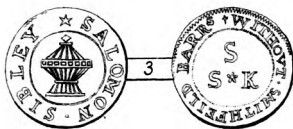
Shire Lane.

Localities of London.

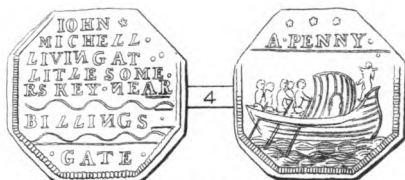
MIDDLESEX.



Shoe Lane.



Smithfield Bars.



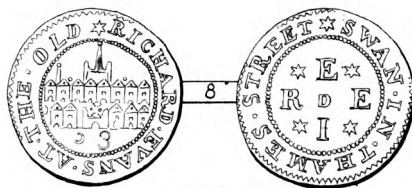
Somers Quay.



Strand.



Sweetings Rents.



Thames Street.



Turnmill Street.



Wapping.

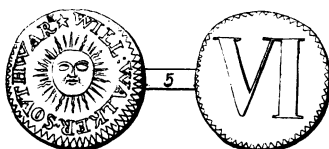
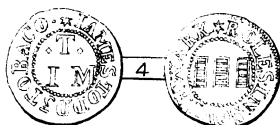
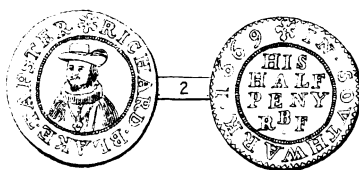


Wood Street.



Localities of London.

MIDDLESEX.



SURREY.

XV.

ON SOME RARE AND UNPUBLISHED ANCIENT
BRITISH COINS.

BY JOHN EVANS, F.S.A.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Jan. 26th, 1860.]

I HAVE again the satisfaction of presenting to the Society a plate of ancient British coins, most of them hitherto unpublished, and all of the highest degree of rarity. Unlike the last miscellaneous plate of these coins that I drew, which consisted entirely of uninscribed coins, these are all inscribed, and comprise specimens of the coinage of Cunobeline, Tasciovanus, Dubnovellaunus, and the Icenii, beside others of rather more doubtful attribution. I need not, however, make any prefatory remarks concerning them, but will at once proceed to the description of the various coins, and the considerations which are suggested by their several types and inscriptions.

The first three are of Cunobeline.

No. 1. *Obv.*—CA-MV on either side of an ear of bearded corn, as usual on the gold coins of Cunobeline, but rather more widely spread. The stalk terminating in an ornament, shaped like a Gothic trefoil.

Rev.—CVNO beneath a horse, galloping, to the left; above, an ornament, in shape like the Prince of Wales' plume, resting on a reversed crescent. The whole within a beaded circle, with an exergual line. *Av.* 82½ grs. and 81½ grs.

The obverse of this coin differs but little from that of the ordinary gold coins of the same prince; but the reverse is

very remarkable, as having the horse to the left, instead of, as usual, to the right. The ornament above the horse is also singular, and appears to be intended for a flower on a long stalk, between two waving leaves; but it is, no doubt, in some degree allied to, or derived from, the bucranium, which occupies a similar position on coins of Tasciovanus,¹ Dubnovellaunus,² and others. The only other type in gold of Cunobeline, in which the horse is turned to the left, is that with CAMVL on a tablet across a wreath on the obverse, and engraved in Hawkins, Pl. II. 19 and Ruding, Pl. IV. 1. There are, however, in fact, two horses, side by side, on the coins of that type, and the workmanship is far more rude than on those I am describing, the design of which is extremely spirited, and the execution remarkably good. It is a type that has not hitherto been published, and is of great rarity. I am aware of the existence of only three specimens: that engraved in the plate, which is in the British Museum; the second in the collection of Mr. Wigan, and the third in my own.

No. 2. *Obv.*—A griffin, or pegasus, or animal like a winged deer, standing to the left, but with its head turned backwards to the right.

Rev.—CVN. Victory, standing, to the left, completely draped, with her left holding a palm-branch downwards, with what is, possibly, a scroll in her right hand. Æ. 41 grs.; another, 34½ grs.

A coin of this type, in the collection of Mr. Bateman, of Youlgrave, was brought under the notice of this Society, many years ago, by Mr. C. Roach Smith, and is engraved

¹ Ruding, Pl. A. 94, 95; Numis. Chron., Vol. XIV., p. 70, No. 10.

² Ruding, Pl. A, Nos. 91, 92.; Numis. Chron., Vol. XIV. Pl. I. Nos. 3, 4, and 9.

in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. Pl. LV. No. 13, as is also another coin of the same type, but very badly preserved, found at The Slade, Boughton Montchelsea, Kent, in Plate V. No. 1 of the same volume. The animal on the obverse was, however, by Mr. Roach Smith, considered to be an eagle; whereas, from the specimen now engraved, and another of the same type, also in my own collection, it is evident that it is a winged four-footed animal, such as it has been found convenient to call a griffin, though not having the real griffin's head. The wings upon my coin are not, however, so distinct as I have shown them in the plate, but have been in some measure restored from Mr. Bateman's coin, an impression of which he kindly communicated to me. It is by no means improbable, that if a perfect and well-spread coin of this type is ever found, the word CAMV will appear upon it, beneath the griffin. In the well-known coin of Cunobeline,³ with a pegasus or griffin on the obverse to the left, with the legend CAMV, and CVNO and Victory holding a garland on the reverse, the Victory is nearly nude, and standing to the right, instead of being, as on these coins, draped, and standing to the left. Another peculiarity is, that the griffin, or whatever animal it be, is made *regardant*, or looking backwards, instead of having its head in the ordinary position. The coin here engraved was formerly in the late Mr. Huxtable's collection, and was found near Canterbury; so that two out of the four specimens with which I am acquainted, have been discovered in Kent. The dies from which they were struck appear to have been remarkably large, and the letters of the legend are twice the size of those on most of the coins of Cunobeline.

³ Ruding, Pl. V. 30; Akerman, *Cities and Princes*, Pl. XXIV. 10.

No. 3. *Obv.*—CV-NOB. A naked horseman, galloping, to the right; in his right hand a short sword, and with his left holding a large oval shield. The whole within a beaded circle.

Rev.—TASCHIO-VANTIS. A warrior standing, looking to the left; his right hand resting on a spear, and on his left arm holding a nearly hemispherical shield. On his head is a plumed helmet; his body is apparently protected by a coat of mail, and on his legs there seem to be greaves, or, possibly, the national *braccæ*; and it appears as if a short sword hung at his side. The whole within a beaded circle. Æ. 43 grs.

This type has long been well known, having been engraved by Pegge,⁴ Stukely,⁵ and Ruding;⁶ but by none of them was the legend of the reverse carried farther than TASCIOVA—. It was, however, completed in the remarkable form of TASCIOVANTIS from a coin in my own collection, which will be found engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVIII. p. 36, No. 3, where are also some remarks upon this singular genitive form of Tasciovanus, or rather Tasciovars. There is, therefore, nothing absolutely new in the specimen here engraved; but the coin, which is in the Museum collection, is in the most beautiful condition, and so unusually well spread, as to give both the obverse and reverse types and legends entire. It is, therefore, well worthy of being reproduced in the pages of the Chronicle.

The type of the galloping horseman is found on several other coins of Cunobeline, both in copper and silver. On one occasion he bears a shield, but not of this oval form, nor so large in size. The horseman with the shield appears also on coins of Verica⁷ in gold, and of Tasciovanus⁸ in

⁴ Class IV. c.

⁵ Plate VII. 2.

⁶ Plate V. 29.

⁷ Akerman. Cities and Princes, Pl. XXI. 15.

⁸ Ruding, Plate V. 35.

silver; but in those cases they are more of a pointed oval, or vesica piscis, in form. On the gold coins inscribed TASCIO RICON,⁹ and those of Epaticcus,¹⁰ the horseman carries a shield not much differing in form from that on these coins of Cunobeline. Shields, both round and oval, and occasionally highly ornamented, occur also on Gaulish coins, but are usually borne by standing figures. The coins of VIIGOTALVS,¹¹ or VEROTALVS, a supposed prince of the Arverni, in Aquitania, afford a fine example.

The warrior on the reverse of the present coin is remarkable for his helmet, in shape like that on the head of Cunobeline¹² on the copper coin with a boar on the reverse, and for the *ocrea*, if such they be, upon his legs. The shield being in profile, instead of showing its whole surface, is also uncommon. But the most remarkable feature is, as I have before pointed out, the legend TASCIOVANTIS, which, as the genitive case of TASCIOVANS, gives a new form, under which the British name, usually represented on the coins by Tasciovanus, was Latinized. Those who would wish to see more on this subject, I beg leave to refer to the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVIII. p. 36. I may add, that the coin here engraved is in the Museum collection, and was found at Sandy, Bedfordshire, a spot where other coins of Cunobeline have likewise been found.

No. 4. *Obv.*—CAMVL-ODVNO, in two compartments of a tablet. A scroll above and below.

Rev.—CVNO. A sphinx, crouching, to the left; her wings expanded.

⁹ Num. Chron., Vol. III. p. 152, No. 1; Vol. XX. p. 56, No. 3.

¹⁰ Id. Ib. Vol. XX. p. 1.

¹¹ Duchalais, No. 6; Lelewel, Pl. VI. 20; Revue Num., Vol. V. N. S., p. 113.

¹² Numis. Chron., Vol. XVIII. p. 36, No. 2; Ruding, Pl. V. 23.

This coin has already been published by Mr. Akerman, in his "Coins of Cities and Princes," p. 193, No. 36; but, by inadvertence, the sphinx is there described as squatting to the *right*. It has also been published by Mr. Beale Poste, in the Archæological Association Journal, vol. i. p. 233, and in his "British Coins;" but, in both places, he has strangely enough converted the sphinx into a pegasus. Both these authors describe the same coin — viz., that formerly in the late Mr. Huxtable's collection, and now in mine — which is here represented. Another is in the possession of Charles Gray Round, Esq., of Birch Hall, near Colchester; and Mr. W. B. Smith, of Colchester, is in possession of a third specimen of the same type, but in finer preservation, which was found in a field near the old waterworks there, in 1796. This coin was exhibited at one of the annual meetings of the Archæological Association, some years ago; and there is a woodcut of it in their Journal, Vol. II. p. 40. As, however, it has never been engraved for the Numismatic Chronicle, nor for any of the usual numismatic works of reference, I need make no apology for having inserted it into this plate. It is, as you are probably aware, the only type on which the name of Camulodunum appears at full length upon a coin; and it is remarkable that the word is given with the ablative termination, CAMULODUNO, "at Camulodunum," in the same way that on the only coins upon which the name of Verulamium is found in an unabbreviated form, that word also presents the same inflexion, VERLAMIO.

It is observable, that the legends of the coins on which the name of this town occurs, give it, without exception, as spelt with an U — Camzlodunum. It is spelt in various ways, in the existing copies of their works, by the writers of antiquity, who make mention of it as a principal town of

Britain. In Pliny,¹³ it is Camalodunum, in some copies, or Camaldunum, in others. In Ptolemy,¹⁴ KAMOYΔOΔANON and KAMOYNAOΔOYNON. In the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the Tabula Peutingeriana and Tacitus,¹⁵ it is spelt the same as on the coins. The geographer of Ravenna¹⁶ gives it as Camuloduꝑum, and Dion Cassius¹⁷ as KAMOYΛOΔOYNON and KAMAAOΔOYNON, in different copies. On an inscription in Gruter,¹⁸ and Camden,¹⁹ it is read Camalodunum. And this was the reading preferred by old Camden, partly, probably, as supporting his views of its site having been at Malden. It is needless, at the present day, to enter into any farther arguments to prove, that Colchester was the real site of Camulodunum, though I may remark, in passing, that in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," the compilers of which seem to have availed themselves of most of the opportunities offered for going wrong, it is, in the index, stated to be Malden, or Walden, in Essex, though, on the map, its site is correctly fixed at Colchester. Had other evidence been wanting, that of the numerous coins of Cunobeline found there, would have been nearly sufficient to determine the point. I see that I have notes of the finding of ten different types of his coins at Colchester; and it has been stated, that "more of Cunobeline's coins have been found at this place, than at any other part of the island."²⁰

But to return to the coin now under consideration. The form in which the inscription on the obverse occurs in the compartments of a tablet, is very characteristic of the

¹³ Lib. ii. cap. 75.

¹⁶ Lib. v.

¹⁴ Lib. ii. cap. 3.

¹⁷ Lib. lx. c. 21.

¹⁵ Ann., lib. xii. c. 32; xiv. c. 31. ¹⁸ ccccxix. 5.

¹⁹ Britannia, p. 447, ed. 1637.

²⁰ Cromwell's Colchester, p. 372.

ancient British coinage. There are coins of Cunobeline, both in copper and silver, on which the name CVNOBELINI,²¹ or CVNOBELI, appears in a precisely similar manner, while the coins inscribed TASCIO-RICON,²² TASC,²³ COM-F,²⁴ and TINC,²⁵ are very analogous in the position of their inscriptions. The type of the reverse, a sphinx, is also of frequent occurrence on the coins of Cunobeline. On one type,²⁶ in silver, she is seated to the left; and on another,²⁷ in copper, she is represented crouching, as on this coin, but to the right instead of to the left. The inscription is, however, in that instance, above the exergual line. It has been thought that this type of the sphinx was adopted by Cunobeline out of compliment to Augustus, on whose coins it frequently occurs; though most commonly seated on her hind legs, as on the silver coins of Cunobeline, and not crouching down. On the coins of Augustus, it was probably in allusion to the conquest of Egypt that the type was adopted; but we learn from both Suetonius²⁸ and Pliny,²⁹ that the sphinx was one of his favourite devices, and adopted by him upon his seal, before he made use of the head of Alexander the Great upon it. His reason for adopting it, however, appears to have been from his having found among his mother's jewels two seals with this device, so much alike that they could not be distinguished, one of which he carried with him in the Civil War, while with the

²¹ Ruding, Pl. V. 26; Pl. IV. 13, 14.

²² Akerman, Pl. XXII. 4.

²³ Ruding, Pl. V. 35; Pl. XXIX. 8.

²⁴ Akerman, Pl. XXII. 11, 14, 16.

²⁵ Ibid., Pl. XXII. 12.

²⁶ Ruding, Pl. IV. 8.

²⁷ Ibid., Pl. V. 25.

²⁸ Suet., Vit. Aug., cap. i.

²⁹ Plin., Nat. Hist., lib. xxxvii. cap. 1.

other his friends sealed the edicts issued in his name at Rome. As these latter were frequently demands upon the purses of the citizens, the seal of the sphinx got into bad odour; and this led to the adoption of the head of Alexander the Great, in its stead, for his seal, by Augustus. That this type on the coins of Cunobeline should have been adopted out of compliment to Augustus, is therefore very doubtful. Had there been such an intention, a capricorn would have been a more suitable device; but the dies for British coins seem, in many instances, to have been engraved by Roman artists, and the figures upon them derived from classical mythology are frequent.

There are instances where the existing devices upon the British coins appear to have been adopted by these foreign artists, and reproduced under a classical form, in accordance with their own mythology, rather than with British or Druidical traditions. The horse, in this manner, becomes converted into the pegasus or centaur; an almost shapeless figure reappears as the head of Medusa; and possibly, in the androcephalous horses of the Gaulish coins, is the germ of the crouching sphinx upon the coins of Cunobeline; though it may have been derived more directly from Roman coins,³⁰ such as the denarius of the Carisia family. But from whatever source this type was derived upon the coins, it is not a little curious, that, about forty years ago,³¹ the figure of a winged sphinx, in stone, about two feet in height and the same in length, was discovered at Colchester, corresponding in all essential points with the figures upon the coins of Cunobeline.

³⁰ Riccio, xi. No. 4.

³¹ Cromwell's Colchester, p. 269.

No. 5. *Obv.*—TASC. Bare male head to the right, with short crisp hair and beard.

Rev.—VIR or VER? Centaur to the right, playing on the double flute; above, a crescent; and in front, a ring ornament. Æ. 25 grs.

A beaded circle round both obverse and reverse.

This coin has already been published by Ruding,³² Taylor Combe,³³ Akerman,³⁴ and in the "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*;"³⁵ but by none of them has the legend of the reverse been given. From the specimens engraved in Ruding and Akerman, it appears that the legend of the obverse is continued in front of the face, it being given as TASCIAL. There is, however, probably some slight error in the reading of at least the final letter of this word, as the name of Tasciovanus is in no other instance thus spelt. The coin is rightly ascribed to this prince; and, from the inscription on the reverse, appears, like most of his other coins, to have been struck at Verulam. It is worthy of remark, that the more we know of his coins, the more reason there is for supposing the majority of them to have been issued from a mint at Verulam; while of his son and successor, Cunobeline, none can with any degree of probability be assigned to that place. Nearly all his coins seem to have been struck at Camulodunum; to which town, in like manner, no coin of Tasciovanus can be assigned. With regard to the types of the coin now under consideration, it may be remarked, that the head on the obverse differs from that upon any other of his coins, whether in silver or copper, in the peculiar treatment of the beard, which is usually long and flowing, instead of short and crisped.

³² Pl. V. 38.

³³ Pl. XV. No. 30.

³⁴ Pl. XXII. No. 15.

³⁵ Pl. I. No. 9.

The type of the centaur occurs on one other ancient British coin—that of Cunobeline,³⁶ with the legend TASCIOVANI . F; but, in that case, he is merely blowing a single horn, and not playing the double flute. It is singular to find such a purely classical device upon a British coin; and it is difficult to say from whence it was derived, unless from the fertile imagination of some Roman artist employed to engrave the dies of the British Regulus; though, possibly, here again is a reminiscence of the androcephalous horse on the Gaulish coins. We do, indeed, meet with the centaur, as the type, on Roman coins of a later period; but then, as an archer, rather than a musician. On a coin of Julia Domna,³⁷ struck at Nicæa, we find a Bacchanalian chariot, drawn by two centaurs, male and female, the latter playing the double flute. Centaurs³⁸ appear, also, as drawing a chariot, on a denarius of the Aurelia family; but in that case holding olive branches. The centaur appears as playing the lyre on coins of Prusias, king of Bithynia; but nowhere, that I am aware of, does he appear singly, and playing on the double pipe, except on these British coins. The reputed proficiency of the centaurs in music is well known; and one of them, Chiron, is celebrated as having been the instructor of Achilles in that art.

The next three coins, inasmuch as they apparently belong to one class, and the two varieties they comprise are mutually illustrative of each other, had better be brought under consideration together.

No. 6. *Obv.*—Uncertain legend, apparently RVLI. Bare male head to the right, with short crisp hair and long flowing beard. Rudely executed.

³⁶ Ruding, Pl. V. 17.

³⁷ Seguin, *Sel. Num.*, p. 163, ed. 1684; Spanheim, vol. i. 280.

³⁸ Riccio, Pl. VIII. No. 1.

Rev.—Horseman to the right, holding a sword (?) in his right hand. In front of him a pellet.

A beaded circle round both obverse and reverse.

Æ. 34 grs.

No. 7. *Obv.*—As No. 6, but not showing the legend.

Rev.—As No. 6, but with an uncertain legend, apparently VIR or VER. Æ.

No. 8. *Obv.*—RVLIS on a tablet, above and below an annulet. The whole within a beaded circle, with what appears to be a milled or grained circle outside it.

Rev.—An uncertain animal to the left. Æ.

No. 6 was found at Creslow, near Aylesbury, Bucks, and was presented to me by Z. D. Hunt, Esq., of Aylesbury; and No. 7 is in the collection of T. Bateman, Esq., of Youlgrave, who kindly communicated it to me. No. 8 is in the collection of Lord Braybrooke, and was discovered, together with numerous Roman coins, in April, 1853,³⁹ during his excavations near the Fleam Dyke, Cambridgeshire, among the foundations of an ancient building, at the base of a tumulus known as Muttillow Hill. It is represented in a wood-cut at p. 87, vol. xiii. of the Archæological Institute Journal, from which I have copied it in the accompanying plate.

I have another badly-preserved specimen of the same type as Nos. 6 and 7, but with the head apparently beardless, found at Dorchester, Oxon, which was formerly in the late Mr. Huxtable's collection.

The inscriptions upon both these types are very remarkable; and though it is to be regretted, that, from the state of their preservation, it is impossible to affirm with certainty that the right reading has been arrived at, yet there is little doubt but that it is RVLIS in a more or less extended form,

³⁹ Arch. Inst. Journal, Vol. ix. p. 230.

combined, in one instance with VER upon the reverse. The head of the obverse of Nos. 6 and 7 is identical with that of some coins of Tasciovanus and of Verulamium, which are engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVIII. p. 44; while the horseman on the reverse bears a close analogy with that on the gold coins with the legend TASCIO-RICON, and the gold coins of Tasciovanus struck at Segontium. On those coins, also, the legend is on a tablet, somewhat in the manner in which it appears on No. 8 in the plate. Altogether, the whole character of the coins is such, that I have little hesitation in classing them with the coins of Tasciovanus struck at Verulam; and the place of finding of the coins — at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, Cresslow, in Bucks, and the Fleam Dyke, Cambridgeshire — is in no way inconsistent with such an attribution, but, on the contrary, tends to confirm it.

The difficulty is, how to interpret the inscription RVLIS, if such it be. I cannot help thinking that it is in some way connected with the name of the town VERVLAMIVM; but what relation it bears to it is beyond my power to determine. It is a curious feature in the case, that the minute coins, engraved Nos. 8 and 9 in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVIII., p. 44, with a type closely allied to the interlacing squares of the VERLAMIO coins, and which I then did, and still do, attribute to Verulam, have the legend RVLⁱ on the reverse, with no appearance of any previous letters. We must, however, wait for more and better-preserved coins, before speculating farther upon this singular legend. The animal on the reverse of No. 8 can hardly be intended for a horse, but is more probably a deer, sheep, or goat (see the coin of Tasciovanus, Numis. Chron., Vol. XVIII., p. 44, No. 4. The type of the obverse of this coin, with the legend on a tablet, with a ring ornament or annulet

above and below, and the whole within a beaded circle, closely resembles that of one of the gold coins of Verica,⁴⁰ and affords another instance (if my attribution of these coins to Verulam be correct) of the analogy of type between the coins of the sons of Comius and the coins struck at Verulam, which I pointed out some years ago.⁴¹

The next coin, No. 9, is one of Dubnovellaunus :

Obv.—An animal, somewhat resembling a dog or wolf, running, to the right; his head turned backwards, and tail erected.

Rev.—DVBN on a tablet, beneath a lion (?), running, to the left; behind him a star.

Æ. 41 grs., and 36½ grs.

The coin here engraved is in the collection of Captain Murchison. I have also two specimens, but not in such good preservation; though one of them enables me to speak with certainty as to the presence of the D at the commencement of the legend, which is not distinctly visible on the other specimens. None of them are in perfect preservation, more especially upon the obverse, or convex side; and this renders it extremely difficult to determine what animals the artist intended to represent upon it. In fact, the whole zoology of the ancient British coinage is in rather an unsettled state. A somewhat similar animal to that on the obverse occurs on a silver coin of Cunobeline,⁴² and is called by Ruding, a dog; by Akerman, a griffin; by Wise, a horse; by Pegge, a sheep or dog; while, in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," it is described as a wolf. A lion crouching above a tablet, inscribed CAMV, occurs on a

⁴⁰ Akerman, Pl. XXII. No. 3.

⁴¹ Num. Chron., Vol. XVI. p. 88.

⁴² Ruding, Pl. IV. 16; Wise, Pl. XVI. 23. Akerman, Pl. XXIII. 14; Mon. Hist. Brit., Pl. I. 23; Pegge, Class I. 4.

copper coin of Cunobeline; but on these coins the animal is springing over the tablet. No other type of Dubnovellaunus is at present known in copper, and this is now published for the first time. One⁴³ type only of his silver coins is known; while, in gold, there are two⁴⁴ distinct types, with some varieties, consisting mainly in the different forms of spelling under which the name Dubnovellaunus appears. It is satisfactory, as showing our advance in the knowledge of this branch of numismatics, for us to have become acquainted with coins in all three metals of this prince, whose very existence was, ten years ago, entirely unknown. Unless, possibly, some more perfect inscriptions, similar to that at Ancyra, commemorating the exploits of Augustus, be hereafter discovered, it will be from coins alone that the history of Dubnovellaunus will have to be constructed. At present, we have but his bare name,⁴⁵ DAMNO . BELLA[VNVS], and ΔΟΜΝΟ [ΒΕ]ΛΛΑΥΝΟΣ, in the Ancyra inscription, and DVBNVELLAVNOS on the coins; and the fact, that his coins have been principally found in Kent and Essex. One of these copper coins is said to have been found at Brighton; but I am not satisfied of the fact. I think it barely possible, that, on better preserved specimens, some inscription may be found on the obverse.

No.10. *Obv.*—A cruciform ornament of wreaths and ring ornaments, etc., with two crescents in the centre, similar to that on the gold coins of Tasciovanus.

Rev.—AND. beneath, a horse, galloping, to the right; above, a peculiarly-formed bucranium, between two annulets, one of which is surrounded by pellets. In front, another annulet, and traces of another bucranium. The annulet in front of the horse may possibly be an O, which would make the legend ANDO. A7. 84½ grs.

⁴³ Num. Chron. Vol. XVI. p. 176.

⁴⁴ Id. Vol. XIV. Pl. I.

⁴⁵ Hamilton's Asia Minor, Vol. II. App. 5, No. 102; Chishull, Antiq. Asiat., p. 106.

I have already published this type, about seven years ago, in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVI. p. 80, No. 3 ; but the inscription is given so much clearer on the present specimen, that I was tempted to engrave it. It was discovered near Ellesborough, Bucks — a neighbourhood abounding in ancient British earthworks — and was most liberally presented to me by Z. D. Hunt, Esq., of Aylesbury. Another type,⁴⁶ with the inscription ANDO. between the limbs of a cruciform ornament, also in gold, is known ; but the coins of this type are only one-fourth of the weight of these larger coins. I have already remarked on the correspondence between the coins thus inscribed and those of Tasciovanus, and on the consequent probability that they were struck by a cotemporary prince. At the same time, I called attention to the fact, that the Mandubratius of the present version of Cæsar, is by the later writers called Androgeus, or Androgorius ; so that, possibly, an error may have crept into the text of Cæsar ; in which case, these coins might be assigned to Andubratius or Andobratius. This is, of course, mere conjecture ; but, at any rate, from the analogy of the coins with the name of Tasciovanus, we may look upon the word ANDO on these coins as significant of the name of a prince, and not of a town or tribe. The finding of the coins in Buckinghamshire would by no means be incompatible with their attribution to Mandubratius, who was a prince of the Trinobantes, could it be sustained on other grounds.

No. 11. *Obv.*—A number of objects, probably intended to form a rude head. The profile is represented by a thick crooked line, which bifurcates to form the mouth. The eye is formed by a ring ornament ; but there is another just behind the mouth, possibly intended

⁴⁶ Num. Chron., Vol. XVI., p. 80, No. 2.

for the ear, and a cross between the two. Behind the face runs a sort of wreath, or it may be the hair, formed of crescents, with pellets in the centre of each; and in front are several curved figures and ring ornaments. The whole is within a beaded circle.

Rev.—TED. A three-tailed horse, to the left; below, a ring ornament; in the field, several pellets.

R. 15 grs.

This coin is in the collection of Thomas Bateman, Esq., of Youlgrave, who has obligingly communicated it to me. It was obtained by him, some years ago, at Lincoln, and is, I believe, unique and unpublished. There might be considerable difficulty in finding the head upon the obverse of this coin, but that it is linked with a series of closely connected devices to some uninscribed types, on which the head is more apparent. Ruding, App. Pl. XXIX. 1, and Num. Chron., Vol. i. p. 89, No. 6, may be referred to; but some of the most conclusive coins have not yet been engraved, though a moderately faithful representation of a coin of the class to which I allude will be found in Stukely, Pl. XXII. No. 8. The curved or S shaped ornaments in front of the face are possibly derived from the dolphins, which not unfrequently occur in that position on Gaulish coins and those of the Channel Islands type; and these, in turn, probably received their device from coins struck in Sicily and Spain. The type of the reverse of the present coin offers no remarkable feature, except that the three tails are more frequently possessed by the horses on gold than on silver coins. The legend is, however, singular. It has all the appearance of being complete as it stands, TED, as it is hard to suppose that there were other letters, either in front of the horse or beneath it, though such may possibly have been the case. This can only be determined by the dis-

covery of another specimen, either better spread, or struck from another part of the die.

Assuming the legend to be simply TED, I am at a loss to offer the slightest elucidation of it. It is true, that the anonymous geographer of Ravenna mentions a town in Britain called Tedertis; but this is probably merely a corrupt form of the name of some better-known town; and, under any circumstances, it appears to have been in the south of England, and not in any way near the district where this coin may be presumed to have been found, namely not far from Lincolnshire. The legend ANTED, possibly preceded by two other letters, occurs on gold coins⁴⁷ of the Somersetshire type, and ANTED appears in a monogrammatic form on some of the coins of the Iceni;⁴⁸ but not even a plausible explanation has been offered of this inscription, though the facetious interpretation has been given of its referring to the coins having been struck Ante Dominum.

The barred Ð is of frequent occurrence on ancient British coins, and some remarks upon it, in connection with the coins of Addedomaros, will be found in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVIII. p. 159.⁴⁹

No. 12 is a coin of the Iceni.

Obv.—The usual ornament of crescents across a wreath.

Rev.—TEƆ (retrograde). A horse to the left, with six pellets in two rows across his shoulder. Above, a circle of pellets. Æ. grs.

⁴⁷ Num. Chron., Vol. XVI. p. 80, No. 6; Arch. Assoc. Journal, vol. ii. p. 24.

⁴⁸ Num. Chron., Vol. XV. p. 98, Nos. 7 and 8.

⁴⁹ Since the above was written, Captain Murchison has met with another specimen of the same type, which completes the legend as ANTED; the AN being beneath the horse. There is some reason for believing this second coin to have been found in the neighbourhood of Bath; and I have little hesitation in placing it in the same class as the gold coins with a similar legend.

The only remarkable features about this coin are, that the horse is turned to the left instead of, as usual, to the right, and the legend ECE is retrograde. I have seen two or three other specimens with the horse in this direction; but they are of very rare occurrence, and none of them showed the legend. This example is in my own collection, and formerly belonged to the late Lord Northwick.

The horse is remarkable from having the fore-leg divided into two from the shoulder to the knee, giving to that part of the leg a triangular form. This peculiarity is also observable in all, or nearly all, the horses which have the six pellets on their shoulders on the Icenian coins, a "correlation of structure" for which it is difficult to account. The horses with the pellets and triangular fore-arm also accompany the more remarkable legends on the Icenian coins, such as AESV and SAEMV.

This coin is the last on which at present I have to comment; but, in conclusion, I would take this opportunity of remarking, that, from circumstances which have come to my knowledge since I brought the singular coins inscribed VERBOD under the notice of this Society, I am much inclined to think, that their authenticity is by no means above suspicion, and that my first impressions regarding them may, after all, prove to have been correct.

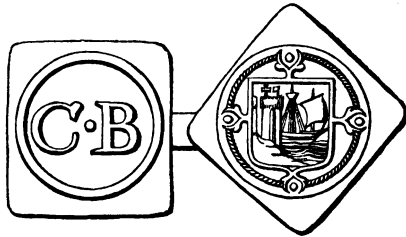
XVI.

NOTICE OF SIX PLATES OF TOKENS OF THE XVIITH
CENTURY, HAVING REFERENCE TO LONDON
AND SOUTHWARK.

BY WILLIAM BOYNE, F.S.A.

THE privilege of striking money for public use has been confined, in all ages and countries, to the supreme government, whether monarchical or republican; the only exception being what have been called "*Pièces de Nécessité*," and money issued during usurpations. To this rule, the extensive circulation of tokens in England, Wales, and Ireland, offers no exception; for, as their name implies, they were essentially an accommodation money. In other words, their issue did not depend upon any special enactment; yet, though not authorized, the troubled state of the country at the time they were issued, compelled the government of the day to overlook them.

The earliest legal copper money of England was a token



circulated by the corporation of the city of Bristol, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who had granted them that

special privilege. It is of square shape, struck with circular dies. The obverse has the letters C. B., the initials of "Civitas Bristolie"; and the reverse a ship on the water, issuing from a castle, the arms of the city.

By the same royal authority, the leaden traders' tokens were strictly forbidden. In early times, the inferior currency was carried on by means of leaden tokens of mean character, abbey-pieces, black money, and other illegal pieces, against the circulation of which many severe enactments had been passed.

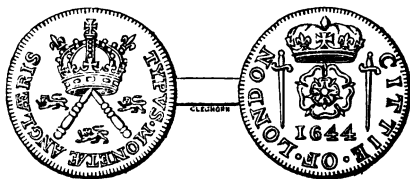
The queen was strongly advised to issue a royal copper coinage, and patterns were struck for the purpose, as well as a proclamation concerning it; but the difficulties she had experienced in restoring the standard of silver, which had been much debased during the extravagant reign of Henry VIII., deterred her from carrying out this idea. All that was accomplished was to strike a penny and a halfpenny in copper, which were circulated in Ireland in 1602 and 1603.

In 1613, James I. granted to Lord Harrington the right of striking copper money; but the words of the patent limited this grant to the issue of farthings only. Immediately at the commencement of the reign of Charles I., this patent was further extended; but owing to the dishonesty of the patentees, who issued these farthings in larger quantities than were required, and, at the same time, of inferior value, they were a cause of serious loss to traders; the patentees refusing to exchange their own tokens, when presented, for money of the realm. This pressure was the more felt, inasmuch as, in some districts, scarcely any other coin was in circulation; while, as many of them were forgeries, even their intrinsic value left a good profit to the fraudulent. Hence, as might have been

anticipated, when, a short time afterwards, the Civil Wars broke out, the patent was put down by order of Parliament, in 1644, and the property of the patentees seized to meet the demands of the public in the rechanging of the farthings.

The abuse of the royal prerogative in granting this and many other equally obnoxious patents, made the two first Stuart kings very unpopular; the names James and Charles being rarely met with among the list of ten thousand specimens described in the "Tokens of the Seventeenth Century," by the present writer. The Commonwealth was certainly equally unpopular, as the state arms, vulgarly called the "breeches," are very rarely seen on tokens; whilst, after the Restoration, the king's head and the royal arms are exceedingly common, shewing the popular feeling for Charles II., whose genial but careless course of life was more agreeable to the mass of the people than the precise manners of the Puritans.

It seems that, after the suppression of the patent farthings, the government had intended to have issued a copper currency, one of which is here represented. It is curious in



having "Cittie of London" on it, as if it was intended for circulation in London only. The name "London" is seldom seen on tokens, the street or other locality only being given. Another specimen has precisely the same obverse; but for the reverse has "FARTHING TOAKENS"; a rose

on two sceptres in saltire, crowned; in the other angles of the saltire, three fleurs de lys. They are of the size and substance of the farthings of Charles II.

The first date we find on tokens is 1648; but, as the old style was then in use, it is difficult to say whether they were issued before the death of Charles I., 30th January, 1649. During the use of the old style, the previous year was continued to the 26th March of the following one; so that January, February, and March of 1649, might also be written 1648, or sometimes 1648^g. Thus, a pamphlet printed at this period, entitled, "To the right honorable the Lord Fairfax and his Councell of Warre: the humble address of Henry Howard," has the date MDCXLIX., and at the end of the address is the date, January 15th, 1648. Since the object of this pamphlet is to dissuade the council from beheading the king, it is evident he was then alive. These particulars are given, as the exercise of the right of coinage has been generally considered the prerogative of the supreme government; and it is, therefore, a matter of interest to ascertain, if possible, whether the tokens preceded the king's death; the more so, as, during the Civil Wars, the money coined by parliament always bore the royal portrait and arms. It is probable, that the tokens bearing the date 1648 were issued in that year, as the three first months of 1649 afford too short a time for designing and engraving them; and though the number of tokens of 1648 are not numerous, still it is hardly likely that they were the result of the sudden inspiration of the moment, as they were issued in districts widely apart; while it is probable that the unsettled state of the country for several preceding years had so broken down the royal authority, that it was no longer regarded as paramount.

The tokens of the seventeenth century were circular,

square, octagonal, and heart-shaped; the town-piece of Louth is the only example of a diamond shape. The metal used was copper and brass, sometimes so badly fused, that it shows both metals on the same piece. There are a few specimens, where the central part of the token is of brass, and the outer of copper, or *vice versd*. The value of them was the farthing, halfpenny, and penny. The names of nearly 1,500 cities, towns, and villages are known, which issued these pieces.

The following is a description of the individual plates, which have been selected from Mr. Boyne's larger work, "The Tokens of the Seventeenth Century. Lond., 4to, 1858":—

PLATE XVIII.

1. A halfpenny of Thomas Thacker, at the sign of the Blade-bone. The letters T. S. T., on the reverse, are the initials of the issuer, his wife, and family name.
2. Has the half-length figure of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange.
3. A farthing of Will. Timberlake, of Basinghall-street, has the figure of a man holding a book and a hat in his hands. Farthings have very rarely the value marked on them, but are readily distinguished from the halfpennies by their smaller size. There are a few farthing tokens issued by corporations, which are larger than many traders' halfpennies; but these have the value expressed on them, to prevent mistakes. An instance has been seen on a Cheshire token, where some scoundrel has erased HALF from HIS HALF PENNY on the field of the reverse, so as to make it pass for a penny.
4. A farthing of Elizabeth Ground, a dealer in pattens and leather leggings. No doubt the ways were then dirty enough to need such protection from the mire, so as to make this a thriving trade.
5. Thomas English's token, having the arms of the Distillers' Company. The arms of the incorporated trade companies of the city of London are the most frequent devices, and were used by the same trades throughout the country.

6. A farthing of Francis Smith, with the arms of the Girdlers' Company, his shop sign being a bull. The word "girdle," or "gridiron," is still used in the north.
7. Thomas Morris, of Cannon or Channel-row, Westminster.
8. A dealer in haberdashery and small wares, at the sign of the Mermaid. The reverse has a merchant's mark. These curious devices were in use as early as the thirteenth century, but were falling into disuse about this period. They have never been satisfactorily explained. The letters R. W. are probably the initials of the issuer.
9. John Grey, at the sign of Mother Shipton, a celebrated Yorkshire witch, at Clare Market; or, as it was then called, New Market, having only been established a short time. The latter name belongs also to a town in Suffolk; but as the token has the name of Peter-street (properly, Denzil-street) on it, it undoubtedly belongs to London, otherwise it might admit of doubt.
10. John Sheldon, at the sign of the Three Inkhorns.
11. This may be a farthing, as it has no value expressed on it, though it is larger than the ordinary size. It was issued by a coffee-house keeper: a servant is pouring coffee from a pot into a cup held by a person. It is without date, but was probably issued after the Restoration, when these houses were in great demand.
12. Francis Woodward, at the sign of the Trumpeter, or, as it was commonly called, the Horse and Trumpet; still a common ale-house sign.

PLATE XIX.

1. A farthing, issued at the sign of the Death's Head, in Distaff-lane; a device suited to the puritanic spirit of the year 1652, when it was issued.
2. A penny, remarkable for its small size, being no larger than a farthing token.
3. Issued by the same person as the last. The device may be a trade mark, probably a brewer's, as they frequently used them.
4. John Empson, at the sign of the Beacon. This is surmounted by a coronet, and has a label, inscribed NISI DOMINVS.

5. Has two arcades of the Royal Exchange.
6. Issued at the celebrated Grand Turk Coffee-house, in Exchange-alley. It is the only token which has "Tea" on it. The two sides have the doggrel rhymes —

" Morat the great men did me call
 Where I came I conquered all."
7. Was issued by the same house. This is a cast token, one of the few examples of the kind.
8. The sign of the Cock-a-Hoop.
9. A farthing, issued at the Guy Earl of Warwick. This popular hero is represented with the boar's head on the top of his spear.
10. Andrew Grace's farthing, with a view of the temple of Jerusalem.
11. Margaret Tuttlesham, at the sign of the World's End; and very strangely represented by a globe, with trees and water in the centre, and clouds on each side.
12. The Founders' Arms: a vase between two taper candlesticks. The reverse has a sugar-loaf, in allusion to Grocers'-alley, where it was issued.
13. The Flying Horse, a common ale-house sign. The reverse has the Innholders' Arms.

PLATE XX.

1. The Two Halberdiers.
2. The Salutation Tavern. The device is interesting, as it shows the religious origin of the sign, which was common during the Roman Catholic times; after the Restoration, it had degenerated into two men saluting each other.
3. An octagonal halfpenny, issued in Middle-row, Holborn, at the sign of the City of York. As it has no possible resemblance to the city, the artist has considerably placed the name over the view.
4. A full-faced bust of King Charles II.
5. The arms of the Brand family.
6. One of the few instances of the Commonwealth arms on tokens. The same man issued a halfpenny in 1668, when he used the device of David playing on the harp; an interesting instance of the change of the times.

7. Without value : it is much thicker than ordinary, and very probably a penny. The two pestles and mortar denote the issuer to have been a druggist.
8. Issued at Newgate prison, with a view of the building.
9. A farthing, issued at the Three Candlesticks, in the Old Bailey.
10. Three Morris dancers.
11. An ironmonger's token, at the sign of the Frying-pan. This is larger than ordinary for a token of 1656. Previous to the Restoration, the great bulk of the tokens were farthings of a small size ; after the restoration, halfpennies are very common, and there are a good number of pennies, none of which had been previously issued.
12. The sign of the Hart and Comet. There seems to be no possible connection between two such dissimilar objects.

PLATE XXI.

1. It is presumed that this, which is only the size of an ordinary halfpenny token, has been issued for sixpence. Only one other example is known, which is engraved on Plate XXXI. No. 5.
2. The sign of St. Hugh, one of the religious signs which has survived the wreck of the Reformation in England.
3. Represents four enclosed fields, with trees.
4. The arms of the City of London, and issued for a penny. It is very small for its value.
5. A man's coat ; curious, as shewing the cut of the day. It is more like a woman's gown of this day.
6. The device is a play on the issuer's name, Atwood, very commonly met with. Harbottle is represented by a bottle on a hare ; Hive, by a beehive ; whilst Archer, Fox, Bird, Bull, etc., are represented by the objects named.
7. Another religious sign, St. Alban, the proto-martyr of Britain, who is represented standing, holding a sword and cross, near an altar, on which is an open book.
8. The head of Old Parr, who lived to a patriarchal age, and died in Charles II.'s reign.
9. The Cooper's Arms.

VOL. XX.

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10. The Three Castles are probably the arms of Edinburgh, from whence Galatly had come. The name is still found in London.
11. The sign of the Bear, Bull, and Horse.
12. The sign of the Harp and Fox. The corrupt manner of spelling at this period is shewn on this token, shire being spelled **SHERE**.

PLATE XXII.

1. A coffee-house token, having on one side a hand and arm holding a coffee-pot; and, on the other, two coffee-cups, two pipes, and a large drinking-glass. Concerning the latter, there may be some doubt.
2. The bust of King James I.
3. A farthing. The device is probably a covered salt, the sign of a drysalter.
4. An octagonal penny, on which is represented a passenger-boat.
5. Possibly a sausage-maker's chopping-knife.
6. An apothecary's farthing. The rhinoceros is the crest of that trade company. The sign of the shop was the Lily-pot.
7. The Sultanness' Coffee-house token. The reverse has an uncertain shield of arms.
8. A street view.
9. The Labour-in-vain: two women attempting to scrub a blackamoor white.
10. The classical device of Fortune standing on a globe.
11. The Soapmakers' Arms.
12. A soap-box, a barber's sign.

The five preceding plates are of localities on the Middlesex side of the river, the next of those on the Surrey side.

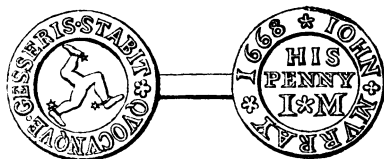
PLATE XXXI.

1. Four drinking mugs and three pipes. The pipes are such as are frequently found in ploughed lands, where they have been carried in the manure, as well as amongst the rubbish formed in pulling down the old houses in London. When complete, they have a straight stem, about seven inches

long, rather thicker than those of the present day, with an egg-shaped head, which held only a small quantity of tobacco. This was highly necessary when the weight of tobacco was given for the weight of silver in the opposite scale; purchasers consequently picked out their heaviest Jacobus and Carolus shillings, that they might get the largest quantity possible for their money. They are called by the vulgar "fairy pipes." It is doubtful whether smoking was first commenced in the reign of Elizabeth, as these pipes have been found in old buildings, where it is almost certain they had been placed prior to the Reformation.

2. The bust of the Duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law of King Henry VIII. He held very large possessions in Southwark. Suffolk-street was called after him.
3. A farthing, issued at the sign of the Jackanapes. Setting an ape on horseback to ride was a favourite diversion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
4. Three rolls of tobacco. It appears that this article of commerce was then generally sold in this form. There are two or three instances of tokens having a tobacco-leaf on them, and a chopper, very like our straw-choppers, with which, probably, the tobacco was cut fine.
5. The sign of the Sun in Splendour. This very common ale-house sign is derived from the Distillers' Arms. The large VI. on the reverse may denote the value to be sixpence. It is a very rare example.
6. Four dancing dogs.
7. A heart-shaped halfpenny, with the arms of the Grocers Company, a chevron between nine cloves, 3, 3, and 3.
8. The arms of the Earl of Essex, the parliamentary general.
9. A monkey smoking a pipe.
10. The sign of the Noah's Ark. This forms part of the arms of the Shipwrights' Company, a trade which would be much practised at St. Saviour's, Dockhead.
11. A brewers' trade-mark, a pentagram. This was regarded by the superstitious as a charm against witchcraft; it is now used by the Freemasons. It is also found on an uncial brass coin of Rome, as well as a mint-mark on a denarius of an uncertain family.
12. Guy Earl of Warwick, seated on a cow, with his lance erect. A most absurd manner of representing the hero.

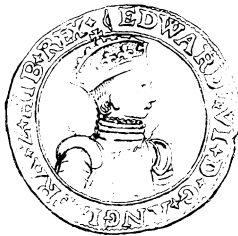
It is very remarkable that there are no tokens of Scotland, or of the Channel Islands, issued in the seventeenth century; though we have one of the Islands of Scilly, and another of the Isle of Man.



The above is engraved from a specimen in the Bodleian Collection of Tokens. On another, in the same collection, some one has engraved, "Of Douglas, in the Isle of Man." John Murray gave security to exchange his pennies, which his executors fulfilled in 1709, when the Earl of Derby issued a copper currency in that island.

The earliest date on the Irish tokens is 1653. Soon after the Restoration, a patent was granted by the king to Sir Thomas Armstrong for the issue of farthings in Ireland; but it was disregarded by the authorities, and very few were struck; it had, however, the effect of checking for the time the issue of private tokens, as we have only two tokens of the years 1660, 1661, and 1662. The Irish tokens were continued longer than the English, as we have twenty-two specimens dated betwixt 1672 and 1679. A second patent was granted to Sir Thomas Armstrong in 1680, and, as soon as a sufficient quantity was struck, the tokens were cried down.

The issue of a royal copper currency in England had been intended for some years, as we have many pattern halfpennies and farthings of Charles II., some of them dated 1665. As soon as a supply was ready for circula-



716 3/4 dwt. 3/4 gr. 1/2.

GOLD COINS OF EDWARD VI.

tion, the tokens were cried down by a proclamation from the king, in 1672. They were clandestinely continued ; short time longer ; but the threat of government proceedings against the delinquents completely extinguished them and, after this period, we hear nothing further of them.

XVII.

UNIQUE GOLD COINS OF EDWARD VI.

HAVING lately procured from Mr. Webster three coins in gold of Edward VI., which are unpublished, and, as far as I am aware of, are also the only specimens known, I have much pleasure in communicating a short description of them to the Society. Two of these coins are crowns of his first coinage, and the third is a pattern half-sovereign of his third year, and may be thus described :

No. 1. *Obv.*—RVTLANS ꝛ ROSA ꝛ SINE ꝛ SPINE ꝛꝛꝛꝛꝛ A
rose crowned, between E. R., crowned, m.m.
Arrow.

Rev.—DꝑI GRꝛ ꝛ GL FRꝛ Z ꝛ IB RꝛX. Shield with
with the royal arms, crowned, between ꝛR,
crowned, m.m. A pellet within a circle ; weight,
46 grs.

No. 2. *Obv.*—RVTLANS ꝛ ROSA ꝛ SINE ꝛ SPINE ꝛꝛꝛꝛꝛ A
rose crowned, between E. R., crowned.

Rev.—EDWARD' ꝛ 6 ꝛ D' ꝛ G ꝛ AG' ꝛ FR' ꝛ Z ꝛ HIB'ꝛ
REXꝛ Shield with the royal arms crowned,
between E. R. crowned, m.m. ; on both sides an
arrow ; weight, 48 grs.

The only coins hitherto known of the first coinage of Edward VI., have been the half-sovereign and the half-crown; to which must now be added the crown.

The obverse of the above coins are from the same die; but the reverse of the first is remarkable, from a die of the 37th year of Henry VIII. having been used.

This peculiarity also occurs with the half-sovereign. The mint-mark of the arrow occurs both on the half-sovereign and half-crown, as well as upon these crowns.

No. 3. *Obv.*—EDWARD' VI + D + G + ANGL + FRA + Z + HIB + REX + Large bust in armour to the right, crowned; the interior of the crown frosted.

Rev.—EDWARD' VI + D + G + ANGL + FRA + Z + HIB + REX + The royal arms in an oval shield, garnished and crowned, between E.R. The first and fourth quarter of the arms, the interior of the crown, and the garniture of the shield, frosted m.m. on both sides; a bow; weight, 84½ gra.

The above is a pattern half-sovereign of his third year, and, from the mint-mark, would appear to have been struck in the Strand, under the authority of Sir Martin Bowes.

R. M. MURCHISON.

December, 1857.

Since the above communication was read before the Society, I have obtained a second specimen of the half-sovereign, which is now in the possession of Mr. Evans.

R. M. M.

31, BURTON-STREET, EUSTON-SQUARE, W.C.
9th August, 1860.

DEAR SIR,

As President of the Numismatic Society, possibly two or three notices of coins, etc., lately discovered, which have been communicated to me from Germany, may have interest for your society.

The discovery of Roman gold coins and torques at Lengrich, of which I formerly gave the Society some particulars, has been purchased by the King of Hanover, for his museum, for 120 Louis d'or (about 100 guineas); and discoveries of this precious metal seem likely to be plentiful in Lower Saxony, as another discovery of gold coins has just been made, which are described as amulets of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, of a peculiar form.

In the neighbourhood of a village in Upper Bavaria, about two years back, more than six hundred golden coins of a pre-Christian era were found, and are now offered for sale for the benefit of the district. Purchasers are desired to apply concerning them to the Landes-Gericht, at Ingolstadt.

A gold coin, most probably of Gontram, the Merovingian king, struck at Lausanne, has just been presented to the Museum of that town, by a Swiss inhabitant of Paris. It

is of the greatest rarity, as only three coins of that epoch from the Lausanne mint are known: one of these is in the Museum at Bamberg.

In ancient Dacia, the modern Siebenbürgen or Transylvania, a considerable addition to numismatic rarities is calculated upon, as a society has been formed in that Province, to excavate the most promising sites of antiquity, which have been hitherto unexplored. What is discovered is to be stored in the provincial museum.

Weigel, at Leipzig, has just published *Deutsche Münzgeschichte*, by Dr. Johannes Heinrich Müller, to be completed in three parts: the first reaches to the times of the emperor Otho.

The national collection of coins at Pesth contains, as far as yet in systematic order, 9020 pieces of all nations and countries, amongst which 279 so called Celtic. But, with those yet unarranged, the collection amounts to above 10,000 Hungarian, and 10,000 Greek and Roman.—Besides the rich cabinet given it by Count Franz Szechényi it has been largely increased by the purchases of the Jankovics, the J. Vezerle and J. Kiss cabinets.

In the neighbourhood of Alost in Belgium a Gaulish grave has been discovered, 11 feet long and 8 feet high, covered with stones, rising pyramidically. Besides numerous human and animal bones, the following objects were found in it: a necklace and arm-bracelets of grey and bluish pearls, intermixed with plates connected by gold wires; a sword and dirk of bronze, both with the letters FEAI on their hafts; and, in the four corners, four earthen vases, each with twelve coins; the first dozen gold, with a face in profile on the obverse, and a horse's head on the reverse, and the legend FEAI; the second dozen was of silver, with the same obverse and reverse, but with the inscription YBIOΣ; the

third dozen was also of silver, with a female head and a victory on horse-back as reverse, and with the legend ΠΙΧΤΙΑΟΣ; the fourth dozen was of mixed metal, with a male head and a cross. The use of many other instruments found could not be determined.

Dear Sir, yours very truly,
WILLIAM BELL, PHIL. DR.

W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., F.S.A., ETC.

NOTICE.

Ancient Coins. The following instructions have been issued from the Home Office to the local authorities throughout England and Wales.

WHITEHALL, *Aug. 27th.*

SIR,

I am authorized by Secretary Sir George Lewis to inform you, that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury have been pleased to authorize the payment to finders of ancient coins, gold or silver ornaments, and other relics of antiquity in England and Wales, of the actual value of the articles of the same on being delivered up for behoof of the Crown; and I am to request that you will instruct the Police Officers of your County, to give notice of these instructions of Her Majesty's Government, and to inform all persons who shall hereafter make discoveries of any such articles, that, on their delivering them to the Sheriff, they will receive from the Treasury rewards equal in amount to the full intrinsic value of the articles. In all cases, where it

VOL. XX.

DD

shall come to the knowledge of the Police that such articles have been found, and that the persons having found them refuse or neglect to deliver them up, Sir George Lewis desires that measures may be taken for their recovery, and that information may be forwarded to him.

I am, etc.

G. CLIVE.

RECENT FINDS IN SCOTLAND.

Aug. 6th, 1859. I inspected, at Exchequer, the following coins found near Dunse, in Berwickshire :—

Philip and Mary Shillings	2
Elizabeth Shillings	55
„ Sixpences	67
James I. Shillings, all English :—	
“ Exurgat ” type	11
“ Quæ Deus ” type	35
	— 46
James I. Sixpences :—	
“ Exurgat ” type	2
“ Quæ Deus ” type	5
	— 7
Charles I. Half-crowns, English	5
„ Shillings, English, very varied	156
„ Sixpences	4
German Dollars, Rudbertus, Archbishop of Salzbours,	
1623, and Ferdinand II., 1634	2
Total	344

The above comprehended the whole find. They were mostly in poor condition, except a few of Charles I. Shillings, the mint-marks on which were very varied.

Aug. 22nd. I examined, at Exchequer, three Scottish Groats, lately found at Strontian, in Argyleshire, viz., James III., com-

mon type; and two of James IV., with arched crown and bushy wig; all of Edinburgh Mint, fairly preserved.

Aug. 30th. I saw, at Exchequer, a Scottish Noble of James VI., 1572; and an English Shilling of Charles I., lately found in a grave in Lanark Moor. The Noble poor; Shilling fair.

GEORGE SIM.

DECLARATION RELATIVE TO THE FIND NEAR DUNSE.

Dunse, 28th July, 1859. William Duns, builder, in Dunse, declares :—" On Friday, 22nd July, 1858, while I was introducing the water through pipes into my house, there were found, about six or eight inches below the surface of the passage, a number of ancient silver coins. I believe they were in a bag of leather or other similar substance, which was much decayed. They numbered about 340, and weighed about $3\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. They are principally English coins; and the oldest of them belongs to the reign of Philip and Mary, and bears date 1554. There are a good many of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, bearing date respectively from 1561 down to 1603. There are also some of the reign of Charles II., bearing date 1671, which is the most modern date they bear. There is only one Scotch coin amongst them, of date 1603. The letters and figures upon them are pretty legible, and the coins are in a pretty fair state of preservation. I am quite ready to deliver them over for behoof of the Crown, on receiving their intrinsic value. I have them all at present in my possession.

"(Signed) WM. DUNS."

Declares further, he was from home when they were found, and that the weight, as certified by Messrs. Grahame, Jewellers, Dunse, was 54 ozs. 6 dwt., and they numbered 331.

Peter Miller, Joiner, in Newton-street, Dunse, aged 40, declares :—" On Friday, 22nd July, 1858, I was laying sleepers in the passage of the house occupied by Mr. William Duns, in Dunse, in order that flooring might be laid upon them. About twelve o'clock, I was digging up some of the soil in the inside of the outer door-step, with a mason's hammer, so as to get the sleepers laid properly down; while so doing, I came upon a heap of ancient coins, about seven inches below the surface. At the

time I did so, no one was there but myself. I took up some of them and looked at them, and also tried the sound of them on the door-step, and thought they were tin. I gathered up about three-fourths of them, and carried them round in my apron to George Duns, son of William Duns, who was hewing stones in a plantation near by."

He declares he shewed them to George Duns, with whom he returned and collected the rest. Mrs. Duns next saw them, and put them in a bowl. Two of them were given to Robert Whitehead, blacksmith, as curiosities. Miller goes home to dinner, and on his return, Mrs. Duns tells him she has counted them and finds 400 to be their number: he did not see them weighed or counted. Duns disputes Miller's title to the coins, and they quarrel about the division of profits, Miller claiming half, while Duns holds them to be his private property, having been found in the floor of his house. Both parties lodge claims for the value of the coins.

Peter Miller further declares:—"From the compact way in which the coins were lying, I think they must have been deposited there in a bag. I thought, after cleaning out the hole, I saw some fragments of what once might have been a leather bag, but they were so much decayed, that they crumbled on being touched."

Besides the two coins given to Whitehead, two were given to a woman named Mrs. Guthrie, of Union Cottage.

George Duns, son of, and residing with, William Duns, declares he was working, and Miller showed him a coin, saying he had found a nest of them in the passage. Duns went to the passage and dug up the nest. The whole find was put together in a basin (that is Miller's and Duns' shares); Miller kept a few. The coins were counted, and numbered 360; some, however, had been given away by this time. Does not know how many Miller kept.

COPY.

"*Dunse*, 28th July, 1859. Weight of silver coins found in the house of Mr. W. Duns, and weighed by us of this date, 54 oz. 6 dwt.

"(Signed) JAS. AND WM. GRAHAMK."

[Read before the Numismatic Society, December 13th, 1860.]

WHICH IS RIGHT, BRIT. OR BRITT?

MY DEAR SIR,

In answer to the above popular question, let me make a few remarks. The subject has been agitating the public mind for some time, and so many erroneous statements have been published, so many questions and suggestions have followed letter upon letter, that I think it quite right that our Society should "lay down the law" concerning the spelling of the inscription on the new coinage. If you think the following remarks are to the point, I offer them to the Society.

First of all: Is the dominion which our Sovereign Lady governs spelt with one or two Ts? Is it BRITANNIA, or BRITTANNIA? I have no hesitation in saying, that the former is correct; though at the same time the latter does occur. On the famous medallion of Commodus, relating to Britain, the legend is BRITTANIA (*sic*) P.M. TR.P.X, etc; and on a large brass coin of the same emperor, we find BRITT. in the exergue.¹ On both large and second brass coins of Severus, Caracalla and Geta, we find the legend,

¹ Perhaps for "BRITTANICVS"—the continuation of the legend of the obverse—though the type is that of a female, holding sword and patera.

"VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE"; and on coins of all these emperors, we find VICTORIAE BRIT.—VICT. BRIT., the one T only being used, though the abbreviation may be for BRITANNICAE, as on the other coins. In favour of one T, I do not think we can pass over *poetical* authority. The following quotations may afford sufficient evidence for our argument.

"Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos."²

Virgil, Bucol. Ecl. i. v. 67.

"Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos, et juvenum recens
Examen."³

Horace, Lib. i. Ode xxxv.

"—— et nostro didacta Britannia mundo."

Claudian, De Cons. Mall. Theod. v. 51.

² Part of this line, "Toto divisos orbe Britannos," is the second inscription of the reverse of the famous medal of Napoleon I., having been substituted for his "Descente en Angleterre," which was the original inscription, with "Frappée à Londres, 1804" in exergue; and issued again in 1806, on the proclamation of blockade of the British Islands by the Berlin decree.

³ Another illustration in favour of one T may not be amiss, inasmuch as it is amusing as well as instructive. Spartian, one of the "Scriptores Historiæ Augusti," says that Florus addressed Hadrian as follows:—

"Ego nolo Cæsar esse
Ambulare per Britannos
Scythicas pati pruinas."

To which Hadrian wittily replied:—

"Ego nolo Florus esse
Ambulare per tabernas
Latitare per popinas
Culices pati rotundas."

Capt. (now Admiral) Smyth quotes this after his description of the "Disciplina Aug." of Hadrian.

"Quanto Delphinis balæna Britannica major."⁴

Juvenal, Lib. iv., Sat. x., v. 14.

These quotations plainly demonstrate that BRITANNIA should be spelt with one T, or the I would become *long*. It may be interesting to examine the following list of the different spellings selected from between the reigns of Claudius and Geta, inclusive.

TWO TS.

BRITTANNIA. Had. 2 Æ.

BRITTANIA (*sic*). Comm. Æ med.

BRITT. Comm. 1. Æ.

VICTORIAE BRITTANNICAE. Sev. Carac. and Geta.
1. 2 Æ.

ONE T.

ADVENTVI. AVG. BRITANNIAE. Had. 1. Æ (Hobler).

BRITANNIA. Had. 1. 2 Æ. Anton. 1. 2 Æ. Comm.
1. Æ (Vaillant).

BRITAN. Anton. 1. Æ.

BRITANNICVS. Britannicus 1. Æ

BPETANNIKOΣ. ————— and Nero 3 Æ } On obverse.

BRIT. Comm. Sev. Carac. and Geta.

EXERC. BRITANNICVS } Had. 1. Æ.

EXERC. BRITAN.

⁴ There is only one example among the poets (as far as I know), in which the first syllable is *long*, and that is in *Lucretius*, Lib. vi. l. 1106 :—

"Nam quid Brittannis coelum differre putamus."

I quote Lachmann's edition. There are many other readings—"Britannis," "Brittannum," "Brittanidis," etc. This last is in the Ed. Havercamp, in which there is a lengthy note arguing its superiority; and it is quoted as the correct reading in the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* The Greeks called "The Islands" "*βερράνιδας*" according to Dion, and Lucretius may have taken the word from the Greek, "Britain" being nearly always spelt with two Ts, as "*βερράνια*," "*βίρρανια*."

DE. BRITANNIS.	Claudius.	Æ. Med.
DE. BRITANNI.	—	Æ.
DE. BRITANN.	—	Æ. R.
VICTORIAE. BRIT.	Sev. Æ.	Carac. Æ. R. Geta Æ.
VICT. BRIT.	Comm. 1. Æ.	Sev. 1. 2 Æ. Carac. 1. 2 Æ. Geta 1. Æ.

Now to answer the question, Whether BRIT. or BRITT. ought to be part of the legend on the new coinage? And on this subject it is curious to see the various opinions in our newspapers. Some say, that "one ought to double the last letter of the abbreviation to form the plural"; others, "that the additional letter is the last letter of the word," and quote MSS. (manuscripts!) as an example. To the first rule an objector rises; he has found a shilling with the word BRITANNIAR on it. "If," says he, "one ought to double the last letter of the abbreviation, why has not the R been doubled?" Besides, there are minor discussions about "Britannia-æ—Britanniæ-arum"; of these I need not speak.

In answer to the above suggestions, I should reply, that the argument, founded on the supposition of the "additional letter being the last letter of the word abbreviated, if that abbreviation is more than one syllable, is without precedent in classical authority; nor is "the additional letter the last letter of the word." "COS," stands for "Consul," or "consuli"; "COSS," for "Consules," or, "Consulibus."⁵

⁵ It is impossible to lay down any law for the abbreviation of the first syllable; for instead of "CONS." for "Consul," as we should expect, we find "COS." "CONS" occurs as an abbreviation for the genitive singular and plural, or the dative singular. On the coins of Romulus (1060—1062, A.D. 306—309) there is the legend DIVO·ROMVLO NVBISCONS; lately shewn by M. Adrien de Longpérier, in the *Revue Numismatique* (T. V., No. 1, p. 36), to read DIVO·ROMVLO·N. *oblissimo* V. *iro* BIS.

"CAES," for "Cæsar"; "CAESS," for "Cæsares," or "Cæsaribus"; "MS," for "Manu-Scriptum," "MSS," for "Manu-Scripta"; "IMP," for "Imperator," "IMPP," for "Imperatores"; "NOB. CAES.," for "Nobilis Cæsar," "NOBB. CAESS.," for "Nobiles Cæsares"; "AVG.," for "Augustus," "AVGG.," for two Augusti, and "AVGGG.," for three. "ADVENT. AVGG.," or "VIRTVS. AVGG.," would of course be "Adventus," or, "Virtus Augustorum."⁶

We may compare with our inscription of "BRITANNIAR," the legend "VIRTVS. AVGVSTOR." Do we find an extra R added to express the plural? Do we find "AVGVSTT" for two Augusti, or "AVGVSTTT" for three? No. The abbreviations are thoroughly Latin, and *the additional letter is added after the first syllable, that letter being a repetition of the last letter of the first syllable*, as may be seen in the examples above given.⁷ Why so much agitation about the new coinage should have occurred, seems astonishing. I might give many more examples; but I think I have proved that "BRITT." cannot but be correct, if written for "Britanniarum"; and "BRITT.," on the new coinage of our Queen, representing, as it is meant to do, "The British Islands—Great Britain and Ireland," is, as every scholar (who has in any way studied

CONSuli. Also on an aureus of Heraclius I. and Heracleonas (1363—1394, A.D. 610—641), there is on the reverse, VICTORIA. CONSABIA (?). This evidently is, "Victoria Consulis," or "Consulum." ABIA is yet unexplained.

⁶ I must here remark, that the affix of G to AVG does not necessarily mean *two* Augusti, "AVGG" being often used in a *plural* sense.

⁷ If the first syllable is only one letter, that letter is repeated, as in "LL.D.," for "Legum Doctor"; "DD.," for "Domini," or "Dominorum"; "NN.," for "Nostri," or "Nostrorum," as the case may be, etc., etc.

our ancient Roman coins or the classics) will most assuredly allow, the right and proper reading. Therefore "BRIT." is not the correct form to put on our coins.

I am yours very truly.

FRED. W. MADDEN.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., F.S.A.,
Pres. Num. Soc.

INDEX I.

NAMES OF THE AUTHORS AND OF THE PAPERS CONTRIBUTED BY THEM.

- ABADIE, A. THOMAS** DE, on the Money of Ethiopia. 1839. ii. 65—68.
- AKERMAN, J. Y.** Further Observations on the Coinage of the Ancient Britons. 1838. i. 73—90.
- Coins of Carausius and Allectus. 1838. i. 127, 128.
- Unpublished Ancient British Coins. 1839. ii. 71—80; 191, 192; 231, 232; iii. 152, 153.
- Rude Coins discovered in England. 1841. iv. 30—34.
- Coins of Ephesus, struck during the dominion of the Romans. 1841. iv. 73—119.
- Gold Mancus. 1842. v. 122—124.
- Forgeries of Public Money. vi. 57—82.
- Description of some Merovingian and other Gold Coins, discovered in the parish of Crondale, in Hampshire, in the year 1828. 1843. vi. 171—182.
- Tokens issued by Wiltshire Tradesmen. 1845. viii. 97—115.
- Leaden Tokens found in London. 1845. viii. 116, 117.
- Numismatic Illustrations of the Narrative Portions of the New Testament. 1845. viii. 133—162.
- Numismatic Illustrations of the Acts of the Apostles. ix. 17—43.
- Examples of London Coffee-house and Tavern Tokens. ix. 49—66.
- Examples of London Coffee-house, Tavern, and Tradesmen's Tokens, 1847. x. 63—79.
- AKERMAN, J. Y.** Unedited Coin of Domitian. x. 103.
- Gaulish Coins with the Type of the Charioteer. xi. 147—155.
- Note on the Gold Coin inscribed VERIC.COM.F. xi. 155, 156.
- Ancient British Coins found in Whaddon Chase. xii. 1—5.
- Unpublished Ancient British Coin, found on Farley-heath. xii. 67.
- Note on a Gold Coin in the Cabinet of Mr. Cuff. xii. 79—81.
- BAKER, THOMAS.** List of Roman Coins, found at Sapper-ton Tunnel, Gloucestershire. vii. 193—195.
- BARTH, HENRY.** The Adoption of the Athenian Standard in the Coinage of some Italian and Sicilian Cities, about Olymp. 75 (B.C. 481), corroborated and accounted for by Historical Evidence. 1845. vii. 156—171.
- BELL, WILLIAM.** Particulars of the Discovery of valuable Gold Ornaments and many Roman Coins, at Lengrich, in the kingdom of Hanover. xviii. 54—56.
- Discovery of Roman Gold Coins and Torques, at Lengrich. (Letter, addressed to W.S.W. Vaux, Esq.), 1860. xx. 189—191.
- BERGMANN, HERR,** on Austrian Medals. iv. 184.
- BERGNE, J. B.** Pennies of William the Conqueror. 1838. i. 119—122.

BERGNE, J. B.

Additions to Mr. Walpole's Account of the Family of Roetiers. iii. 56—60.

Irish Penny of Edward I. 1842. v. 120, 121.

Remarks on the Pennies of Henry, with the short and long Cross. 1847. x. 26—42.

Half-crowns of Charles I., of uncertain Mints. 1848. xii. 57—62.

Unpublished Exeter Half-crowns of Charles I. 1849. xii. 62—64.

Numismatic Sermon, preached in 1694. xiv. 50—54.

Unpublished Coins of Cuthred, Baldred, and William the Conqueror. 1851. xiv. 145—150.

Coin of Carausius, of a new and unpublished Type. 1851. xiv. 150—152.

Another Type of Baldred. 1852. xv. 102, 103.

Denarius of Pescennius Niger. xvi. 41.

Coin Pedigrees. 1853. xvi. 133—146; xvii. 20—32.

Unpublished Coins. 1855. xviii. 115—119.

Foreign or Counterfeit Sterlings. 1855. xviii. 121—129.

BIRCH, S. Medallions of Caracalla and Geta, with the head of the latter erased. 1838. i. 194—197.

Coins of the Thessalian Larissa. 1839. i. 222—230.

Unedited Greek Coins, obtained by the British Museum, from Count Falbe. 1839. ii. 57—61.

Researches relative to the Connection of the Deities represented upon the Coins of Egyptian Nomes with the Egyptian Pantheon. 1839. ii. 86—107.

Coin of Magnesia, with the Head of Cicero. 1839. ii. 107—112.

Unedited Coins of Asia. 1839. ii. 160—171.

BIRCH, S.

Coins connected with the Geography of Galatia. 1839. ii. 223—230.

Remarks on an Unedited Coin of Pergamus. 1840. ii. 243—247.

Type of Phæstus, in Crete. 1840. iii. 69—82.

Unedited Asiatic Coins. 1840. iii. 90—99.

Discovery of Roman Coins in Spain. iii. 126.

Unedited Coin of Demetrius the Second. 1840. iv. 11—15.

Unedited Greek Coins, with Notes and Illustrations. 1841. iv. 127—145.

Type of Aegiale and Epidauros. 1842. v. 193—196.

Tin Coins of Tavoy. vi. 91—93.

Unedited Coins, principally of Asia Minor. 1844. vii. 5—18.

Medal from Cha Poo, in the Province of Che Keang. vii. 43.

New proposed Reading of certain Coins of Cunobeline, 1844, vii. 78—84.

Notes on some Types of Tarentum. 1844. vii. 107—109.

Types of Terina. 1844. vii. 142—145.

Sycee Silver. 1845. vii. 173—179.

Inedited Greek Coins. 1845. viii. 39—48.

Notes on Types of Caulonia. 1845. viii. 163—169.

Chinese Bank Note. 1849. xii. 169—171.

New Coins of British Reguli. 1851. xiv. 71—79.

Coins of Germanus. xviii. 165—172.

Remarkable Coin of Seuthes I. 1859. xx. 151—156.

BORRELL, H. P., on Coins of Andeda in Pisidia. 1839. ii. 1—4.

Coin of Artaxias, King of Armenia. 1839. ii. 4—6.

Notice sur quelques Médailles

BORRELL, H. P.

- Grecques des Rois de Chypre. 1839. ii. 51—53.
- Remarks on the Type of some of the Coins of Ænians of Thessaly. 1839. ii. 149—152.
- Restitution to the city of Ephesus (when called Arsinoë) of the Coins hitherto attributed to Arsinoë, in Cyreniaca, and to Arsinoë, in Cilicia. 1839. ii. 171—176.
- Restitution of several Coins hitherto supposed to belong to the cities of Apollonia, in Lydia and Caria to Apollonia, in Pisidia. 1839. ii. 182—187.
- An Inquiry into the early Lydian Money, and an attempt to fix the Classification of certain Coins to Cræsus. 1839. ii. 216—223.
- Restitution to Histiaëotis, in Thessaly, of several Coins hitherto classed to Histiaëa, in Eubœa. 1840. ii. 232—237.
- Some Observations on the Coins of Pellene, in Achaia, which have been erroneously classed by Numismatic Writers to Pella, in Macedonia, Pelinna, in Thessaly, and to the island of Peparethus. 1840. ii. 237—242.
- on the Coins reading OKO-KAIEQN. 1840. iii. 35—39.
- on Unedited Autonomous and Imperial Greek Coins. 1840. iii. 103—116; 133—148; iv. 1—11; 142. v. 173—192; 1842-3. vii. 115—160; 187—200; 1844. vii. 45—77; 115—134; 1845. viii. 2—35; 1846. ix. 143—172; x. 80—100, 1848. xi. 57—59.
- on Unedited Coins of the Lower Empire. 1840. iv. 15—22.
- on some Coins of Argos in Argolis, and particularly on an early Coin, struck for Pheidon, King of the Argives. 1840. vi. 42—52.

BORRELL, MAXIMILIAN. Regal Syrian Tetra-drachms,

BORRELL, MAXIMILIAN,

- found in Tarsus. xv. 40—57.
- Coins of the Vandals in Africa. xvii. 3—12.
- BOYNE, W.** Notice of six Plates of Tokens of the seventeenth century, having reference to to London and Southwark. xx. 176—187.
- BUNBURY, E. H.,** on the Date of some of the Coins of Himera. 1845. vii. 179—186.
- BURGON, J. W.** Pistrucci's Invention (a Letter to the Editor). 1838. i. 53—62.
- on the Amelioration of the Coinage, A.D. 1560. 1839. ii. 12—17.
- on a Hoard of Pennies of Henry II., found in Bedfordshire. 1839. ii. 54—57.
- on a New Method of obtaining Representations of Coins. iii. 190—192.
- BURGON, THOMAS,** on a Mode of ascertaining the Places to which Ancient British Coins belong. 1838. i. 36—53.
- Observations on a Coin of Cleopatra and M. Anthony. 1838. i. 198—201.
- on Coins of Lebadeia and Zacynthus. 1839. i. 248—252.
- on the Coins of Zancle; and on a very remarkable Variation in the Type of a Coin of that city, in the British Museum. 1840. iii. 40—47.
- on two Newly-discovered Silver Tetradrachms of Amyntas, King of Galatia: with some Remarks on the Diminution in Weight of the Attic Drachma. 1845. viii. 69—96.
- on certain Rare Greek Coins, recently acquired by the British Museum. 1855. xix. 229—236.
- BURN, J. H.** Memoir on the Roetiers. 1841, iii. 158—189.

CARRARA, SIGNOR, on a Lead Coin of Theodora. iv. 182, 183.

F F

- CARRUTHERS, JAMES.** Discovery of English and Scotch Coins in Ireland. viii. 49.
List of Roman Coins from Cole-raine. xvii. 111—115.
- CARTIER, M.** Memoirs on the Coins of the Kings of the First Race. iii. 62.
- CAUTUS,** on Cast-dies for Medals. 1838. i. 122—127.
- CHAFFERS, W.,** on Pontefract Siege Pieces. 1854. xvii. 93—95.
- CHALON, RENIER,** on a Sterling of Blumberg, in Alsace, with the Type of the Pennies of Henry III. of England. 1850. xiv. 44, 45.
Curious Counterfeit Sterling xix. 11, 12.
- CHRISTMAS, HENRY.** Tin Money of the Trading Parts of the Burman Empire. 1844. vii. 33—34.
Inedited Saxon and English Coins. 1844. vii. 135—142.
Numismatic Scraps. 1845. viii. 36, 39; 125—127.
- CORY, J. P.,** Proposal for the introduction of the Decimal Division in Money. 1838. i. 114—118.
- CUFF, J. D.** An Account of Gold Coins of James I. and Charles I., discovered at Southend. 1838. i. 30—33.
on some Gold Coins of Edward III. and Richard II., recently found at Westminster. 1842, v. 133—141.
on Anglo-Saxon Coins discovered at York, in the year 1842. ix. 121—127.
- CUNNINGHAM, LIEUT.** An Attempt to explain some of the Monograms found upon the Grecian Coins of Ariana and India. 1845. viii. 175—197.
on the Ancient Coinage of Kashmir. 1843. vi. 1—38.
- DESCHAMPS, L.,** on two Unpublished coins connected with the History of Boulogne-sur-mer. 1839. ii. 192—198.
- DICKINSON, W. B.,** on the Jewel, or Ring-money of the Interior of Africa. vi. 201—212.
Tin-money of the Trading Parts of the Burman Empire. vii. 29—33.
on Bullion Currency, 1844. vii. 85—94.
On the Term "Bar," employed in African Exchange Computation. 1844. vii. 94—99.
on Concurrent Medal Money and Jewel Currency. 1845. viii. 207—220.
Silver Coinage of Siam, 1848. xi. 40—48.
on the African Gold Ring Currency of the Jolax Tribe, and the Silver Fish-hook Money of Ceylon. 1848. xi. 161—176.
Further Remarks on the Silver Fish-hook Money, and the Ticals of Siam. xii. 82—91.
Dudu-Masu, Coco-Reedi, or Hook-money of Ceylon. 1850. xiii. 61—66.
Remarks on a Gold Ring found at Wormleighton, Warwickshire. 1851. xiv. 57—65.
Find of Anglo-Saxon Coins in the Isle of Man. xvi. 99—104.
A Defence of Ring-money, as a Medium of Exchange. 1853. xvi. 150—169.
Remarks on some Saxon Coins, found in the Isle of Man. xvii. 130.
- DUMERSAN, M.,** on the Coins called "Cistophori." ix. 1—6; 66—79.
- DYMOCK, J.,** on Northumbrian Skeattas. iii. 154, 155.
Arrangement of Mercian Pennies, bearing the Inscription "Ceolwulf," or "Ciolwulf Rex." 1841. iv. 23—27.
on a Supposed Penny of Stephen. 1841. iv. 146, 147.
on Coins of Ethelstan. 1842. v. 124—127.
on a Penny of Æthelstan, 1842. v. 127—129.
- ELLIS, SIR H., K.H.** Proclama-

ELLIS, SIR H., K.H.

tions relating to the English Coinage. 1842. v. 196—201.

EVANS, J., on the Date of British

Coins, 1849. xii. 127—136.

on some Coins of the Empress Matilda, Queen of England. 1851. xiv. 66—71.

Remarks on the British Coins attributed to Dubnovellaunus. 1851. xiv. 79—82.

List of Coins found at Ayott St. Lawrence. xiv. 83, 84.

Remarks on the Coins of Cunobeline, and the Ancient Britons. xiv. 126—140.

on another Coin reading WERERIC. 1851. xiv. 153, 154.

Remarks on Rare and Unpublished Coins. 1852. xv. 92—97.

Unique Noble of Edward IV. 1852. xvi. 38—40.

on some Rare and Unpublished British Coins. 1853. xvi. 80—88.

on Unpublished Coins of Carausius. 1853. xvi. 170—174.

on the Attribution of a new Type in Silver to Dubnovellaunus. 1853. xvi. 176—179.

on a Method of Casting Coins in use among the Ancient Britons. xvii. 18, 19.

on the Coins of Cunobeline, with the Legend TASCIOVANI. F. 1855. xviii. 36—44.

on some Rare and Unpublished British Coins. 1855. xviii. 44—53.

on the Attribution of certain Ancient British Coins to Addedomaros. 1856. xviii. 155—161.

Errors respecting the Coinage of the Ancient Celtic Kings of Britain. 1856. xviii. 161—165.

on a Rare Noble of the first coinage of Edward IV. 1856. xix. 8—10.

on some Unpublished Types of Ancient British Coins. 1857. xix. 64—70.

on a Gold Coin of Epaticcus. 1857. xx. 1—8.

EVANS, J.

on a Shilling of Edward. VI. 1856. xx. 22—24.

on a Barbarous Coin or Amulet of Helena, the mother of Constantine. xx. 43—48.

on some Coins of Tasciovanus, with the Legend, VER.BOD. 1858. xx. 57—65.

on the Coins found upon and near the site of Ancient Verulam. 1858. xx. 101—141.

on some Rare and Unpublished British Coins. 1860. xx. 157—175.

FAIRHOLT, F. W. Proclamation against Wood's Half-pence. xiv. 54—56.

on Early Celtic Coins, found in Kent. 1853. xvi. 184—186.

FAIRLESS, J., Stycas, found at York. 1844. vii. 34—36.

FALBE, M. Les Antiques Monnaies d'Abdera de la Bétique. 1849. xiii. 24—37.

FIELD, J., on Ancient Coyning-Yrons. 1844. vii. 18—22.

FINLAY, GEORGE. Note on Byzantine Coins. 1854. xvii. 126—128.

FITZGERALD, J. E., on a Coin of Guy de Lusignan, King of Cyprus. 1845. viii. 197—206.

FOX, ROBT. Roman Coins found at Knapwell, in Cambridgeshire. iv. 64, 65.

FOX, Lieut.-General. Engravings of Unedited or Rare Greek Coins, with Descriptions, Notice of. xix. 47, 48.

FRANCIS, G. G. Silver Pennies found at Swansea. iii. 60, 61.

GIBBS, JOSEPH. Suggestions on an Unpublished Shilling of Queen Anne, of the second issue of the Edinburgh Mint, being an attempt to reconcile the date of the coin with the traditionary tale as to the cause of such second issue. 1854. xvii. 83—89.

GROTEFEND, G. F. Letter from

GROTEFEND, G. F.

Dr. Lee, on Ring-Money.
1838. i. 181—187.

Translation of Paper on "What
People first stamped Money?"
1839. i. 234—247.

on the Kesitah of the Holy Scrip-
ture. 1840. ii. 248—252.

H. L. Y., on the Pennies of Regnald.
1839. ii. 7—11.

on the Types of the Irish Coins
of King John. 1839. ii. 187
—190.

on Sceattas. 1839. ii. 152—160.
on the Arrangement of the Coins
of the Archbishops of Can-
terbury. 1839. ii. 209—215.

HAGGARD, W. DEBONNAIRE,
on Medals of the Pretender.
1839. i. 209—222; ii. 37—
42; ii. 124—132; ii. 177—182,
1840. iii. 149—152.

Observations on the Standard of
Value and the Circulating
Medium of this Country.
1839. ii. 17—35.

Notice of a Medal of the Cheva-
lier d'Eon. 1847. xi. 48—56.
on Californian Gold. xiii. 37—
41.

HAIGH, D. H., on the Coins of East
Anglia. 1839. ii. 47—51.

on the Pennies of Henry III.,
with the short cross. 1841.
iii. 201—204.

Legends on British Coins. 1841.
iv. 27, 28.

Paper by; Remarks on by Editor
of Chronicle. iv. 29, 30.

Remarks upon the Numismatic
History of East Anglia
during the 7th and 8th Cen-
turies. 1841. iv. 34—41.

on Coins of Romanus, I. and II.
1841. iv. 54—56.

Remarks on Early Scottish Coins,
and on the Arrangement of
those bearing the name of
Alexander. 1841. iv. 67—
72.

on the Gold Triens inscribed,
"Dorovernis Civitas." 1841.
iv. 120, 121.

Further Remarks on the Numis-
matic History of East Anglia,

HAIGH, D. H.

during the ninth Century.
1841. iv. 195—200.

on the Coins of the Cuerdale
Find, with the names "Sie-
fredus," "Cunnetti," and
"Ebraice." 1842. v. 105—
117.

on Leaden Tokens. 1843. vi.
82—90.

An Essay on the Numismatic
History of the East Angles,
Notice of. ix. 45—47.

HAMILTON, W. R., on Blondeau's
Proposal for Reforming the
Coinage of England. 1838.
i. 165—180.

on Cast Dies for Medals. 1839.
i. 230—233.

HAWKINS, E. Remarks on the
the Coins of Northumbria.
1838. i. 1—4.

Remarks upon the Sceatta and
Styca, attributed to Huth of
Northumbria. 1838. i. 5—
12.

Observations on British Coins.
1838. i. 13—26.

on some Saxon Coins, discovered
near Gravesend, in 1838.
1840. iii. 14—34.

Notice on F. D.'s Northumbrian
Skeattas. iii. 156—157.

An account of Coins and Treas-
ure found in Cuerdale, 1841.
v. 1—48; 53—104.

Discovery of English Pennies at
Bermondsey. viii. 170.

Counterfeit Sterlings. 1850. xiii.
86—94.

Naval Honorary Medals. xiii.
95—110.

Gold Coins of England. xiii. 46
—60; 113—128; 167—180.

Badges and Memorials of Charles
I. xiii. 191—205; xiv. 30—
44.

Find of English Coins at Bamp-
ton. xiv. 84, 85.

HAWKINS, WALTER. Note on
the Change of Position in the
Legend of the Dollar of 1567,
of John George II., Elector
of Saxony. 1841. iv. 169.
on a Dollar of John George II.,
Elector of Saxony. iv. 169.

- HAWKINS, WALTER.**
on a Russian Beard Token. 1845. vii. 153—155.
- HOARE, EDWARD,** on Irish Base Groats. 1841. iv. 208—211.
- Ancient British Coins found in Dorsetshire.** vi. 200, 211.
- on some Celtic Ring-money with pointed ends, similar to the African Ring-currency. 1844. vii. 1—5.
- On a Curious Foreign Sterling. 1845. viii. 1, 2.
- Varieties of the Irish Base Groats of Philip and Mary. viii. 170.
- Unpublished Varieties of the Irish Full-face Half-pence of John. 1847. x. 104—107; 179—181; 1851. xiv. 4—8
- Unpublished Variety of Geta, in Middle Brass, relating to Britain. xiv. 86, 87.
- Coin of Edward the Confessor, with probable Surname. xiv. 176, 177.
- on another Uncertain Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Danish Coin. 1853. xvi. 146—149.
- Pattern Groats of Edward I., found near Drogheda, Ireland; and Unpublished Penny of Alexander II. or III. of Scotland, coined in Stirling, found near the same locality. xvi. 192.
- on a Unique and Unpublished Crown-penny of Edward IV., minted at Waterford. 1853. xvii. 1—3.
- Silver Coins found near Dublin. xvii. 57, 58.
- on Celto-Irish Ring-money, with a Descriptive Catalogue. xvii. 62—83.
- HOLMBOE, Prof.,** on Pennies of Henry II. and Henry III. iv. 184, 185.
- on Coins of Ethelred II. 1854. xvii. 95—97.
- Le "Mancus" des Anglo-Saxons. 1858. xx. 149, 150.
- HOLROYD, A. T.,** on the Iron Money of Kordofan. 1839. i. 210—213.
- J. J.** Unpublished Penny of William I., reading, *ÆLNER* on SNVD. v. 159.
- on some Unpublished English Pennies of Edward IV. and Henry VIII. vi. 90, 91.
- JONES, J. COVE.** Remarkable Coin of Carausius. xv. 97, 98.
- KENYON, JOSEPH,** on a Mercian Penny of Heribert. 1843. vi. 163—168.
- Unpublished Penny of Ethelstan I., of East Anglia. vii. 38, 39.
- Worcester Penny of Alfred. vii. 39, 40.
- Discovery of Ancient Coins and other Treasure near Preston. iii. 62—65.
- KING, C. W.,** on Coins of Maximianus and Carausius. vii. 200.
- LANGDON, AUGUSTIN W.** Unpublished Coins. 1854. xvii. 98—101.
- LEAKE, W. MARTIN.** Weights of Greek Coins. 1854. xvii. 201—214.
- LEE, JOHN.** Observations on some remarkable large Brass Roman Coins. 1848. xii. 19—26.
- LENORMANT, CH.,** on the Origin of the Celtiberian Alphabet, and on the Meaning of some of the Characters that compose it. 1840. iii. 1—13.
- LINDSAY, J.,** on the Styca, supposed of Huath of Northumbria. 1838. i. 141—147.
- on an Unpublished Penny of Æthelstan, and Half-penny of Edward the Confessor. ii. 35—37.
- on the Appropriation of certain Coins to Northumbria and East Anglia. 1839. ii. 132—138.
- A View of the Coinage of Ireland, Notice of. ii. 138—140.
- Coins found at Dungarvan. iii. 194, 195.
- Penny of Edward the Elder. iii. 195.

LINDSAY, J.

Presumed Skeatta of Archbishop Theodore. v. 158, 159.

on some Anglo-Saxon Stycas. 1842. vi. 38—41.

a View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy, Notice of. vi. 93—103.

a View of the Coinage of Scotland, Notice of. viii. 171.

on some Unpublished Medals. xviii. 128—130.

LLOYD, W. WATKISS on the Types of the Coins of Caenonia. x. 1—20.

Observations on Coins of Selinus. 1847. x. 108—126.

on Coins of Crotona. 1847. xi. 1—18.

on Chorographical Greek Coins. 1848. xi. 105—119.

LOEWE, DR. L. Notice of a Mam-lúk Coin, struck by command of the Sultan, Melik Dháher Rokn-Ed-Din Bibars Bondodhari. 1857. xix. 71—84.

Memoir on the Lemlein Medal. 1857. xix. 237—270.

LONGPERIER, ADRIEN DE, on a Coin of Titipolis in Isauria. 1839. i. 213—217.

on a Remarkable Gold Coin of Offa, 1841. iv. 232—234.

Note on some Curious Coins of the Cuerdale Find. 1842. v. 117—120.

Remarks on an Unedited Mouton D'or, struck in Normandy by Henry V. of England. xii. 6—19.

Essai sur les Médailles des Rois Perses, List of Errors and Omissions in. xv. 184—187.

LOSCOMBE, C. W., on Sceattas. i. 66, 67.

Cæsar's Account of British Money. v. 157, 158.

on a Medal of the Saxe-Coburg Family. vi. 169.

LUYNES, Le Duc de. Coins of Abdemon, Pharnabazus, Syphax, and of Alexander Bala. xiv. 8—20.

MADDEN, FRED. W. Which is Right, BRIT. or BRITT., on

MADDEN, FRED. W.

the New Coinage of 1860? (A Letter, addressed to W.S.W. Vaux, Esq.) 1860. xx. 195—200.

MOMMSEN, Prof., on the Weight of Sassanian Coins. xix. 223, 224.

MOORE, W. YORKE, on the Pennies of Henry, with the Short and Long Cross. 1846. x. 21—26.

MÜLLER, L., on a Tetradrachm of Alexander. 1858. xx. 39—42.

MURCHISON, R. M., on some Unique Gold Coins of Edward VI. 1857. xx. 187, 188.

NEWTON, CHAS., on the Coin attributed by Mr. Borrell to Alexander of Phæræ. 1844. vii. 110—113.

Proposed Attribution to Allaria, in Crete, of a Coin at present ascribed to Lacedæmon. 1844. vii. 114, 115.

NICHOLS, J. G. Anecdotes of the English Coinage. 1839. ii. 80—85.

NIGHTINGALE, B. Letter on the Roettiers. iii. 56.

Remarks on a Paper entitled "Memoir of the Roettiers." iv. 56—61.

Notices of Thomas Simon. iv. 211—232.

on New Penny Pieces for 1841. iv. 62.

Letter from Thomas Rawlins to John Evelyn. iv. 123—125.

Issues of the Exchequer, being Payments made out of H.M. Revenues, Temp. James I. and Charles I. iv. 181, 182.

Tower Mint, 1651 and 1679. iv. 237, 238.

on a Large Brass Coin of Otho. v. 49, 50.

Spurious Ancient Coins. v. 159, 160.

Thomas Simon and the Roettiers, 1844. vii. 22—24.

on Siege-money of Landau, 1845. vii. 25—27.

Tin-money of the Trading Parts

NIGHTINGALE, B.

of the Burman Empire, 144.
vii. 27—29.

Notice of Thomas Simon in
Shadwell's Play, "Sullen
Lovers." vii. 146.

on a Medal of Sir John Fortescue.
viii. 50, 51.

on a Medal of the Pretender. ix.
44.

Roman Remains, Farley Heath.
1847. x. 143, 144.

Henry, Prince of Wales, son of
James I., a Coin Collector.
xi. 187, 188.

Thomas Rawlins, and the Hono-
rary Medals of the Common-
wealth. xiii. 129—133.

Medallic Tickets. xviii. 89—
104.

OLDFIELD, EDMUND, on the
Orthographical Form of the
Names inscribed on certain
Gaulish and British Coins.
xv. 107—120.

OLSHAUSEN, DR. JUL. Pehlevi
Legends on the Coins of the
last Sassanian Kings, of the
early Arabian Khalifs, of the
Isphebeds, of Taberistan, and
on the Indo-Persic Coins of
Eastern Iran. xi. 60—92;
121—146.

PFISTER, I. G. Dates on Coins. i.
63—65.

on Forged Mediæval Coins. i.
65, 66.

on a Unique and Unpublished
Gold Coin [Sequin], struck
in the Island of Rhodes, by
James de Milly, the 34th
Grand Master of the Order
of St. John of Jerusalem,
1454—1461. 1850. xiv. 1
—3.

Memoirs of Johann Crocker,
Chief Engraver and Medal-
list of the English Mint,
during the Reigns of Queen
Anne and the Kings George
I. and II. xv. 67—73.

on an Unedited Gold Coin of
Florence, struck in 1805,
which was called, "Il Zec-

PFISTER, I. G.

chino di San Zenobio." 1852.
xvi. 77—80.

on a Unique and Unedited Silver
Coin (Denarius) of Odoacer,
King of Italy, A.D. 476—
493, struck at Ravenna.
1855. xvii. 223—237.

Unique Coin of Sora: struck in
1462, when the Duchy of
Sora became annexed to the
Patrimony of St. Peter. xvii.
238—244.

on a very Rare Silver Coin (De-
nario d'Argento) of Beren-
garius II., King of Italy,
with his Son, Albertus (Ad-
albertus) as Co-Regent, A.D.
950—962. 1855. xviii. 57—
75.

Stray Leaves from the Journal
of a Traveller in search of
Ancient Coins. xix. 85—
220.

PINDER, M. Ancient Coins in the
Museum of Berlin; Trans-
lation by Edmund Oldfield,
Esq. xvii. 174—199.

POEY D'AVANT, M. Translation
of Paper by, on Roman Coin
Moulds. 1838. i. 147—153.

Translation of Paper by, on a
Manufactory of Money, dis-
covered at Damery, in the
Department of Marne, 1830.
1838. i. 154—161.

POOLE, REG. STUART. Some
Remarks on the Copper Coin-
age of the Byzantine Em-
perors. 1853. xvi. 114—121.

Observations on a Kazbegi of
Feth Aleeh Shah, King of
Persia. 1854. xvii. 33—38.

Some Account of a Hoard of
Roman Coins found in North-
amptonshire. 1854. xvii. 38
—48.

on the Coinage of the Dynasties
called the Benec-Tooloon,
and the Ikhsheedeeyeh, ruling
in Egypt. 1854. xvii. 116—
126.

PORTER, J. SCOTT, on Roman
Coins found near Coleraine.
1854. xvii. 101—111.

POSTE, BEALE. Answer to

POSTE, BEALE.

Remarks by J. Evans, Esq., on the Coins of Cunobeline, and of the Ancient Britons. xv. 1—21.

on the Date of the British Coins, inscribed "DVBNOVEL-LAVNOS," and on the Legend, "TASCIOVANI. F." xv. 208—217.

Correction of Errors respecting the Coinage of the Ancient Celtic Kings of Britain. xviii. 105—114.

PRETTY, E. Fewter Farthings in Time of Cromwell. vi. 217, 218.

PUTTOCK, JAMES. Saxon Coins found near Dorking, in 1817. vii. 199, 200.

RASHLEIGH, J. Descriptive List of a Collection of Coins of Henry I. and Stephen, discovered in Hertfordshire, in 1818. xii. 138—165.

Two Coins of Henry Newburgh, Earl of Warwick (?), and some Coins supposed to be Baronial. xii. 165—169.

Brief Notice of the Bute Collection of Medals and Coins. 1850. xiii. 1—7.

An Account of some Baronial and other Coins of King Stephen's Reign. 1850. xiii. 181—191.

READE, Rev. J. B. Observations on the Roman Coin-moulds found at Lingwell Gate, near Wakefield, in the years 1697, 1706, 1820, 1830. 1838. i. 161—165.

on the Date of Cleopatra's Assumption of the Title, ΘΕΑ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ. 1838. i. 209.

R., G. C. A Description of two Cufic Coins. 1839. ii. 69—71.

RÜPPELL, D. EDWARD, on an Unedited Coin of one of the early Kings of Abyssinia. 1845. viii. 121, 122.

S.

Penny of Edred. iv. 184.

SAINTHILL, R., on the Coins of William the Conqueror. 1839. ii. 42—47.

on the Groats of Henry VII. with the open crown. 1841. iv. 170—174.

on the Irish Coin of Edward IV. 1841. iv. 205—207.

on the attribution of certain Coins to Edward III. and Edward V. 1851. xiv. 20—30.

on the use of the Samaritan Language by the Jews until the reign of Hadrian, deduced from the Coins of Judea. 1851. xiv. 89—104.

Suggestions for placing English Inscriptions on the coinage of Great Britain and Ireland. 1846. xiv. 105—109.

on an unpublished pattern Rupee of William IV. 1855. xviii. 75—82.

Coins in the King of Denmark's Cabinet. 1855. xviii. 129—137.

SCOTT, W. D., unpublished varieties of Greek, Colonial, Imperial, and Roman Coins. xiv. 110—126.

on African Regal Coins. xv. 82—92.

Addenda to the African Regal Coins. xv. 218.

Coins of Helena. xv. 188—203.

Numismatic Rectifications. xv. 203—208.

on Ancient Spanish Coins. xvi. 1—20.

The Coins of Germanus. xvii. 21—22; xvii. 215—217.

Agrippias Cæsarea. xvi. 97—99.

on Parthian Coins, 1854. xvii. 131—173.

on a Coin of Characa, Lydiæ(?). xvii. 200.

on a rare Coin of Tyndaris, Siciliæ. xvii. 218, 219.

Note on the new Shilling of Queen Anne. 1854. xvii. 220—222.

Notice of some Regal Coins of Mesopotamia. 1854. xviii. 1—36.

Period of the Coins of Ceylon. xviii. 83—85.

SCOTT, W. D.

Explanation of a type of Ar-
saces XXX. xviii. 85, 86.

Miscellaneous Rectifications.
xviii. 119, 120.

on a Tetradrachm of Alexander,
struck at Aradus. xix. 221,
222.

Note on a supposed Coin of Ca-
lynda. xix. 225, 226.

Note on the Coins of Meredates
and Uiphoba. xix. 226, 227.

SHARPE, S., on the Eagle and
Thunderbolt on the Coins of
Rome and Syria. 1838. i.
187—192.

on the dates upon the Coins of
Alexander. 1842. v. 141—
145.

SHAW, SAMUEL, new Coin of Be-
orchtric, 1854. xvii. 59—61.

SMITH, AQUILLA, Curious For-
geries of Scotch Coins. xvi.
23—29.

SMITH, C. ROACH, on two small
Brass Coins of the Second
Constantius, with the letters
PΛON in the exergue. 1839.
i. 217, 218.

List of Roman Coins recently
found near Strood, Kent.
1839. ii. 112—124.

Discovery of Roman Coins at
Pevensey Castle, Sussex. iii.
65—67.

Discovery of Roman Coins at
Charnwood Forest. iii. 67,
68.

Notice extraordinary posted on
the Ruins of the Exchange,
relative to the finding of
Coins. iii. 193, 194.

Medal of Mehemet Ali. iv. 65,
66.

on the Roman Coins discovered
in the Bed of the Thames,
near London Bridge, from
1834 to 1841. iv. 147—168;
187—194.

Roman Coins found at Ancaster.
v. 157.

on some Anglo-Saxon Stycas
discovered at York. 1844.
vii. 99—104.

Merovingian Coins, etc., disco-
vered at St. Martins, near

SMITH, C. ROACH.

Canterbury. 1845. vii. 187—
191.

Unedited Roman Coins. 1852.
xv. 74—79.

British Silver Coins recently
found at Weston, in Norfolk,
1852. xv. 98—102.

Note on some Roman Coins
discovered in a Hypocaust at
Wroxeter. 1859. xx. 79—83.

SMYTHE, CLEMENT T. The
Will of Thomas Simon, the
Medal Engraver, with ob-
servations thereon. 1842. v.
161—172.

SPARKES, GEORGE, on a Coin
of Nero, with Wreath. 1845.
vii. 172, 173.

Observations on certain Greek
and Roman Coins. 1845. viii.
118—121.

on a Medallion of Antoninus
Pius. xi. 98—100.

Tables of French and Neapolitan
Weights. xi. 101, 102.

Proposed interpretation of the
the Numerals XCVI. on the
Coins of Diocletian. xi.
119—121.

Unpublished Medals. 1853. xvi.
186—191.

on some Gold Coins of Syracuse.
xvii. 12—18.

on the Decimal System. xvii.
48—50.

on the causes which influence
the value of Coins. xvii. 50—
56.

on certain Terms used in Nu-
mismatics. xviii. 173, 174.

Notes on Indo-Scythic Coins.
xix. 228.

STEARNS, W. G., on the Currency
of North America. iii. 123—
125.

STEVENSON, SETH, W. Observ-
ations on a Jewelled Coin of
the Emperor Maurice, found
on the 31st of December,
1845, at Bacton, near Crom-
er, Norfolk. 1847. ix. 131—
143.

STUBBS, ALFRED. Angel of
Henry VII., with the Le-
gend of the Noble. x. 147.

G G

- THOMAS, EDWARD**, on the Coins of the Patán Sultans of Hindustan. ix. 79—84.
- List of the Patán, Afghan, or Ghorí Sultans of Hindustan (Delhi)**, with descriptions. ix. 89—120; 172—182. x. 43—62; 127—143; 151—178.
- Supplementary Contributions to the Series of the Coins of the Patán Sultans of Hindustan.** xv. 121—180.
- on the Oriental Legends on certain Imperial Arsacidan and Partho-Persian Coins.** xii. 68—77; 91—114.
- Remarkable Indo-Japanian Coin.** xv. 65, 66.
- Notice on certain Unpublished Coins of the Sassanidæ.** xv. 180—187.
- Catalogue of Bactrian Coins.** xix. 13—45; 49—63.
- THOMSEN.** Remarks on the Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon Coinage. 1840. iii. 116—122.
- Foreign Sterlings of the Type of the Pennies of Henry III.** 1850. xiii. 67—69.
- Uncertain Coins of the Anglo-Saxon Period.** xvi. 104—107.
- TONNA, L. H. I.** The Coinage of Modern Greece. 1838. i. 26—29.
- TORRENS, H.,** on the Greek Legends of the Coins of the Indo-Scythic Princes of Cabul. xv. 22—40.
- TOVEY, HENRY, L.,** on a Coin of Valentinian with the Phoenix. 1848. xi. 176—179.
- Discovery of Coins of Constantine, etc., of the London Mint.** 1849. xii. 64—66.
- TUPPER, MARTIN F.** An account of some Roman Coins and other Remains, found at Albury, in Surrey, in 1839 and 1840. iii. 83—90.
- Lines by, on the Discoveries at Farley Heath.** x. 182, 183.
- Unedited Ancient British Coins.** 1848. xi. 92—97.
- VAUX, W. S. W.,** on a Discovery of Roman Coins, in the Parish of Little Malvern, Worcestershire. 1848. xi. 19—39.
- Remarks on Four Rare Coins of Afghanistan, lately acquired by the British Museum.** 1849. xiii. 7—13.
- on the Discovery of Cufic Coins in Sweden and on the Shores of the Baltic.** 1850. xiii. 14—23.
- Select Coins from the Cabinet of Major Rawlinson, C.B.** 1850. xiii. 70—85.
- Extract of a Letter from Charles J. Newton, Esq., P.M., Vice-Consul at Mitylene, to Mr. Burgon, of the British Museum, chiefly relating to a Hoard of Coins of Alexander the Great, discovered near Patras, in 1850.** 1852. xvi. 29—37.
- on some rare Bactrian Coins.** 1852. xvi. 108—113.
- on Coins of Ceylon, with some Remarks on the so-called Ring and Fish-hook Money, attributed to that Island.** 1853. xvi. 121—132.
- on some Coins, chiefly Greek, which have been lately brought from the East.** xviii. 137—152.
- on Coins of Niniva, Termessus, etc.** 1855. xix. 1—7.
- on Coins discovered by W. K. Loftus, Esq., at Susa.** 1857. xx. 25—32.
- on some Coins of Characene, brought from Baghdad, by Dr. Hyslop.** 1857. xx. 32—38.
- on Coins of Seistan,** 1858. xx. 49—57.
- On Coins of Marathus, and of Kamnaskires and Anzaze.** xx. 84—100.
- WALFORD, Rev. E. GIBBS,** on a Coin of Juba the Second, 1843. vi. 183—186.
- WEBSTER, W.** Unpublished Varieties of Rare Coins. xvi. 174—176.

WEBSTER, W.

Attribution of a new Saxon Type
to a King of Northumbria.
1853. xvi. 183, 184.

Remarks on the Blundered Le-
gends found upon the Anglo-
Saxon Coins, 1854. xvii. 89
—93.

WHITTALL, JAMES, on Unpub-
lished Coins of Taba, in
Caria. 1840. iji. 99—102.

WILKINSON, SIR GARDINER.
Inscription illustrating the
Legends on the Coins of Va-
ballathus. ix. 128, 129.

WILLIAM, JOHN. Some Account
of "Tseen Shih Too," a
Chinese work on Coins, in
the Library of the Numis-

WILLIAMS, JOHN.

matic Society of London.
1850. xiii. 143—166.

Account of "Kin Ting Tseen
Luh," a Chinese work on
Coins, in the Library of the
Numismatic Society of Lon-
don. 1851. xiv. 155—175.

An Epitome of Chinese Numis-
matics. xvi. 44—76.

WILSON, Prof. H. H. Note on a
Medal of the King of Oude.
1842. v. 129—133.

Remarks on the so-called Fish-
hook Money. 1853. xvi. 179
—182.

YOUNG, HENRY H. An Otho
in first Brass. iv. 239—243.

INDEX II.

- ABDALGASES**, Coins of, xix. 61, 62.
- Abdemon**, King of Phoenicia, Remarks on Coin of, xiv. 8—10.
- Abdera** (now Adra) Coins of, described, iii. 104—106; no Money struck by the first Colonists, the Clazomenians, 103; Coins of, xiii. 24—37.
- Accilæum Phrygiæ**, Remarks on Coins of, viii. 14, 15.
- Achaia**, Coin of, xiv. 114.
- ADAMSON**, Mr., Paper by, in *Archæologia*, vol. xxv., on Northumbrian Stycas, i. 7.
- Adana Ciliciæ**, called the Hadrianic, from the name of Hadrian—*Ἀδριανων*, *Ἀδανων*, ii. 228.
- Addedmaros**, on the Attribution of certain British Coins to, xviii. 155—161.
- Adinnigaus**, Coins of, xx. 37.
- Adramyttium Mysiæ**, Coins of, ii. 168; vi. 146.
- Aeane Macedoniæ**, Coin of, Remarks on, iii. 133.
- Ægæ**, in Æolis, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 45, 46.
- Aeganis**, Coin of, xiv. 121.
- Aegialus**, in Amorgo, Coins of, Remarks on by Mr. Borrell, v. 173—175; Shown by Mr. Birch to be more correctly written *Ægialé*, 193.
- Aegiale**, Bearded Head on Coin of, Aesculapius, v. 195.
- Aegira**, Remark on Coin of, xiv. 114.
- Aegospotamos Chers. Thraciæ**, Coin of, iv. 1.
- Aeilred R.** or **Edilred Rex**, Stycas of, found at York, vii. 35.
- Aelfred**, Remarks and List of Coins of, found at Cuerdale, v. 11—21.
- Aenianes Thessaliæ**, Coins of the, described, ii. 149; note on, vii. 115, 116.
- Aenas Thraciæ**, first Gold Coin published of, iii. 106.
- ÆSV**, Icenian Coin reading, xvi. 85.
- Aethelstan**, Penny of, with Moneyer of the York Mint Æthelred, v. 128.
- Aethilheard**, Coin of, with name and title of Offa on reverse, iii. 157.
- Aezanes Phrygiæ**, Coin of, vii. 9.
- Afghanistan**, Coins and Antiquities of, iv. 122.
- Africa**, Coins of Ancient, xiv. 142—145.
- African Regal Coins**, Paper on, xv. 82—92.
- Agathokleia**, Coin of, xv. 27; xix. 42.
- Agathocles**, Coins of, xix. 21—23.
- Agathopolis Chers. Thraciæ**, Coins of, Remarks on. iv. 1, 2.
- Agrippa I.**, of Judæa, inscribed on his Coins, "*φιλοκαίσαρ*," viii. 162; Son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and Grandson of Herod the Great, short Sketch of the Life of, ix. 20—22.
- Agrippa (Herod)**, Coin of, with title of *ΜΕΤΑΣ*, ix. 22, 23.
- Agrippa II.**, Son of Agrippa Magnus, short Account of, ix. 41; Coin of, very Judæan in character, ix. 42.
- Agrippias Cæsarea**, Remarks on Coins of, 97—99; Probably the

- Agrippias Cæsarea.
same town as Phanagoria, in the Isle of Taman, 99.
- Alaba, of the Celtiberi, Remark on Coin of, xvi. 14, 15.
- Albando Cariæ, Coin of, ix. 143.
- Albert, Cardinal, son of John, Elector of Brandenburg, Médal of, xvi. 188.
- Albury, called by some, "Farley-Town," who say it was destroyed by the Danes, iii. 86.
- Alered, Coins bearing this name, assigned by Mr. Hawkins to Alchred, King of Northumberland, i. 2.
- Aleta Illyriæ, no Coins of, vii. 125.
- Alexander the Great, Coins of, Remarks on, iii. 144—148; Silver Decadrachm of, xiii. 70—74; Tetradrachms of, found near Patras, xvi. 31—37; Remarks on a Tetradrachm of, struck at Aradus, xix. 221, 222; Remarks on a Tetradrachm of, xx. 39—42.
- Alexander II., King of Epirus, Coins of, to be restored to Ptolemy IX., surnamed Alexander, King of Egypt, vii. 134.
- Alexander, II.—Zebina—Remark on Coin of, xv. 49.
- Alexander of Phæræ, Coins of, Remarks on, vii. 121—124.
- Alexander Bala, King of Phœnicia, Remarks on Coin of, xiv. 14—20.
- Alexander Tyrannus, Remark on Coin of, xvi. 174, 175.
- Alexander Etruscus, Remarks on Medal of, xvi. 188—190.
- Alexander II. or III., King of Scotland, Groat of, coined in Stirling, xvi. 192.
- Alexander III., of Scotland, all Pennies with long cross, whether double or single, belong to, iv. 69.
- Alexandria, Dates on Coins of, v. 141—145; Remarks on Coins of, xiv. 122, 123.
- Alfred, Coin of, "a corroborative proof that some Coins found at Gravesend were deposited there soon after the death of Burgred in 874," iii. 17; Coin of, 32; Half-pennies of, v. 21; Coins of, with Remarks, 100—103.
- Alia Phrygiæ, Coin of, described, iii. 98; Coins of, viii. 15.
- Alinda Cariæ, Remarks on Coins of, ix. 144.
- Allaria, in Crete, Restoration of Coin to, from Lacedæmon, vii. 114, 115.
- Allectus, Gold Coins of, ii. 206; xx. 129, 130.
- Allen's History of Surrey, Notes from, iii. 84, 85.
- Almondbury, the Roman Cambodunum, Coins found at, Noticed by Rev. W. Lund, i. 82.
- Alopeconesus Chers. Thraciæ, Coins of, iv. 2, 3.
- Alwaldus, the same as Ethelwald or Adelwald, the nephew of Alfred, v. 115.
- Alyzia, Coin of, xvii. 100.
- Amastris Paphlagoniæ, Coin of, Remarks on, v. 187, 188.
- American Gold Coin, Counterfeit, Account of the, xiii. 3.
- Amphipolis Macedoniæ, Coins of, iii. 134.
- Amyntas, King of Galatia, two Tetradrachms of, viii. 70; History of, 71—74; Weight of Coins of, discussed, 76—90; Coins of, xix. 38.
- Amyntas III., King of Macedonia, Coins of, iii. 144; Coin of, with title *νικτωρ*—*Conqueror*, xv. 27.
- Amyntas, King of Bactriana, Remark on Coin of, xvi. 110.
- Amyza Cariæ, Remarks on Coins of, ix. 144, 145.
- Ana, Coin of, xvi. 12.
- Anaphlystus Atticæ, Coins, thus attributed belong to Perga Pamphylia, vi. 128, 129.
- Anastasius, Consul, Account of the Diptych of, i. 109.
- Anaxilaus, Tyrant of Rhegium, expels the Samians from Zancle, about 490, iii. 40.
- Anazarbus, Coin of, xvii. 101.
- Anchialus Thraciæ, Coins of, iii. 107.
- AND, Remarks on Gold Coins so inscribed, xx. 171, 172; Perhaps referring to "Andubratius," 172.
- Andeda, the correct spelling of the place usually called Adade, ii. 2.
- ANDO, Coins inscribed, perhaps "Andubratius," xvi. 81, 82.

- Andros, Insula, Coin of, with Head of Geta, iv. 137; Coin of, with Head of Hadrian, v. 175.
- Anglo-Irish Type of Coins, Remarks on, iv. 50.
- Anglo-Saxon Styca, reading +EDREDMRE (retrograde), probably Eadred; vi. 39, 40; Coin, found in Scandinavia, reading, EADPOLD.M^o ΘIVM., Remarks on, 105, 106; Reading HEOVFNΛ (Howel?), Remarks on, 106, 107; Reading, +DÆPIREXTAND^o, Remarks on, 107; Uncertain, Remarks on, 146—149.
- Ankaïos, Coin of, described, ii. 60.
- Anlaf, son of Sihtric, Coins of, not Irish origin, but to be assigned to Northumberland, ii. 7.
- Anlaf, son of Godfred, King of the Danes in Ireland, ii. 133; All English Coins bearing this name probably assignable to an English Prince of this name, 134.
- Anne, Queen, Gold Coins of, xiii. 52—54; Shilling of, with date and mark, 1707 E*, Remarks on, xvii. 83—89; Note on New Shilling of, 221, 222.
- Antæopolis, Coins of, described, ii. 95, 96.
- Antandrus Mysiæ, Coins of, iii. 96; vi. 146, 147.
- ANTED, British Coin reading, Remarks on, xvi. 83, 84.
- Ἀνθύπατος, or Proconsul, the title of the Governors of Cyprus, according to St. Paul, ix. 23.
- Antialkides, Coins of, xix. 37.
- Anticyra, in Phocis, Remarks on Coin of, vi. 124.
- Antimachus, King of Bactriana, who reigned about 140 B.C., Tetradrachm of, xiii. 74, 75.
- Antimachus (B.C. 140), Philoxenes (B.C. 126), Antialkides (B.C. 135), and Archelius (B.C. 125), Coins of, with title — βασιλεὺς θεός νικηφόρος, xv. 28; with title of ΘΕΟΣ, Coins of, xix. 27; with title of ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ, Coins of, 30, 31.
- Antiochia Cariæ, Remarks on Coins of, ix. 145, 146.
- Antiochia Ioniæ, Coin of, iv. 140.
- Antiochia Pisidiæ, Remarks on Antiochia Pisidiæ.
- Coin of, x. 92, 93; Coins of, xiv. 120.
- Antiochia Syriæ, Coin of, iv. 145.
- Antiochus Euergetes, Coin of, Remarks on "ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ," viii. 159, 160; VII. (Sidetes), Remarks on Coins of, xv. 45—47; VIII. (Grypus), Coins of, 50—54.
- Antiphellus Lyciæ, Coin in, x. 81.
- Antiquities, Gallery of (in British Museum), Notice of, iv. 243.
- Antonia Gens, Coin of, xx. 108.
- Antoninus Pius, Coin of, with legend on reverse — ΦΑ.ΝΕΑΠΟΛΕΩΣ. CΥΡΙΑC ΠΑΛΑΙCΤΙΝΝC, i.e. (Money) of Flavia Neopolis, of Palestine, in Syria, viii. 161; Medallion of, xi. 98—100; xvi. 191; Coins of, xii. 23, 24; xx. 115, 116.
- Antony, Cistophori of, struck in Asia, Remarks on, ix. 73, 74.
- Apamea Bithyniæ, Coin of, described, ii. 58.
- Apamea and Myrtea Bithyniæ Remarks on Coins of, v. 188—190; Coin of, with bust of Marcus Aurelius, Remarks on, viii. 40, 41.
- Apamea Phrygiæ, Coins of Nero and Agrippina erroneously ascribed to, by Mionnet, viii. 15; Cistophori of, ix. 70, 71.
- Aphidas, Ruler of Axum, A.D. 530—542, viii. 122.
- Aphrodisias Cariæ, Coin of, iv. 141.
- Aphroditopolis, Coin of, ii. 96.
- Apodacus, King of Characene, Remarks on a Coin of, xviii. 138, 139; Coin of, xx. 36.
- Apollodotus, King of Bactriana, Coins of, with title—σωτηρ και φιλοπατρις, xv. 28; Remark on Coins of, xvi. 111, 112; xix. 33, 34.
- Apollonia Cariæ, as many as thirty cities of this name mentioned by Geographers, ii. 182; Coins of, iii. 97; ix. 147; xi. 117—119.
- Apollonia, in Chalcidice, Remarks on Coins of, xi. 57.
- Apollonia Illyricæ, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 126—131; Coins of, xiv. 113.

- Apollonia and Rhyndacum Mysiæ, Coin of, vi. 147.
- Apollonia, Coins of, to be restored to Pisidia, formerly attributed to Lycia and Caria, ii. 183.
- Apollonia Pisidiæ, Inscription from the gate of the Castle of, ii. 186.
- Apolloniata, a colony originally from Thrace, and lastly from Lycia, ii. 186.
- Apollonopolites Nomos of Trajan, described, ii. 91.
- Appia Phrygiæ, Remarks on Coin of, vii. 16, 17.
- Aphrodisias Cariæ, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 15—17.
- Arcadia Cretæ, no Coins of, either Arcadia, in Genere, or Pharcedon, in Thessaly, vi. 140.
- Arcadius, Coins of, xvii. 114; xx. 139.
- Archebius, King of Bactriana, Remark on Coin of, xvi. 111; Coins of, xix. 38, 39.
- Archelaus, King of Macedonia, Coin of, iii. 140.
- Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, Coins bearing title ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ, belong to, viii. 136.
- Ariana Antiqua, Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan, Notice of, v. 52.
- Aristomenes, Shield of, preserved at Lebadea, i. 248.
- Archers and Angels, from a Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, A.D. 1594, iv. 183.
- Argos, in Argolis, Coin of, described, ii. 59; Paper on Coins of, vi. 42—52; the earliest Money of, is that on which is the fore-part of a wolf on one side, and A in an indented square on the other, 47.
- Aristocracy, or *ἰπτεῖς*, instituted by Pheidon—Democracy by Prometheus, iii. 92.
- ARNETH, J., Synopsis Nummorum Romanorum qui in Museo Cesareo Vindobonensi adservantur, Notice of, v. 155.
- Arnold VIII., Count of Loos, Counterfeit Sterling of, xiii. 89; Remarks on Sterling of, xviii. 123.
- Arsa Hispaniæ Bæticæ, Coins attributed to, xvi. 7, 8.
- Arsaces I., Coins of, xiii. 80; xix. 62, 63; IV., Phriapites, Remarks on Coin of, xvii. 139, 140; VI., Remarks on Coin of, 141—143; VII., Coins of, xiii. 80; xvii. 143; X (?), Remarks on Coin of, xvii. 143—144; XIII., Remarks on Coin of, 145, 146; XV., Remarks on Coin of, 153—157; XVIII., Remarks on Coins of, 158, 159; XX., Coins of, xviii. 159; XXI., Remarks on Coins of, xvii. 159—161; XXII., Coins of, 161; XXIII., Remark on Coin of, 161; XXIV., Remarks on Coins of, 161, 162; XXX., Coins of, 162; Remarks on Coin of, xviii. 85, 86.
- Arsacidan and Partho-Persian Coins, Oriental legends on, xii. 68—77; 91—114.
- Arsinoë, two Coins of, given to Ephesus, instead of to Arsinoë Cyrenaicæ, or Arsinoë Ciliciæ, ii. 173.
- Arsinoë, wife of Lysimachus, and sister of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Portrait of, on Coins of Ephesus, ii. 175.
- Arsinoë, Cyrenaicæ, and Ciliciæ, no Coins of, ii. 176.
- Arsinoë, Ioniæ, mention of, vii. 62.
- Arsinoites, Nomos described, ii. 98.
- Artaxerxes I., of Persia, Coins of, viii. 119.
- Artaxias, King of Armenia, name of, on Coin of Germanicus, ii. 4, 5.
- Artemidorus, Coin of, xix. 32.
- Artemisium Eubœæ, Coins ascribed there by Sestini and Mionnet, belong to Archelaus, King of Macedonia, vi. 143; Coins of, to be restored to Myrtilis, xvi. 12.
- Asiarchs, or Chiefs of Asia; the Presidents of the Public Games and Festivals, and bore the whole expense of them, ix. 34.
- Asclepius, on Coins of Pergamos, the Son of Coronis and Apollo, and not of Arsinoë and Apollo, ii. 243.
- Aspledon Bœotiæ, Coins of, ascribed then by Sestini and Mionnet, belong to Sparadocus, King of Thrace, vi. 126.
- Assarion, the, or Farthing, of Holy Scripture, viii. 138, 139.

- Assus Mysiæ**, Coins of, described, iii. 96; Coin of, vi. 147.
- Astypalæa** (insula), Remarks on Coins of, ix. 163, 164.
- Astyra Mysiæ**, Coin ascribed there by Mionnet, reading ΑΕΤΥ, belongs to Astypalea, an Island of Caria, vi. 148; Coins ascribed to, by Vaillant and Mionnet belong to Antandros, 148.
- Astyra**, in Rhodes, Remarks on Coins of, ix. 166—168.
- Attæa**, Remark on Coins of, xiv. 121.
- Atarneæ Mysiæ**, Coin of, iii. 97; Cistophori of, ix. 7.
- Athelbald**, Account of Two Pennies, erroneously assigned to, ii. 48.
- Athenian Standard**, Dissertation on the, by M. BARTH, vii. 156—171.
- Athens**, Remarks on a Decadrachm of, xvi. 29—31.
- Attribites Nomos**, described, ii. 100.
- Abobriga**, or Aobriga, Remarks on Coins of, xvi. 11, 12.
- Attambilus I.**, Coin of, xx. 36, 37; II., Coin of, 37.
- Attuda Phrygiæ**, Remarks on Coins of, iii. 17, 18.
- Audoleon**, King of Pæonia, Coin of, iv. 9.
- Augustus**, two Denarii of, Remarks on, viii. 119, 120; Coin of, Restored by Titus, xii. 20; Coin of, with names of the Duumviri, L. STATIVS and P. COTTA BALBVS, xiv. 123; Coins of, xx. 109.
- Aurelianus**, Coin of, xv. 75; xx. 126.
- Aurelius** (Marcus) Coins of, xx. 116.
- Azas**, Coins of, xix. 52—57.
- Azilias**, Coin of, xix. 57, 58.
- B.** Notice on the Irish Coins of Edward IV., by Aquilla Smith, M.D., published in "Transactions of Royal Irish Academy, 1840," iv. 41—54.
- Bactria**, Barbaric Kings of, Coins of, with Greek Titles, xv. 28—30.
- Bactrian Prince**, Gold Coin of a, ii. 202, 203.
- Bactrian Coins**, Paper on, xv. 108—113; Catalogue of, xix. 13—45.
- Bæotian Confederation**, probability of, suggested by the Coins of Lebadea, Orchomenos, Thespizæ, and Tanagra, i. 249.
- Bagæ Lydiæ**, Coin of, Remarks on, vii. 10.
- Bailo**, or Belon, Coins of, with Remarks for attributing them to Juba II., some Coins hitherto classed to that place, xvi. 10, 11.
- Baltura Lyciæ**, Remarks on Coins of, x. 81, 82.
- Baldred**, Usurps the Kentish Throne, ii. 210; Remarks on Coins of, xiv. 146—149; xv. 102, 103.
- Bar-money of Africa**, explained, vii. 94—96.
- Barateæ Lycaoniæ**, Remarks on Coins of, xi. 58, 59.
- Bargasa Cariæ**, Coin formerly attributed to, to be removed to Aezanis Phrygiæ, ix. 147, 148.
- Baris Pisidiæ**, Remarks on Coins of, x. 93, 94.
- Barthélemy**, Abbé, Instructions to M. Houel to aid him in obtaining Ancient Coins, i. 42.
- Beaworth**, Pennies of William I. found there, ii. 42.
- Bedfordshire**, Coins found in, ii. 54.
- Benee-Tooloon and Ikhsheedeyeh Dynasties**, Remarks on Coins of the, by R. S. Poole, Esq, xvii. 116—122.
- Benee-Tooloon Dynasty**, History of Coins of the, xvii. 122—125.
- Beorne**—the Skeatta, which read Beonna Rex, to be assigned to—iv. 34.
- Beorthric**, Coins of, one of the Uncertain Kings of the East Angles, ii. 138; Penny of, Remarks on, iv. 29; most probably Son of Beorthulf, of Mercia, 200; Remarks on Coin of, xvii. 59—61.
- Berrhœa**, no Pagan Symbols on Coins of, Reason for, ix. 29, 30. Coins of, struck under Trajan, ix. 30.
- Berengarius**, Remarks on Coins of, v. 69—71.
- Berengarius II.**, King of Italy, and his son Albertus, Paper on Coin of, xviii. 57—75.

- Bethsaida, called Julias, in honour of the Empress, by Herod Antipas, viii. 149.
- Bendos (vetus) Phrygiæ, Remark on Coin of, viii. 18, 19.
- Blaundus Lydiæ, Coins of, with Heads of Titus, Caracalla and Gallus, Remarks on, vii. 11—13; Coins of, viii. 7.
- Blumberg, in Alsace, Notice of Sterling of, xiv. 44, 45.
- Bœotia, Coins of, vi. 125, 126.
- Boulogne-sur-Mer, Coins of, Notice of, ii. 192—198.
- BRIT. or BRITT. on the new Coinage of 1860; which is right? xx. 195.
- British Coins, Legends found on, ii. 75; List of, 191; Short Notice of, 231.
- British and Gaulish Coins, Prototype of, is the Money of Philip II. of Macedon, iii. 117.
- British Coin, reading TASCIORICON, in two lines, within a compartment, Notice of, iii. 152.
- British Coins, Notice of, iii. 153; Names of four of the Ancient Cities on, CAMVL-odunum (Colchester). SEGO-ntium (Caernarvon), VERLAMIO, near St. Albans, and VRICON-ium (Wroxeter), iv. 28; Remarks on, xvi. 80—88; Remarks on some Rare and Unpublished, xviii. 44—53; Remarks on some unpublished, xix. 64—70.
- British Museum, Account of the Robbery at, xii. 51.
- British Reguli, Account of Coins of, xiv. 71—79.
- Bronze Images found in the Thames, iv. 157.
- Brogitarus, Coin of, viii. 75.
- Bruzus Phrygiæ, Coin of, viii. 19.
- Bubastite Nome mentioned, ii. 100; Remarks on, vii. 17, 18.
- Bubon Lyciæ, Coin of, x. 82.
- Bull, Allegorical for a River, perhaps intended on these Coins of Lydia to represent Pactolus, ii. 223.
- Bullion Currency, Paper on, vii. 85—94.
- Burgon, Mr., Opinion of, that Coins
- Burgon, Mr.
are the best Commentators upon Coins, i. 199.
- Burgred, Coins of, described, iii. 19—27.
- Burmese Coins, Adaptation of the Greek Chariot to the Attribution of the Indian Sol-Luna Deity, on, vii. 32.
- Busiris, Coin of, ii. 102.
- Bute, The, Collection of Medals and Coins, Selection from and Account of, xiii. 1—7.
- Byzantine Coin, Found at Dorchester, Oxfordshire, iv. 32.
- Byzantine Coins, Remarks on some, xvii. 126—128.
- Byzantine Emperors, Remarks on the Copper Coinage of, xvi. 114—121.
- Cabria Ponti, Coin of, v. 183.
- Cabul. Coins of, with Greek Legends, xv. 22—40.
- Cadi Phrygiæ, Remark on Coins of, viii. 19, 20.
- Cadi and Aezani Phrygiæ, Coin struck to commemorate the Alliance between, viii. 20.
- Cadyanda Lyciæ, Remarks on Coin of, x. 82, 83.
- Cæsar, MSS. of, with various Readings of the Passage relating to British Coins, i. 17—19; Passage in Comment. de Bello Gallico lib. v. misinterpreted, i. 13.
- Cæsarea Philippi, Coin of, viii. 146.
- Calais, Coins of, Prize Gold Medal for best Description of, ix. 48.
- Californian Gold, Account of, xiii. 37—41.
- Calynda Cariæ, Remarks on Coins of, ix. 148, 149; Coin of, belongs to Blaundos Lydiæ, xix. 225, 226.
- Calymna (insula), Remarks on Coins of, ix. 164—166.
- Camæ Mysiæ, Remarks on Coin of, vi. 148, 149.
- Camarina, Coin of, xi. 111.
- Cambray, Chapter of, Sterling, struck by, xviii. 128, 129.
- Camena Mysiæ, Coin of, described, iii. 97.

- Camirus Rhodi, Remarks on Coins of, ix. 169, 170.
- Camulodunum, Remarks on Coin of, xx. 161—165; xvi. 87.
- Cannus Cariae, Remarks on Coins of, ix. 149, 150.
- Canute, Imitation of a Coin of, Remark on an, xvi. 106.
- Capodistrias, Count John, first to strike Money in Modern Greece, A.D. 1828, i. 26; Description of the Money coined by, 27.
- Caracalla, sleeping in temple of Æsculapius at Pergamos, for the sake of his health, ii. 247; Coin of, with legend on reverse—KOINOBOYΔION. EAEYΘ. TAPCE, "The Joint Councils of free Tarsus," illustrating the words of St. Paul, ix. 40; Coin of, xii. 21, 22; xx. 118, 119.
- Carausius, Gold Coin of, probably struck at Boulogne, i. 128; Coin of, described, ii. 114; new type of, xiii. 140; Coin of, with legend—LEG.XX.V.V., 142; Remarks on Coin of, with full face bust, xiv. 150—152; Remarks on Coin of, xv. 93, 94; 97, 98; Remarks on Unpublished Coins of, xvi. 170—174; Coins of, xx. 127—129.
- Cardia Chers. Thraciæ, Coin of, iv. 3.
- Carisia gens, Coin of, xx. 108.
- Carloman, Coin of, v. 63.
- Caronium, Remark on Coins of, xvi. 12.
- Carystus, Euboæ, Remarks on Coins of, vi. 144, 145.
- Casaba, near Sardis, Gold Coin found at, ii. 220.
- Castaldo, Medal of, xvi. 190.
- Catana, Coin of, xiv. 111.
- Catus Sextus Allius, the first to place the Eagle and Thunderbolt on Roman Coins, i. 189.
- Caulonia Bruttiorum, Remarks on Types of, viii. 163—169; Types on the Coins of, x. 1—20.
- Cebrema, Troadis, Coins ascribed to Cephallenia belong here, vi. 190—193.
- Celsa, in Tarraconensis, Remarks on Coins of, xiv. 110, 111.
- Celtiberia, Remarks on Coins of, xvi. 6, 7.
- Celtiberian Alphabet and Language, Account of, iii. 1—13; and Tur-daitan Inscription, difference between, 6.
- Celtic Coins found in Kent, Remarks on, xvi. 184—186.
- Celtic Kings of Britain, correction of errors respecting the coinage of, xviii. 105—114; 161—165.
- Celtic Ring-money, pointed ends not peculiar to African Ring-currency, but used in the, vii. 3.
- Celtic Money, crescent form given with a religious protective view, vii. 4.
- Celtic Gold Ring-currency, curious specimen of, in form of a horse-shoe, in collection of Mr. Anthony, of Piltown, vii. 5.
- Celto-Irish Ring-money, account of, xvii. 62—71; Catalogue and list of, in various collections, 71—83.
- Ceolnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, Coins of, described, ii. 213; Coin of, v. 38.
- Cerasus Ponti, Coin of, v. 183.
- Ceylon, Remarks on Coins of, xvi. 121—127; Period of the Coins of, xviii. 83—85.
- Chalcedon, Bithyniæ, Coins of, described, ii. 161; Coins of, Remarks on, v. 190—192.
- Characa, Lydiæ (?), Remarks on Coins of, xvii. 200.
- Characene, Barbarous Coin of, xviii. 143; Coins of, brought from Bagdad, Paper on, xx. 32—38.
- Charles I., Half-crowns of, with S.A., either *Salisbury* or *Shrewsbury* (Salopia), xii. 58, 59; Half-crowns of, with W under the horse, probably struck at Wallingford, 62; Exeter Half-crowns of, 62—64; Badges and Memorials of, xiii. 191—205; xiv. 30—44; Medal of, xv. 104, 105.
- Charles II., Petition Crown of, iii. 192; Gold Coins of, xiii. 45—49.
- Chersonesus, Chers. Thraciæ, Coins of, Remarks on, iv. 3, 4; Coin restored to, from the island of Clerides, near Cyprus, vi. 141; Coin of, xv. 113.
- Chesil Beach, near Portland, discoveries at, ii. 255, 256.

- Chinese Bank-note, Notice of, xii. 169—171.
- Chinese Work on Coins, account of a, xiii. 143—166; xiv. 155—175.
- Chinese Numismatics, an epitome of, xvi. 43—76.
- Chios, Coin of, xiv. 119.
- Chorographical Greek Coins, Account of, xi. 105—119.
- Chotis, King of Cibra, Coin of, viii. 20.
- CHVON, Coin reading, found at Dorchester, in all probability part of the name, CHVONRAD (Conrad), iv. 32.
- Cicero, name on a Coin of Magnesia ad Sipylum, ii. 107; differs from the bust of the Villa Mattei, 108; like the Gem described as "Teste d'un Romain du Siècle d'Auguste Amethyste," 111.
- Cidyessus Phrygiæ, Coin of, with heads of Julia Domna and Otacilia Severa, viii. 20, 21.
- Cierium Thessaliæ, Coin of, vii. 117.
- Cingalese Silver Fish-hook-shaped Money, Account of, xi. 170—176.
- Cinque Ports Banquet, Medal to commemorate the, ii. 144.
- Cioloth, Archbishop of Canterbury, Coins of, described, iii. 27.
- Ciolwulf I., whether spelt with E or I, is no objection to all the Coins belonging to one King, iv. 26; Coin minted at Canterbury, belongs to, 24; Coin of, with inscription—DVOBIRNEA CIVITAS, not a Coin of Ciolwulf II., 24.
- Ciolwulf II., reigned, when Mercia had lost its position in the Hephtharchy, iv. 24; Remarks on Coins of, v. 10, 11.
- Ciolwulf, Coin of, described, iii. 27.
- Cisthene, Mysiæ, Remarks on Coin of, vi. 149, 150.
- Cistophori, known in Asia about 514 A.V.C.—190 years B.C., ix. 3.
- Clannuda, Phrygiæ, Remarks on Coins of, viii. 21, 22.
- Claudius, Coin of, with reverse COL. AVG. IVL. PHILIP., in confirmation of the words of St. Luke, contemporary with the visit of St. Paul to Philippi, v. 29.
- Claudius and Agrippina, Silver Medallion of, with the statue of DIANA EPHESIA on reverse, contemporary with St. Paul's visit to Ephesus, v. 33.
- Claudius, Coins of, xx. 109.
- Claudius Gothicus, Coins of, xv. 75; xx. 82; 125.
- Clazomene Ionæ, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 62, 63.
- Clazomene and Samos, Coins of, xvii. 99.
- Cleopatra, Date when she received the title of the "New Isis," i. 209.
- Cleopatra and Antiochus VIII., Coins of, xv. 49, 50.
- Clides (insula), Remarks on, viii. 6.
- Clitæ Bithyniæ, Remark on Coin of, v. 192.
- Cnut, Coin bearing the name of, struck at Dublin, Remarks on, xviii. 134—136.
- Coclea, name for "Cotyæium," according to Col. Leake, iii. 37.
- Coco-reedi, or Hook-money of Ceylon, Account of, xiii. 61—66; the low country dialect for Duda-Masu, or Hook-money, 63.
- Coelium, Coins of, iv. 127.
- COHEN, H. Description générale des Monnaies de la République Romaine, communément appelées Médailles Consulaires, Notice of, xix. 46, 47.
- Coin, Barbarous Gold, with type of the Trinity, Note on, xii. 79—81.
- Coin Collectors, Caution to, ii. 201, 202.
- Coin, third Brass, most probably the infant son of Domitian, viii. 120.
- Coins, Ancient, Account of in Museum of Berlin, xvii. 174—199; Ancient method of casting, among the Britons, 18, 19; Casts of, ii. 204—206; known in Britain before the Invasion of Cæsar, xii. 128; GAULISH, with type of the Charioteer, xi. 147—155; ROMAN, sale of, at Cologne, x. 102; discovery of, ii. 206; etc., discovered on the site of the goddess Sequana, near Dijon, Notice of, viii. 49, 50; found in Thames, composing a period of four centuries, iv. 149; discovered

Coins.

in province of Luxembourg, vi. 55; found in the Isle of Man, xi. 180; List of, found in Norway, iv. 201, 202; of the Conqueror, discovered at York, Notice of, viii. 123—125; Primitive, found in France, exhibit types and fabrics not observable in those found in England, i. 51; third Brass, number of, found in Northamptonshire, xvii. 41, 42; uncertain ANGLO-SAXON, Explanation of, 89—93; found in England, etc., Notice about 1860, xx. 191, 192; ANGLO-SAXON, discovered at Lough Lyn, near Mullingar, County Westmeath, vi. 216, 217; discovered in County Tipperary, 217; discovery of, at York, ix. 85; found in the Isle of Man, Account of, xvi. 99—104; BRITISH, before the Romans, opinion of Speed, Camden, Lloyd, on, i. 16, 17; in form, derived from Greece, probably, through Gaul, 22; those without Letters probably in circulation before Cæsar, 23; generally found in the south-eastern part of the Island, 24; how they may be distinguished from the Gaulish ones, 37; Record of the places were actually found, only certain method of proving, 39; peculiar types on, belong apparently to different districts of Great Britain, 83; found in Dorsetshire, vi. 200, 201; Gold, found at Banbury, vii. 44; etc., discovery of, at Southfleet, Kent, 192; discovered near Albury, short account of, xi. 92—95; discovered at Whaddon Chase, xii. 1—5; found on Farley Heath, reading [C]OMGE, 67; the date of, discussed, 127—136; found on west of Sussex, xv. 79; Silver, recently found at Weston, in Norfolk, Papers on, 98—102; CURIC, discovery of, at Medeah, vii. 199; discovery of, in Sussex, ix. 85; found in Sweden, and on the shores of the Baltic, account of, xiii. 14—23; the earliest belong to A.H. 79, A.D. 698—the latest to A.H. 401, A.D. 1010, 18; English, discovery of, at Breach Downs, Kent,

Coins.

vii. 192; ENGLISH and SCOTCH discovery of near Closeburn, 193; ENGLISH, found in Yorkshire, xiii. 42, 43; ENGLISH and FOREIGN, discovered in the Isle of Wight, list of, 140—142; ENGLISH, found at Bampton, near Oxford, xiv. 84, 85; found at Calais, xv. 59, 60; found near Doneraile, Cork, xvi. 96; found near Dublin, xvii. 57, 58; FOREIGN MEDÆVAL, discovery of, at Rome, vii. 195; discovery of, near Valenciennes, 196; discovery of, at Roquefort (Ariège), 196; discovery of, at Nogent sur Eure, near Chartres, 197, 198; discovery of, at Kopitkowo, near Mewe, Prussia, 198; discovery of, at Sunville, 198; discovery of, at Wolgast, 198; discovery of, at Dossow, near Wolgast, 198; discovery of, at Elsterley, 198; discovery of, near Altenberg, 199; Roman discovery of, at Lausanne, 199; discovery of, near, Finsterwald, in Lausitz, 199; discovery of, in Colmar, 199; discovery of, at Eichstell, 199; discovery of, at Ribe, in Denmark, 199; GAULISH, discovery of, at Saint Gêrans, near Moulins, 196; discovery of, at Robache, Department des Vosges, 198; GREEK, found at Aston Scott, in Shropshire, 146; HIBERNO-DANISH and ANGLO-SAXON, found in County Wexford, 146; MEROVINGIAN, etc., discovered in the parish of Crondale, Hampshire, in 1828, Paper on, vi. 171—182; ROMAN, History of, found in the Thames, iv. 158—168; 187—193; discovery of, at Coimbetoor, vi. 111, 112; discovered in Southern India, 160—163; discovery of, at Shotover, vii. 43; found near Lilly-horn, Gloucestershire, 149; discovery of, at Helmingham, Suffolk, 192; discovery of, at Wootton, Northamptonshire, 192; discovery of, in Newcastle-street, Farrington-street, London, 192; discovery of, at Broadstairs, near Ramsgate, 192; found at Canterbury, 192; discovery of, at Felmingham, 192; discovery of, at

Coins.

Guyton, Northamptonshire, 192; discovery of, at New Grange, Ireland, 193; discovery of, near Stonehaven, 193; discovery of, at Oundle, Northampton, 193; discovery of, near Hédé, Brittany, 195; discovery of, at Nogent sur Eure, 196; discovery of, at Sceaux, Département du Loire, 196; discovery of, at Sempt, Canton de Thiéblement, 196; discovery of, at Narzelles (Indre et Loire), 196, 197; discovery of, at Niederringelstein, on Rhine, 199; discovery of, near the Mendip Hills, in Somersetshire, ix. 48; discovery of, in Well-street, City, 85; discovery of, at Lyons, 85; discovery of, at Crudebec-les-Elboeuf, 131; found in Norfolk, x. 102; discovery of, in the Forest of Dean, xii. 123; found at Agott, St. Lawrence, xiv. 83, 84; found between Rochester and Maidstone, xv. 59; struck in the Mint of London, Remarks on, and List of, 60—64; found at Horseheath, near Linton, Cambridgeshire, xvi. 42; History of, found in Northamptonshire, xvii. 38—48; found near Coleraine, Remarks on, 101 111; found near Coleraine, History of, 111—115; found at Lengerich, in Hanover, xviii. 54—56; discovered at Wroxeter, xx. 79—81; found at Verulam, 108, 140; and Torques, etc., discovered at Lengerich, 189—191; SAXON, discovered in Ireland, vi. 112—114; discovered at Derryheerhan, 213—216; found in the Island of Gothland, viii. 170, 171; found in Isle of Man, xvii. 130.

Coinage, in ancient times, remarkably limited and local, i. 40.

Coinage of English Money in 1853, xvii. 58.

Cologne, Archbishop of, Remarks on Coin of, viii. 35—39.

Colona Troadis, Remarks on Coin of, vi. 193—196.

Colone Messenianæ, Coins ascribed there by Pellerin, Eckhel and Mionnet, restored to Colone, Troadis, vi. 137, 138.

Colossæ Phrygiæ, Coins of, St. Paul addressed an Epistle to them, viii. 22, 23.

Commodus, Coins of, xii. 25; xx. 117.

Conana, Pisidiæ, Coin of, with head of Hadrian, x. 94.

Confessor, Coin of the, with his head helmeted, ii. 36.

Constans, Coins of, xx. 82; 135, 136.

Constantinopolis, Coins of, xx. 83, 133.

Constantine, etc., Discovery of Coins of the London Mint, xii. 64—66; Coin of, xiv. 125; Silver Medallion of, xv. 77; xvii. 41, 43; xx. 82; 131—133.

Constantinus II., Coins of, xx. 82.

Constantinus III., Coins of, xvii. 115.

Constantine, Jun., Coins of, xx. 134, 135.

Constantine X., Type of, struck upon a piece of Romanus, iv. 54.

Constantius I., Gold Medallion of, xv. 77; Coins of, xvii. 40, 42; II., Coins of, 115; xx. 82, 136, 137.

Constantius Chlorus, Coins of, xi. 26—28; xx. 130.

Copper Coins, none found bearing the names of Eadbert, Alchred, or Eadwald, i. 4.

Coptites Nomos, described, ii. 94.

Coracesium, Ciliciæ, Remarks on Coin of, viii. 3, 4.

Coreyra, Coins of, xi. 116, 117.

Corinthus, Coins of, xv. 115, 116; Remarks on, xix. 229—235.

Cosconia Gens, Coin of, xvi. 175.

Cotiaenum Phrygiæ, Coin of, viii. 23.

Cotyæium, not the connecting stage between Aemonia and Dorylaeum, iii. 38.

Cotys II., King of Bosphorus, Coins of, Remarks on, v. 185—187.

Cranium Cephallenia (?), Coin of, xiv. 116.

Crannon, Thessaliæ, Remark on Coin of, vii. 116, 117.

Cratia Bithyniæ, Coins ascribed to, by Sestini, belong to Cretopolis Pisidiæ, vi. 115; Coins given to, belong to Cretopolis Pisidiæ, x. 94, 95.

- Cremna Pisidiæ**, Coin of, struck under the younger Decius, x. 95.
- Cretan Monument**, Types of Deities on, iii. 71.
- Cretan Coins**, Notes on various Types of, iii. 73—79.
- Crete**, Dialect of, cannot be analysed by the ordinary rules of Greek Philology, iii. 70.
- Crispina**, Coins of, xx. 117.
- Crispus**, Coins of, xx. 134.
- Crithote**, Chers. Thraciæ, Coins of, Remarks on, iv. 4, 5.
- Crocker**, Johann, Memoir of, xv. 67—73.
- Croesus**, Coins given to, described, ii. 216; Reasons for giving certain Coins to 221.
- Cromna**, Paphlagoniæ, Coins of, described, ii. 166; Coin of, v. 188.
- Cromwell**, Oliver, Curious Die of, xi. 103.
- Crosby Hall**, Illustrations of, iii. 60.
- Cross**, Silver, Description of, iii. 34.
- Crotone**, Coins of, and their Types, xi. 1—18; Hercules the founder of, and called OIKISTÆS on the Coins, 6; Coin of, xvii. 99.
- CRVX** on Anglo-Saxon Coins, assumed to commemorate the triumph of Christianity in the conversion of some Norwegian or Danish Chief, xvi. 100.
- Ctimene**, Thessaliæ, no Coins of, vii. 118.
- CTNV**, on a Coin reading, and meant for CNVT Rex, v. 110.
- Cuerdale**, Uncertain Coins found at, list of, and remarks on, v. 71—94.
- Cuerdale Find**, Coins reading, EBRAICE CNVT, etc., Remarks on, v. 117—121.
- Cufic Coins**, Description of two, ii. 69—71.
- "Cunnetti,"** not "Cunetio," or Marlborough, but Counde, in Shropshire, the "Cuneet" of Domesday, v. 112; Remarks on Coins reading, 112, 113.
- CUNNINGHAM**, Lieut. Second Notice of some New Bactrian Coins, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, Notice of, vi. 103—109.
- Cunobeline**, Coins of, bearing Roman Legends, but are Greek in type and character, i. 24; Coins Cunobeline. of, not Imitations, iii. 118; List of Coins of, vii. 13, 84; Remarks on Coins of, xiv. 126—140; Coins of, Dissertation on, in answer to J. Evans, Esq., xv. 1—21; Coin of, xvii. 98; Remarks on Coins of, with the Legend TASCIOVANI F., xviii. 36—44; Coins of, xx. 157—160.
- Cünunc**, the Scandinavian name for King, iii. 119.
- Cuthred**, King of Kent, Remarks on Coin of, xiv. 145, 146.
- Cyanea Lyciæ**, Remarks on Coins of, x. 83—85.
- Cyme Æolidis**, Coin of, described, iii. 90; with Head of Crispina, 96; Remarks on Coins of, iv. 138; vii. 46—49.
- Cyprus**, The Proconsuls of, ix. 26.
- Cypsela Thraciæ**, Coins of, described, iii. 107; Coin described by Mionnet, to belong rather to Hephæstia, 108.
- Cyzicus Mysiæ**, Remarks on Coins vi. 140—154; Coin of, xvii. 99.
- Dalisandus Lycaonia**, Remarks on Coin of, viii. 2, 3.
- Damascus**, Coin of, xiv. 121.
- Damery**, near Epernay, Vases of Base Roman Money found at, i. 154.
- Dandy-pratt**, Account of the, ii. 82, 83.
- Dardanus Troadis**, Coin of, vi. 196; Remarks on Cistophori of, ix. 13, 14.
- Darics**, Darius not the first who issued this description of Coin, ii. 218.
- Date**, First, on Modern Coins, on a Tournois of Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 63—65.
- Decentius**, Coin of, xx. 137.
- Decimal System**, Remarks on, xvii. 48—50.
- Delmatus**, Coin of, xx. 134.
- Delos (insula)**, Coins of, Remarks on, v. 175, 176.
- Delphi**, Coin of, xvii. 99.
- Demetrius (Sicyon)**, Remarks on Coins of, vi. 131, 132.
- Demetrius I. (Soter)**, Silver Tetradrachm of, xii. 11, 12; 78, 79.

- Demetrius II.** (Nicator), of Syria, enters Parthia in the 173rd year of the Seleucian era (139 B.C.), iv. 12; taken Captive by Arsaces Mithridates, in Seleucian year, 175 (138 B.C.), 12; Marries Rhodogyne, daughter of Arsaces Mithridates, and sister of Phraates, 13; Marriage irritates his wife, Cleopatra, who marries Antiochus VI., or Sidetes, his brother, 13; Type on the Coins of, alludes to his alliance with Rhodogyne, and the hopes held out of receiving the kingdom of her father, 13; Tetradrachm of, viii. 119; Remarks on Coins of, xv. 44, 45; after his Captivity, Coins of, xv. 47—49.
- Demetrius**, King of Bactriana, Coin of, xiii. 10; xix. 24, 25.
- Denarius**, Weight of, during the period of Livy and Augustus, viii. 93—96; or "Penny a Day" of Scripture, 139, 140.
- Denarii**, discovery of, on Great Western Railway, ii. 144.
- D'Eon**, the Chevalier, short Account of, xi. 48—56.
- Deultum Thraciæ**, Coin of, iii. 108.
- DEVILLE**, A. Médaille de Grand Bronze de Domiille, femme de Vespasian, Notice of, v. 151.
- Diana Ephesia**, Description of, iv. 80; Account of, ix. 31—34.
- Dicaæa Thraciæ**, Coin of, iii. 109.
- Difference** between the "Ryal" and the "Noble," ii. 83.
- Diocletianus**, Coins of, xi. 22, 23; 119—121; the Numerals XCVI. on Coins of, signify that 96 Denarii were struck to the pound, 119; Remarks on Coins of, xv. 76, 77; Coins of, xvii. 39, 42; xx. 127.
- Diococlea Phrygiæ**, a Town of Phrygia, according to Sestini, iii. 36; no such place, Ococlea is the name, viii. 23.
- Diodotus**, King of Bactriana, Silver Drachma of, xiii. 76, 77; Coins of, xix. 21.
- Diomedes** (B.C. 100), and Hermæus (B.C. 98), Coins of, with title, *συνης*, xv. 28; Coin of, xix. 35.
- Dionysius**, King of Bactriana, Re-
- Dionysius**, King of Bactriana. mark on Coin of, xvi. 113; Coins of, xix. 35, 36.
- Dionysopolis Phrygiæ**, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 9, 10; viii. 23—25.
- Dionysos**, *πῆλεος*, Representation of, on Coins of Alexander of Phæræ, vii. 112.
- Discoveries** of Roman Remains in the Counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, List of, xi. 34—38.
- Docimæum Phrygiæ**. Coins of, viii. 25.
- DODWELL**, Account by, of the discovery of Greek Coins in the places to which they belonged, i. 44, 45.
- Domitian**, Unedited Coin of, x. 103; Coin of, xii. 20; xx. 112, 113.
- Domna** (Julia), Coins of, xx. 118.
- DONOP**, Le Baron de, Description de la Trouvaille de l'Île de Jersey, par,—Notice of, ii. 140—143.
- Dorovernis**, Gold Triens with, ii. 204.
- DOROVERNIS CIVITAS**, Coin inscribed, minted at Canterbury, iv. 120.
- Dublin**, Coins bearing on the obverse a crown within a treasure; no legend: and on the reverse, a cross, with pellets, within the quarters, the legend denoting the place of mintage; issued from no other mint but,—iv. 42.
- Dubnovellaunus**, Remarks on British Coins attributed to, xiv. 79—82.
- DVBNOVELLANOS**, On the Date of British Coins Inscribed, xv. 201—215.
- Dubnovellaunus**, Remarks on a new Type ascribed to, xvi. 176—179; Remarks on Coin of, xx. 170, 171.
- Dudu-Masu**, or Hook-Money of Ceylon, Account of, xiii. 61—66; Current in the time of Parakrama Bahu, who reigned in the city of Pollanarōwa, about 400 years ago, 62.
- DVMNOVEROS**, British Coin reading, Remarks on, xvi. 83.
- Durrant's** Coins, Sale of, x. 145, 146.

- Duyts, Fr. den. "Notice sur les Anciennes Monnaies des Comtes de Flandres," Notice of, v. 156.
- Dyme Achaiaæ, Remarks on Coin of, vi. 129—131.
- Dyrrhachium, Alliance of, with Leucas Acarnaniaæ, vii. 131—133.
- Eadbert, Coins assigned to, by Mr. Hawkins, which were formerly given to Egbert, King of Kent, i. 1.
- Eadgar, Penny of, struck at St. Edmundsbury, vii. 135.
- Eadmund, King of East Angles, Coins of, described, iii. 28—30.
- Eadmund, St., List of Coins of, amounting to 1770, v. 23—37; Half-pennies of, v. 37, 38.
- Eadwald, Coin of, King of Mercia, not to be assigned to Kings of East Angles, ii. 134—136; not a King of Mercia, iv. 36, 37.
- Eadweard the Elder, Coins of, v. 22, 23, 103.
- Eanbald, Moneyer's name on Coin of, vii. 103; Prelate of York, Coin of, ix. 125.
- Eanred, King of Northumberland, Coins of, not to be assigned to Kings of the East Angles, ii. 134—136; Coin of, Remarks on, iv., 37; List of Moneyers' names on Coins of, vii. 102; List of Moneyers of, ix. 122.
- Ebellinum, of the Jacetani, Remarks on Coins of, xvi. 15, 16.
- Ebraice-civitas, City of York, v. 111.
- Ecdysia, the celebration of the, in honour of Leto, iii. 73.
- ECE (retrograde) Coin of the Icenii, reading, xx. 174, 175.
- Ecgberht, Penny of, a Relic of the Ecclesiastical Mint of Rochester, iv. 121.
- ECKFELDT, J. R., and W. E. du Bois. "New Varieties of Gold and Silver Coins, Counterfeit Coins, and Bullion with Mint Values," Notice of, xiii. 135—138.
- Edelred, "BEORNHAE," not "BEORNHRE," the name of the Moneyer on Coin of, iv. 38.
- EDELSBACHER, Baron, of Vienna, Collection of, iii. 126.
- Edilwald, King of Northumbria, Coin of, Remarks on, iii. 154.
- Edred, Penny of, iv. 184.
- Edward the Confessor, Imitation of the Coin of, by a Moneyer of Ifarz, King of Dublin, i. 78; Remarks on Coin of, with probable surname, xiv. 176, 177.
- Edward I., Irish Penny of, on obverse, the English type, and on reverse, VATERFORD, as place of mintage, v. 120; Pattern Groat of, xvi. 192.
- Edward III., Half-florin of, iii. 191; Noble of, 191; Nobles of, Remarks on, v. 134, 135; List of Nobles of, of the different periods, 139—141; Attribution of Coins to Ed. III. and Ed. V., xiv. 20—30.
- Edward IV., Penny of, struck at York, vi. 91; Unique Noble of, Remarks on, xvi. 38—40; Remarks on Half-penny of 175; Crown Penny of, Remarks on, xvii. 1—3; Remarks on Noble of the first Coinage of, xix. 8—10.
- Edward VI., Half-penny of, Remarks on, vii. 136—138; Remarks on Bristol Half-penny of, xv. 95, 96; Remarks on Gold Jetton (?) of, xviii. 115—118; Remarks on Shilling of, xx. 22—24; Unique Gold Coins of, 187, 188.
- EDWARDS, E. Notice of "Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique," 1838. i. 91—114.
- Egbert, first appearance of Monograms on English Coins in his reign, ii. 11.
- Egersund, in Norway, discovery of Hoard of Coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries, i. 207.
- Egypt, Medal of the Pacha of, iv. 244.
- Egyptian Deities, Types of, ii. 88.
- Eion Macedoniæ, Coin of, Remarks on, iii. 138.
- Elagabalus, Coin of, xx. 119.
- Eleanora, daughter of King John, Extract from Miss Green's "Lives of the Princesses of England," xiii. 139.
- Elizabeth, Base Groats of, found in Ireland, iv. 210.

Emporiæ, Coin of (?), xvi. 13.
Emporium, Coins of, iii. 62.
England, Coinage of, in 1856, xix. 228.
English Gold and Silver Coins, Discovery of, at Saffron Walden, v. 203.
English Inscriptions instead of Latin, on Coins of Victoria, Suggestions for, xiv. 105—109.
English Silver Coinage, Mr. Hawkins' work on, iv. 63.
Engraving Precious Stones, the Art of, coincident in time with that of cutting Dies for Coin, in Ancient Greece, i. 243.
Enydra, Remarks on Coin of, xx. 87—89.
Epaticcus, Paper on a Gold Coin of, xx. 1—8.
Ephesus, called "Arsinoë," in honour of the wife of Lysimachus, ii. 172; iv. 74.
Ephesus, a flourishing city in the time of Lysander, iv. 73; originally called Smyrna, 74; Head of Antonius, Octavius, and Lepidus, on Coins of, 78; Heads of Augustus and Livia on Coins of, 82; Coin of, with the Head of Livia on obverse and reverse, on which she is styled, "Diana of the Ephesians," 82; Heads of Drusus and Antonia, and Germanicus, on Coins of, 83; Coin of, with Head of Nero, Remarks on, 83, 84; Coin of, with Head of Domitianus; the Legend of a, commemorates the alliance of the Ephesians and Smyrnæans, 85; Coins of, with Head of Domitianus, Remarks on, 88; Coin of, with Heads of Domitianus and Domitia, 88; Coins of, with Head of Hadrian, Remarks on, 89—94; Coin of, with Head of L. Ælius, 94; Coins of, with Head of Antoninus Pius, Remarks on, 95—102; Coins of Marcus Aurelius, struck at, 102, 103; Coins of L. Verus, struck at, 104, 105; Coin of Commodus, struck at, with title of "Olympius," 106; Coins of Sept. Severus, struck at, Remarks on, 106; Coin of Julia Domna, struck at, 107; Coins of Caracalla, struck at, Remarks on,

Ephesus.
 108—110; Coins of Elagabalus, struck at, Remarks on, 110; Coins of Maximinus. Gordianus, Philip-pus, Otacilia, Philippos, Jun., and Etruscilla, struck at, Remarks on, 111—117.
Ephesus Ioniæ, Coin of, vii. 63; Cistophori of, ix. 14—16.
Epidaurus, Temple of, Serpents nourished at, ii. 245; Coin of, xv. 124.
Epirus, Coin of, described, ii. 58.
Eppillus, Coin of, xvi. 82, 83; Remarks on Coin of, with Legend COM.F., 87, 88.
Eresus, in Lesbo insula, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 52.
Eretia Euboeæ, Coin of, vi. 145.
Eriza Cariæ, Remarks on Coin of, ix. 150.
Erythræ Bœotiz, Coin of, ascribed there by Mionnet, belongs to Erythræ Ioniæ, vi. 127.
Erythræ Ioniæ, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 64, 65.
Esahel, Coin of, with name of his minister, Egabes, on reverse, viii. 122.
Ethelbert, Coin of, Remarks on, iv. 34, 35.
Ethelred, Coins of, described, iii. 30, 31; Silver Penny of, 190; Remarks on Coins of, v. 5—8; Coin of, v. 99; List of Moneyers' Names on Coins of, vii. 102; List of Moneyers of, ix. 122; Remarks on some Coins of, xviii. 132, 133.
Ethelred II., Coins of, with the "Crux" Type, xvi. 99—104; Remarks on Coins of, xvii. 95—97.
Ethelstan, Coins of, iii. 30; Curious Penny of, with the letters A and Q on obverse and reverse evidently connected, iv. 40; Pennies with Name of, usually assigned to the Danish Princes, given to Ethelstan, son of Egbert, 198; Remarks on Coins of, v. 8—10; Coin of, 99, 100; Remarks on a Coin of, 124—127.
Ethelwald, King of East Angles, Coins of, described, iii. 28.
Ethelwulf, Coins of, described, iii. 30.

- Ethered, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 870, only one Coin of, ii. 215; Remarks on Coin of, v. 103.
- Ethiopia, The Stamped Metallic Currency of, ii. 65, 66; The Unstamped or Iron-metallic Currency of, 67, 68; Salt-Money of, 203.
- Eudes or Odo, Remarks on Coins of, v. 64—66.
- Eugenius, New Type of, xiii. 140; Coins of, xvii. 114.
- Eukratides, Coin of, struck upon a Coin of Demetrius, xiii. 12, 13; Coin of, with the Greek words *μεγαλος*, and perhaps *σωτηρ*, xv. 26, 27; Coins of, xix. 28—30.
- EYKTHMΩN — substituted for KYKTHMΩN, as the name of a Magistrate, iii. 95.
- Eumenia Phrygiæ, Coin of, vii. 8; Remarks on Coin of, viii. 25, 26.
- Eupardus, Bishop of Autun, Curious Coin of, vii. 187.
- Eupator, Coin of, xiv. 116.
- Euralium Cariæ, Coin of, ix. 150, 151.
- Euromus Cariæ, Coin of, ix. 151.
- Eurydicea Macedoniæ, Coin of, Notice of, iii. 135—137.
- Eurymenæ Thessaliæ, Remarks on Coin of, vii. 118, 119.
- Euthydemus, King of Bactriana, Drachma of, xiii. 77, 78; Coins of, xix. 23, 24.
- Evippe, Cariæ, Coin of, ix. 151.
- Farley Heath, Roman Remains found at, x. 143, 144; Lines on Discoveries at, 182, 183;
- Farthing Tokens, Note on, ii. 81, 82.
- Fausta, Coin of, xx. 134.
- Faustina, Sen., Coin of, with Legend, PIETAS AVG, xii. 21; Coins of, 24; xx. 116.
- Faustina, Jun., Head of, on Coin of Taba, Unique, iii. 102; Coin of, xx. 116.
- FELLOWS, SIR CHARLES. "Ancient Coins of Lydia, before the time of Alexander," Notice of, xviii. 87, 88.
- Feth Aleë Shah, King of Persia, Remarks on a Kazbegi of, xvii. 33—38.
- Fish-hook Money, the so-called, Remarks on, xvi. 127—132; 179—182.
- Florianus, Coin of, xiv. 125; Coin of, found at Deddington, in Oxfordshire, xv. 79.
- Forged Coins, ii. 200, 201.
- Forged and Imitation Coins, Note of, xi. 185—187.
- Forgeries of Ancient Coins, ii. 256—259; of Public Money, Paper on, vi. 57—82; of Turkish Money at Birmingham, x. 147, 148; of Five-franc Pieces, xv. 105.
- Fourvières, near Lyons, Roman Coin-moulds found at, i. 148.
- Fous, les Fêtes de, probably derived from the Roman Saturnalia, i. 255.
- Frederick III., Emperor of Germany, Remarks on Medal of, reading—IMP. CAES. FREDRICVS. IV AVG, xvi. 186, 187; Enamelled Medal of, xvii. 128, 129.
- French Coinage, iii. 125.
- French Coins, found at Cuerdale, of Louis le Debonnaire and Charles, v. 46—48; List of, with Remarks, 53—63.
- Gadara, not *Gergesa* or *Gerasa*, the proper name of the metropolis of Perea, Decapolis, viii. 148; Coin of—on reverse, Astarte, the tutelary Divinity, 148.
- Gala, King of the Massyli, Remarks on Coin of, xv. 84, 85.
- Galatia, Coin of, described, ii. 224.
- Galba, Coin of, restored by Titus, xii. 20; Coin of, xx. 111.
- Gallenus, Coin of, to be classed to Pisdia, ii. 185; Coins of, xv. 74; xx. 121, 122.
- Gallus (Trebonianus), Coin of, xx. 121.
- Gans, Marguerite, Medal of, xvi. 188.
- Gaul, Emperor of, List of the wanting Reverses of, xiv. 46—50.
- Gaulish Coins, Legends found on, ii. 75—78; struck before the Conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar, iii. 117; M. de la Sauvage's work on, iv. 63.
- Gaulish and British Coins, Ortho-

- Gaulish and British Coins.
graphical form of the Names
inscribed on, xv. 107—120.
- Gebal or Byblus Phœnicia, Re-
marks on Coins of, xx. 98—100;
Coin ascribed by Duc de Luynes
to "Cittium," or "of Cyprus,"—
probably belongs to, 100.
- Gelimer, Remarks on Coins of, xvii.
11, 12.
- Genserich, Remarks on Coins of, xvii.
3—6.
- Gentios Troadis, Remarks on Coin
of, vi. 196, 197.
- George I., Gold Coins of, xiii.
54—59.
- George II., Half-pence of, x. 146,
147; Gold Coins of, xiii. 59, 60;
113, 114.
- George III., Gold Coins of, xiii.
115—128; 167—174.
- George IV., Gold Coins of, xiii.
174—179.
- Gerasa, Coin of, xiv. 122.
- Germanicus, Remarkable Coin of,
ii. 4.
- Germanus, Remarks on Coins of,
xvi. 21, 22; Paper on Coins of,
xviii. 165—172; Coins of, Read
IN DVTILLIL and not IN-
DVTILLIF, xviii. 167; Remarks
on Coins of, xvii. 215—217.
- Germe Mysia, Remarks on Coins
of, vi. 154, 155.
- Geta, Medallion of, struck at Stra-
tonicæ, with Epithet ΘΕΟΥ, i.
195; Coin of, Relating to Britain,
xiv. 86, 87; Coins of, xx. 119.
- Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, King of Oude,
Medal of, v. 129—133.
- Giant's Causeway, Ireland, Dis-
covery at, ii. 256.
- Glycerius (?), Remark on Coin of,
xiv. 125.
- Gold Ring found at Wormleighton,
Account of, xiv. 57—63.
- Gold Armlet, with Pendant Rings,
Account of, xiv. 63—65.
- Gondophares, Coins of, xix. 60, 61.
- Gordium Phrygia, not to be con-
founded with Gordus or Gordus-
Julia, Remarks on Coin of, viii.
27.
- Gordian III., Coins of, xx. 120.
- Gordus-Julia, Coins of, xiv. 120.
- Gortyna, in Crete, Remarks on Coin
of, vi. 141, 142.
- Gortys Arcadia, Remarks on Coin
of, xix. 235, 236.
- Γραμματεὺς or Scribe, an important
personage among the Greeks, iv.
79; or Town Clerk, Remarks on,
ix. 36—38.
- Gratianus, Coins of, xvii. 113; xx.
138.
- Gravesend, Saxon Coins found at,
iii. 14.
- Greek Coins, the Weights of, xvii.
201—214.
- Gresham, Thomas, Letter of, to
Right Hon. Sir Thomas Parry,
Treasurer to Queen's Household,
ii. 13, 14.
- Gualcher, Count of Porcien, Remark
on Sterling of, xviii. 126.
- Gualeran, Lord of Ligny, Remark
on Sterling of, xviii. 126, 127.
- Guido, Bishop of Cambray, Coun-
terfeit Sterling of, xiii. 87, 88;
Remark on Sterling of, xviii. 122.
- Guido, Marquis of Namur, etc.,
Counterfeit Sterlings of, xiii. 90,
91; Remarks on Sterlings of,
xviii. 123, 124.
- Gunthamund, Remarks on Coins of,
xvii. 8.
- Gyaros, (insula), Coins of, Remark
on, v. 176.
- Gynæcopolis, Coin of, ii. 105.
- Hadrian, Coin of, xii. 20—23; xx.
114; Medallion of, xvi. 191.
- Hadrianopolis, Coin of, xiv. 112.
- Hadrianothes Mysia (not Bithy-
nia), Coins of, vi. 15, 16.
- Halfdan, Coin of, who was slain in
Battle of Wednesfield, in 910, vi.
116.
- Halicarnassus Caria, Remarks on
Coins of, ix. 152—154.
- Hamaxitus Troadis, Coin of, vi.
197.
- Harp of Briam Boroimhe, King of
Ireland, the Cause of Pope
Adrian's Claim to Sovereignty
over Ireland, ii. 189.
- Harp, upon the Irish Coins of Henry
VIII., in 1530, ii. 190.
- Harpasa Caria, Remarks on Coins
of, ix. 154.

- Harper of Ireland, an Account of the, ii. 84, 85.
- Harthacnut, Penny of, found at Dover, vii. 202.
- Hasshah-shah, the Name of Iron Money still used in Kordofan, i. 211.
- Helena, Coins of, Paper on, xv. 188—213; Mother of Constantine, Paper on a Barbarous Coin of, xx. 43—48; Coins of, 82; 130, 131.
- Heliocles, Coins of, xix. 25—27.
- Heliopolis, Coins of, iv. 99.
- Henry I., Account of the Pennies of, with the Short and Long Cross, x. 21—26; Discovered at Teston, in Kent, x. 26—42; List of Coins of, found in Hertfordshire, xii. 144—148; 151—153; Coin of, found near Dartford, Kent, xiii. 186.
- Henry III., Short Cross Money belongs to, iv. 71; Gold Penny of, iii. 191; The Short Cross Money his earliest Coinage, iv. 204; Penny of, with Legend HALLI-ON-RYLA, Remarks on, vii. 138—142; the Mint of RULA, on Penny of, perhaps Rhudlan or Rutland, or most likely Rochester, vii. 142; Foreign Sterlings of, Type of, xiii. 67—69.
- Henry VII., List of Groats of, with the Arched Crown, iv. 172—174.
- Henry VIII., Penny of, Struck at Durham, vi. 91.
- Henry, Count of Luxembourg, Counterfeit Sterling of, xiii. 93.
- Hephæstia Lemni, Coin of, iv. 98.
- Heracleopolites Nomes described, ii. 98.
- Heraclia Bithyniæ, Coins of, vi. 116, 117.
- Heraclius, Coin of, and his Son Constantinus, found at Cuerdale, v. 95.
- Heribert, Mercian Penny of, vi. 163—168.
- Hermæus, Coins of, xix. 43, 44.
- Hermodice, Daughter of Midas, instituted Art of Coining among the Cymeans, iii. 90.
- Hermonthites Nomos, described, ii. 94.
- Hermopolis, Coin of, described, ii. 96, 97.
- Herod the Great and Archelaus his Son, Coins of, viii. 135.
- Herod Antipas, Coin of, struck in Tiberias, the new name for Cinnereth, viii. 149.
- Hesham-ben-abd-el-Malek, 11th Prince of the House of Ommiah, Coin of, xiii. 83.
- Hiberno-English Type, First Issue of in 1463, struck at Dublin and Waterford, iv. 44.
- Hiempsal II., Remarks on Coins of, xv. 85, 86.
- Hierapolis Phrygiæ, Coin of, vii. 9; Remarks on Coin of, viii. 28, 29.
- Hildene, Remarks on Coins of, xvii. 9—11.
- Himera, Attempts to fix the Date of Coins of, vii. 179—186.
- Hippostratus, King of Bactriana, Remarks on Coins of, xvi. 112, 113, Coins of, xix. 42, 43.
- Hirtia Family, Brass Coin of, viii. 36.
- Histiæa Eubœæ, destroyed, as Early as the Time of Pericles, ii. 234.
- Histiæotis Thessaliæ, Coin of, restored from the Town of Histiæa Eubœæ, ii. 233; formerly called Doris, from Doris the Son of Hellenus, took the name of Histiæotis from a number of Captives brought from Histiæa Eubœæ, 235; Coins of, probably about the Reign of Philip V. of Macedon, ii. 235.
- Honorius, Coins of, xiv. 125; xvii. 114, 115.
- Hugh, Bishop, Remarks on Sterling of, xviii. 125—126.
- Huneric, Remarks on Coins of, xvii. 6—8.
- Hunter, Dr., Letter of, ix. 86.
- Huth, mentioned by Bromton, the same Personage as the Eric of other Chroniclers, i. 6; Styca attributed to, different Reading of the Name by Sir H. Ellis and Mr. Hawkins, i. 7.
- Hyllarima Cariæ, Remarks on Coins of, ix. 154, 155.
- Hypæpa Lydiæ, Remarks on Coin

- Hypæra Lydiæ.
of, with Heads of Nero and Stat. Messalina, viii. 6, 7; Coin of, with Portrait of Plautilla, and bearing on Reverse the Title of ΑΣΙΑΡΚΟΣ, ix. 34, 35; Coin of, xiv. 120.
- Hyrkania Lydiæ, Remark on Coin of, viii. 8.
- Hyrgalea Phrygiæ, Coin of, viii. 29.
- Ialysus Rhodi, Remarks on Coin of, ix. 170, 171.
- Iasion, Remarks on, iii. 74.
- Iasus Cariæ, Remarks on Coins of, iv. 142, 143; ix. 155—157.
- Idyma Cariæ, Remarks on Coins of, ix. 157, 158.
- Iksheedeyeh Dynasty, History of Coins of the, xvii. 125, 126.
- Indo-Japanese Coins, Remarks on some, xv. 65, 66.
- Indian Antiquities, by James Prinsep, edited by Edward Thomas, Notice of, xx. 142—148.
- Ireland, Coins struck expressly for, by Henry VII. and VIII., but probably minted in London, with the Legend "Civilitas Dublinie," iv. 49; Three Crowns the recognised Armorial Bearings of, 207.
- Irippo, Coin of, xvi. 11.
- Italian Band, σπειρα Ἰταλική of Scripture, probably a Cohort serving in Syria, composed of Natives of Italy, and called by that name to distinguish it from those which consisted of Troops raised in Syria, ix. 18.
- Jaenbert, the Mint of, alluded to, ii. 209.
- James II., Gun-Money of, iv. 235—237; Gold Coins of, xiii. 49; and his Consort, Medals of, 139.
- Jason, Myth connected with his losing one of his Sandals in the Anaurus, i. 225; the Myth of, especially cherished in Thessaly, 226.
- Jersey, Ancient Coins of, their Date uncertain, i. 21.
- Jerusalem, supposed to be the Cadytis of Herodotus, viii. 144.
- Jewel or Ring Money, of Africa, Paper on, vi. 201—212.
- Jewish Coins, Paper on, xx. 8—22.
- John, King, Types on Money of, Typical of St. John the Baptist, ii. 188; Unpublished Irish Halfpence of, with Full Face, x. 104—107; 179—181; xiv. 4—8.
- John III. (1200—1219) (?), Counterfeit Sterling of, xiii. 94.
- John, Duke of Limburg and Brabant, Remark on Sterling of, xviii. 124; Counterfeit Sterling of, xiii. 91, 92.
- John II., Count of Hainault, etc., Counterfeit Sterlings of, xiii. 88, 89; Remarks on Sterling of, xviii. 122, 123.
- John of Louvain, Counterfeit Sterlings of, xiii. 92, 93; Remark on Sterlings of, xviii. 125.
- Jolaf Tribe, Gold Ring Currency of, Account of, xi. 161—170.
- Journal for the Study of Numismatics, Heraldry and Seals of, iv. 125.
- Jovian, Third Brass Coin of, viii. 38; Coins of, xvii. 112.
- Juba II., Paper on Coin of, vi. 183—186.
- Judæa, Coin of, with Legend ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ, Illustrative of Scripture (οἱ δὲ ἔκταν αὐτῷ Καίσαρος), viii. 143.
- Julia Phrygiæ, Coin of, with Head of Æmilianus, Remarks on, viii. 29, 30.
- Julianus, Coin of, xx. 82; 137.
- Julian II., Coins of, xvii. 111, 112.
- Kabéan, Name for large Tin Burmese Coins, vii. 27.
- Kadphises, an Indo-Scythic Prince of Kabul, Coins of, xiii. 10, 11; xix. 50, 59, 60.
- Kadusha (The Holy), constantly found on Coins, attributable to Jerusalem, viii. 144.
- Kamnascires and Anzage, Remarks on Coins of, xviii. 139—143; xx. 96, 97; Coins of, 85.
- Kanaris, melts his Brass Guns into Money, at Poros, i. 28.
- Kashmir, Paper on the Ancient Coinage of, vi. 1—38.
- Kholf ben Ahmed, Remarks on Coins of, xx. 51—55.
- Kittaning, Medal struck on the

- Kittaning.
burning of the village of, in 1756, xvii. 129, 130.
- Knockninny, Hoard of Coins (chiefly Guineas) discovered at, i. 205.
- KÖHNÉ, B. de. "Memoires de la Société d'Archæologie, et de Numismatique de St. Petersburg," Notice of, x. 186, 187.
- KÖHNÉ's "Zeitschrift für Münz-siegel und Wappenkunde," Contents of, vii. 147—149.
- Κολλυβιστής, derived from "Collybus," a small Coin, viii. 151.
- Kozola Kadaphes, Coins of, xix. 50, 51.
- KTIMENOE on Coins of Aninesum Lydiæ, is merely a Magistrate's name, and no reference to the town, vii. 118.
- KYMIΔAION, not a Coptic word, but a Greek form, from *χευμα*, "a vase to pour from," iii. 94.
- Ladeuse, Adr. de, Medal of, xvi. 187.
- Lacedæmonia, Coin of, ascribed there by Dutens, restored to Lamia Thessaliæ, vi. 138.
- Lakinia (the Heré of Crotona), connected with *λασκειν* or *λακειν*, to "shriek," or "roar," xi. 16.
- Lambert, Coin of, v. 69.
- Lamia Thessaliæ, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 119—121.
- Lampsacus Mysiæ, Remarks on Coins of, vi. 155, 156.
- Lancaster Seal, the result of Engraving, and not simply Casting in Iron, i. 126.
- Lancaster Seal by Pistrucci, not used for the Duchy Office in London, but at Preston, in Lancashire, i. 232.
- Lanka, the ancient name of Ceylon, Coin of the Lord of, xvi. 124, 125.
- Laodicea Phrygiæ, Coin of, described, ii. 168; Remarks on Coins of, viii. 30, 31; Cistophori of, ix, 72, 73.
- Larissa, called, "Kremaste," from its overhanging position, i. 223.
- Latopolites Nomos, Unique Medal described, ii. 93.
- Landau, Siege-pieces struck at, in 1702 and 1718, vii. 25, 26.
- Laus Lucaniæ, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 6, 7.
- Leaden Tickets, said to have been struck in Scotland, in 1638, xiii. 139, 140.
- Lebedus Ioniæ, Coins of, vii. 66.
- Lemlein Medal, Memoir on the, xix. 237—270.
- Lemnos Ins. Thraciæ, Coin of, iv. 8.
- LENORMANT, M., his notion that the idea of Chaos is symbolized in the name of Janus, i. 94; "Medaille d'or D'Albin," Notice of, v. 153; "Sur un denier d'Argent de la famille Cornelia," Notice of, 153.
- Leontopolites Nomos, described, ii. 100.
- Λεπτα δύο, ὃ ἴσσι κοδράντης—Description of the "Lepton" or "Mite," viii. 152.
- Lesbos (insula), Remark on, vii. 51, 52.
- Letter from Adam Cardonnell to the Earl of Buchan, iv. 179.
- Letter from John Pinkerton to Dodsley, the Publisher, iv. 180.
- Letter from Dr. Stukely, to D. Watson, of the Royal Society, iv. 238.
- Leuce Ioniæ, Remarks on Coin of, vii. 66, 67.
- Leuco II., King of the Bosphorus, Coin of, described, ii. 160.
- Libana, of the Celtiberi, Remarks on Coin of, xvi. 16, 17.
- Licinius, Sen., Coins of, xx. 131.
- Light Gold, Return of, x. 101, 102.
- Lilæa Phocidis, Remarks on Coin of, vi. 125.
- Lilybæum, Coins of, xv. 115, 116.
- Limyra Lyciæ, Remarks on Coins of, x. 85.
- LINDSAY, Mr. attributes Stycas and Skeattæ to Huth, in his Paper in Numismatic Journal Vol. II. p. 234, i. 8: Specimens of Skeattæ, etc., published by, not really legible, 9; Supposes Eric and Huth to be one and the same person, i. 143.
- Lingwell-Gate, near Wakefield, Roman Coin-moulds found at, i. 163.

- Lion, a favourite Symbol of the Lydian Coins, ii. 221.
- Locri, Brass Coin of, viii. 118; Coin of, xiv. 114.
- Locri Incerti, Coin of, xiv. 114.
- London and Lund, in Schonen, places of mintage, spelt as on the Coins of Canute, iii. 121.
- Louis le Debonnaire, Coin of, iii. 27.
- Louis le Begue, Remarks on Coin of, v. 63.
- Louis XI., de Saxe, Remarks on Coins of, v. 66—69.
- Louis, Count of Loos, Counterfeit Sterling of, xiii. 93, 94.
- Lucilla, Coin of, xx. 116.
- Luynes, Duc de, Greek Coin of, iii. 62.
- Lusignan, Guy de, Coin of, Remarks on, viii. 201—203; Coin of, reading on reverse, DAVID, struck at Jerusalem, Remarks on, 204—206.
- Lycia, in Genere, Remarks on Coins of, x. 80.
- Lycias (B.C. 147), Coin of, with title, *αυκνῆτος, unconquered*, xv. 27.
- Lydian Coins, problematical whether struck in Asia, ii. 216; All struck within the space of fourteen years, which accounts for their resemblance, ii. 220.
- Lycecius, King of, Pæonia (?), Coin of, Remarks on, iv. 10, 11.
- Lynch, German, the Master-worker of the Dublin Mint, iv. 43.
- Lyndus Rhodi, Remarks on Coins of, ix. 171, 172.
- Lysias, King of Bactriana, Remark on Coin of, xvi. 109, 110; Coins of, xix. 36, 37.
- Lysimachus, Coin of, xvii. 100.
- Macedonia and Histiaotis, Coins of, found together, ii. 236.
- Macedonia, Coins of the four parts of, ix. 27, 28.
- Madytus, Chers. Thraciæ, Coins of, Remarks on, iv. 5, 6.
- Magnesia, on the Meander, Coin of, xi. 111.
- Mahmud, of Ghazna, Remarks on Coin of, xx. 55.
- Mallus Ciliciæ, Coin of, viii. 4.
- Malvern, Coins discovered at, Account of, xi. 19—34.
- Mamun, son of Harun Al Rashid, Coin of, struck in the year of Hejira 204 (A.D. 819), xiii. 83, 84.
- Matilda, Remarks on Coin of, reading, MATILDA.IM.(Imperatrix), xiv. 66, 67.
- Mæonia Lydiæ, Coin of, with Head of Nero, vii. 13; Coins of, viii. 8, 9.
- Magistrates, List of, allied with Type of Coin of Cyme, iii. 94.
- Magnentius, Coins of, xx. 137.
- Magnesia Ioniæ, Coins of, vii. 67.
- Magydus Pamphilæ, Coin of, with Bust of Domitian, Remark on, viii. 47.
- Mamlúk Coin, Paper on a, xix. 71—84.
- Mancus, derived from the Arabic word "Mancush," a Coin, v. 122; =30 Pennies in time of Henry I., 123; Specimen of the Arabic Dinar, with Head of Offa, 124; of the Anglo-Saxons, Remarks on, xx. 149, 150.
- Mansur Ven Nuh, 7th Prince of the Samanian dynasty, Remarks on Coin of, xx. 50.
- Marathus, Coins of, xx. 84, 85; Remarks on the Coins of, 89—96.
- Marcianopolis, Remark on Coin of, xiv. 112.
- Mareotes Nomos described, ii. 101—107.
- Marius, Coin of, xx. 124.
- Maronea Thraciæ, Coins of, described, iii. 109—111.
- MARSHALL, G. Notice of Work by, entitled, "A View of the Silver Coin and Coinage of Great Britain, from the year 1662 to 1837," 1838, i. 33—36.
- Martin's (St.) Church, near Canterbury, Site of, once occupied by a Roman Temple, presented by Ethelbert, King of Kent, to his Queen, Bertha, vii. 190.
- Manas, Coins of, xix. 44, 45; 49, 50.
- Maurice, Jewelled Coin of, Account of, ix. 131—143.
- Maximianus Hercules, Coins of, xi. 23—26; xv. 77; xvii. 39, 40, 42; xx. 127.

- Maximianus II.**, Coins of, xiv. 40, 43.
Maximinus I., Coin of xx. 120.
Maximinus II (Daza), Coins of, xvii. 41, 43.
Maximilian, Emperor of Germany, Medal of, xvi. 187.
Maximus, Coins of, xvii. 114.
Medal, New Coronation, discussion of, in House of Commons, July 9th, 1838, Miscel. i. 132, 133.
Medals not used in Antiquity, as in Modern Times, to commemorate Individuals or Events, i. 201.
Medal-Money and Jewel Currency, Paper on, viii. 207—220.
Mehemet Ali, Notice of Medal to, struck in England, v. 147—150.
Memphite Coins, Description of, ii. 98, 99.
Menander (B.C. 126), Coin of, with title, *σωτηρ*—*δικαίος*, xv. 28; Coin of, xix. 39—41.
Mende Macedoniæ, Coins of, iii. 138.
Mendesian Nome, described, ii. 99.
Menelaïtes Nomos, described, ii. 106.
Mensis, Phrygian god, worshipped in Phrygia to a great extent, iii. 99.
Meredates and Uiphoba, note on Coins of, xix. 226, 227; Remarks on Coin of, xx. 38.
Merovingian Series, Gold Coin of the, Remarks on a, iv. 31; Coin, with Moneyer's name, "LEV-DVLFO," minted at Juvignien, Juvisy, or Juges, vii. 188; Coins, two, with Moneyer's name "NONNITVS," Remarks on, 189.
Mesopotamia, Coin of, struck at Seleucia, xvii. 163; Regal Coin of, Paper on, xviii. 1—36.
Metellites Nomos, described, ii. 105.
Methana Argolidis, Coin of, vi. 139.
Methone, Coin of, with Head of Geta, iv. 137.
Methymna Lesbi, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 52, 53.
Mexican Dollars forged at Sheffield, Account of, iv. 175—179.
Michael VIII., Palæologus, Coin of, described, iv. 19—21,
Miletopolis Mysiæ, Coin of, vi. 157.
Miletus Ioniæ, Coin of, vii. 68; Remarks on, xiv. 118.
MILLINGEN, Mr., French Numismatic prize awarded to, for his "Sylloge of, Ancient Unedited Coins," i. 134; "Considérations sur la Numismatique, de l'Antienne Italie," Notice of, v. 151.
Milly, James de, Account of Coin of, xiv. 1—3; the Zecchin of, 83, 86.
Milton, Medals of, xi. 103.
Mint, The Royal, Report of Commissioners on Management and Expense of, xii. 27—50.
MIONNET, T. E. Notice of Work by, entitled, "Atlas de Géographique Numismatique, etc.," Paris, 4^o, 1838. 1839, i. 257, 258.
Mithradates VI., King of Pontus, Coin of, Remark on, v. 185.
Mitre, on Tavern Tokens, xiii. 138.
Mitylene Lesbi, Remark on Coins of, vii. 53—60.
Mococlea, Authority for giving Coins to that place, very weak, iii. 35.
Mode of taking impressions from Coins, ii. 143, 144.
Modern Forgeries of Ancient Coins, ii. 62—64.
Molon, Satrap of Media, Remarks on Coins of, xviii. 149—152.
Moneyers, List of, unknown to Ruding, of Burgred, Ethelwald, Eadmund, Ethelred, and Alfred, iii. 32, 33.
Monile, a word, probably, of Phœnician origin, i. 185.
Monneses, Remarks on the Coin of, xx. 37.
Monograms of Bactrian Princes. See Paper of Coins of Ariana and India, viii. 175—197.
Monthra the Mandoulis, *alias* Apollo, in Egyptian Mythology, iii. 97.
Montfaucon, Sebastian de, Bishop of Lausanne, Remarks on testoon of, xix. 92—101.
Motâsem Billah, Coin of, xiii. 85.
Mould for Coins, Roman, manner in which they were made and used, i. 149, 150: Were these used by forgers or not? 150—152;

Mould for Coins.

- discovery of Fossil Infusoria of the genus *Navicula*, in the sand composing, 162.
Mouton d'Or, Account of, xii. 6—19.
Mylasa, Coin of, xiv. 119.
Myndus Caria, Coins of, ix. 152.
Myra Lycia, Coins of, Remarks on, x. 85, 86.
Myrina Æolia, Coin of, vii. 49.
Myrrhina Lemnos, Coin of, iv. 8.
Myrtilis Lusitania, Remark on Coin of, xvi. 11.

Nævia Gens, Coins of, xx. 109.

- Nagidus**, Coin of, xvii. 101.
Names of the Company who executed the Reform of the Debased Coinage of England, ii. 16.
Naser Ledin Illah Ben Mostadhi, Coin of, xiii. 85.
Nasi or Napi Lesbi, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 60, 61.
Naucratis, Coins of, ii. 114, 115.
Naucleus Ionia, Coin of, xi. 58.
Naval Honorary Medals, Account of, xiii. 95—110.
Naxos (insula), Coins of, Remarks on, v. 176—178; Type on Coins of, xi. 114, 115.
Neandria Troadis, Coin of, vi. 198.
Neapolis Macedonia, Coin of, iii. 139.
Neapolis Ionia, Remarks on Coin of, vii. 68, 69.
Nemansus Narbonensis, Remark on Coin of, xiv. 111.
Neontichos Æolia, Remarks on Coin of, vii. 49, 50.
Nero, Mention of the Port of Ostia, on Coins of, iii. 44; Coin of, with wreath of wild olive, instead of laurel, vii. 272; Coin of, struck at Ephesus, showing that the proconsular authority was fully established there in his reign, ix. 38, 39; Coins of, xx. 111.
Nerva, Second Brass Coins of, reading, NEPTVNO: . . . (Circens. Restit., or Constit), iv. 150; Coin of, xx. 113.
Newton, Sir Isaac, "Report on the Gold and Silver Coin in 1717, xi. 181, 185.

Νεωκορος on Coins of Ephesus, Remarks on the word, ix. 38.

- Nicaea**, and **Byzantium**, Coin of, vi. 118.
Nicaea Bithynia, Coins of, vi. 118; Coin of, with Bust of Severus Alexander, Remarks on, viii. 41, 42; Coins of, xiv. 117.
Nicholson, Br., and others, doubt whether Britain, before the Romans, had any Coinage of its own, i. 14.
Nicias, Coin of, xix. 32, 33.
Nicomedes I., King of Bithynia, Remarks on Coins of, vi. 123.
Nicomedia Bithynia, Coins of, vi. 118, 119.
Nicopolis ad Istrum, Coins of, xiv. 112.
Nigris, Phedericus de, Medal of, xvi. 190.
Niniva, founded by Claudius, and called, "Niniva Claudiopolis," xix. 1, 2; Coin of, struck by Trajan, Remarks on, 1—3.
Northumbria, King of, Attribution of a Saxon Type to a, xvi. 183, 184.
Northumbrian Kings, List of, given by Mr. Hawkins, i. 3; Regnald and Anlaf, Coins assigned to, by Mr. Hawkins, 5; Complete Series of Sticas of all, known, but no well authenticated Skeatta, 10.
Numismatic Errors of the Legends on Greek Coins, rectified, xv. 203—208.
Numismatic Publications, List and Notice of, vii. 202, 203; taken from *Revue Numismatique*, Notices of, viii. 51—68, 172—174; taken from the *Bulletino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, Notices of, 128—131.
Nysa Caria, Coin of, iv. 141.
Ocellum Lusitania, Remarks on Coin of, xvi. 3—6.
Ococlea, the same as **Coclea**, reasons given, iii. 39.
Odin, Invention of "Runes" ascribed to, by the Saxons, ii. 153.
Odoacer, King of Italy, Paper on Coin of, struck at Ravenna, xvii. 223—237.

K K

- Offa, Gold Coin of, with Arabic Inscriptions, a copy of a Mussulman "Dinar," iv. 232.
- Olaf, or Anlaf IV., King of Dublin (A.D. 962—981), Coin of, xviii. 131.
- Olba Ciliciæ, Remarks on Coins of, viii. 4, 5.
- Omlite Nome, described, ii. 90.
- ΟΜΦΑΛΟΕ, Remarks on the, as used in the Bath, and as represented on Coins of Aegiale, v. 194.
- Onlaf, the reading of the name, on the Coins of, i. 5; Coins reading, struck after the Restoration of Anlaf, in 949. ii. 134.
- Onphites Nomos, described, ii. 103.
- Orchomenus, Remarks on Coin of, xix. 236.
- Oreus, City called, built by Athenians, ii. 234.
- Oriental Coins for Sale, iii. 193.
- Orodes, King of Parthia, Remarks on Coins of, xvii. 146—153.
- Oropus Atticæ, Remark on Coins of, vi. 129.
- Orthagnes, Coin of, xix. 63.
- Osbercht, List of Moneyers' names on Coins of, vii. 103; List of Moneyers of, ix. 125.
- Otacilia, Coin of, iv. 144.
- Otho, King, description of the Money of, i. 29.
- Otrus Phrygiæ, Coin of, with Head of Julia Domna, viii. 32.
- Oxford Crown of Charles I., Pedigree of, xvii. 20—24.
- Oxyrinchite Nome, description of, ii. 97, 98.
- Paduan Coin Forgers, vi. 53—55.
- Pakores, Coins of, xix. 63.
- Palæopolia Cariæ, Remarks on Coin of, ix. 158, 159.
- Panopolites Nomos, Coins of described, ii. 95.
- Pantaleon, Coin of, xix. 23.
- Parian Chronicle, the first to state that Pheidon invented Money at Ægina, i. 235.
- Parium Mysiæ, Coins ascribed there, to be restored to Island of Paros, Remarks on Cistophori of, ix. 7—9.
- Parthian Attire and Quiver, on a badly-preserved Coin of Demetrius, might easily be taken for the Peplos and Cornu Copiæ, iv. 14, 15; Coins, Paper on, xvii. 131—173; Explanation on some Monograms on, 171—173.
- Partho-Persian, or Sub-Persian Coins, xiii. 81, 82.
- Patân Sultans of Hindustan, Account of the, ix. 79—84; List and Description of the Coins and Lives of the, 89—120, 172—182; x. 43—62, 127—143; with Appendix, 151—178; Supplementary Contributions to Series of the Coins of, xv. 121—180.
- Patraus, King of Pæonia, Coins of, Remarks on, iv. 8, 9.
- Pausanias, King of Macedonia, Coins of, Remarks on, iii. 141—143.
- Pednelissus Pisidiæ, Remarks on Coins of, x. 95, 96.
- Πελεκυς, the peculiar weapon of the Amazon and Arimaspi, iv. 131.
- Pellene Achaïæ, Notice of, ii. 237; Coin of, wrongly classed to Pella Macedonia, 238; the weight of the Coin important evidence in ascribing it to, 239; Ram's Head on Coins of,—Ancient Authors refer to the excellency of the wool there, 241; Coin ascribed to, 242.
- Pellerin, chiefly guided in classing Coins by knowing where they were found, i. 42.
- Pelusium, Coins of, ii. 99.
- Pembroke Collection of Coins and Medals, Notice of Sale of, xi. 156, 158.
- Peparethus, Coins of, assigned there by Mionnet, to be transferred to Pellene, ii. 241; Remark on Coin of, vii. 124, 125.
- Perga Pamphylia; Two Coins of, classed by Sestini to that place belong to Andeda, ii. 3; Coins of, x. 90; xiv. 120.
- Pergamos, Remarks on a curious Coin of, ii. 240—247; Remarks on Cistophori of, ix. 9—13.
- Pergamos Mysiæ, Remarks on Coins of, vi. 158—160.
- Pergamus and Sardis, Remarks on Coin of, vii. 7, 8.
- Pergamus, Coins of, xiv. 118.

- Perinthus, Coins of, xiv. 112, 113.
 Perperene Mysiæ, Coins of, vi. 187.
 Persian Daric, Remarks on a, reading, ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΗ, xviii. 146—149.
 Pescennius Niger, Coin of, struck, probably, at Antioch, xii. 25, 26; Remarks on Denarius of, xvi. 41.
 Pessinus, Coin of, described, ii. 229.
 Phæstus in Crete, Coin of, Remarks on, iii. 69—82.
 Phalanna in Crete, Coins of, to be restored to Argos, vi. 142, 143.
 Phanagoria in Bosphoro, Coins of, v. 183.
 Pharnabazus, King of Phœnicia, Remarks on Coin of, xiv. 10, 11.
 Phidon appears to have altered the standard rather than to have invented the Coinage of Money, i. 237; probably two or more rulers, who bore this name, 241.
 Phidon, King of the Argives, Account of Coin struck for, vi. 44—52.
 Philadelphia Lydiæ, Coin of, viii. 9.
 Philip, Coin of, with head of Augustus on obverse, viii. 150.
 Philippi Macedoniæ, Remarks on Coin of, iv. 130, 131; Remarks on, ix. 27—29.
 Philip and Mary, List of Base Groats of, found in Ireland, iv. 209, 210.
 Philippopolis, Coin of, xiv. 113.
 Philippus V., Coin of, xiv. 113.
 Philippus, Sen., Coins of, xx. 120.
 Philippus, Jun., Coins of, xx. 120.
 Philomelium Phrygiæ, Coin of, viii. 32.
 Philoxenes, Coins of, xix. 31, 32.
 Phocæa, Remark on Coin of, xiv. 118, 119.
 Pholegandrus (insula), Remarks on Coin of, v. 178.
 Phraates IV. and his Queen, Thermusa, Coin of, xiii. 80, 81.
 Phtemphis, Nome of, described, ii. 101.
 Phtheneotes, Coins of, ii. 103, 104.
 Phygela Ioniæ, Coin of, vii. 69.
 Φιλορῶμιος, on Money of the Kings of Cappadocia, and Φιλελλήνος on Coins of the Parthian Princes, showing the style of titles adopted by countries tributary to the Romans, viii. 162.
 Pionia Mysiæ, Remarks on Coins of, vi. 187, 188.
 PISTAUCCI M. Method whereby he makes his dies, i. 59.
 Pixodarus, King of Caria, Remarks on Coin of, ix. 162, 163.
 Placia Mysiæ, Remarks on Coin of, vi. 188, 189.
 Plarasa Cariæ, Coin of, iv. 144.
 Plarasa, and Aphrodisias Cariæ, Remarks on Coin of, viii. 42.
 Plautilla, Coin of, xx. 119.
 Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, Coins of, Remarks on, v. 39—45.
 Plotinopolis Thraciæ, Coin of, iii. 111.
 Plutarch, not to be relied on, as an authority, on the subject of Ancient Coinage, i. 247.
 Podalia Lyciæ, Remarks on Coin of, x. 86.
 Pogla Pamphylia, Remarks on Coins of, x. 91.
 Polytechnic, Regent-street, Medal for the, iii. 62.
 Pontefract Siege-pieces, Remarks on, xvii. 93—95.
 PONTIFICIA, Plated Coin of Severus, reading in exergue, DON (Donativum?), probably struck for presents for the army, iv. 152.
 Populus Romanus, Coin of, xx. 134.
 Postumus, Coins of, xx. 123.
 Potidæa, Pallene, Coins of, Remarks on, iii. 139, 140.
 Premium Medal, Crosby Hall, Notice of a, ii. 207.
 Prenassus, Coin of, probably belongs to Perga, ix. 159.
 Pretender, Medal of, Account of, ix. 44.
 Priene Ioniæ, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 69, 70.
 PRINSEP, JAMES. "Essays on Indian Antiquities, Historic, Numismatic, and Palæographic," edited by Edw. Thomas, Notice of, xx. 142—148.
 Probus, Coins of, xv. 75, 76; xx. 127.
 Proclia Gens, Coin of, xx. 109.
 Proclus, Cominius, Coin of, struck in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, with title, ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΣ, on reverse, xv. 24, 25.

- Proconnesus (insula), Coins of, vi. 189, 190.
- PROMIS, DOMENICO. "Monete dei Reali di Savoia," Notice of, v. 156.
- Prosopites Nomos, described, ii. 101—110.
- Prostanna Pisidiæ, Remarks on Coins of, x. 96, 97.
- Prusa ad Olympum Bithyniæ, Coins of, vi. 119; xvii. 99.
- Prusias Bithyniæ, Coin of, iii. 98.
- Prusia ad Hypium Bithyniæ, Coin of Augustus ascribed to, by Eckhel, belongs to Temnos in Æolia, vi. 120.
- Prusias ad Mare (Cius) Bithyniæ, Coins of, vi. 119, 120.
- Ptolemæus Epiri, Coin of, xiv. 113, 114.
- Pylacæum Phrygiæ, Remarks on Coin of, xi. 59.
- Pylus Elidis, Coins ascribed there by Combe and Mionnet, belong to Pyrrha, in Lesbos, vi. 137.
- Pyrnus Cariæ, Coins of, probably belong to Gryneum, in the Troad, ix. 159, 160.
- Pyrrha Lesbi Insulæ, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 61, 62.
- Pyrrhichos Laconia, no Coins of, they belong to Thebæ Bœotia, vi. 138.
- Quentovic, Coins of, Copies of Coins reading "Cunnetti" and "Ebraice," v. 116.
- Quimper in Brittany, Coins found there, with the Cross as a Christian Symbol, i. 75.
- Quintillus, Coins of, xx. 126.
- Quintino, Giulio di S. "Italian Mediæval Coins," Notice of, vii. 40—42.
- Ramage's Pattern for Half-crowns, Shillings and Sixpences of the Commonwealth, Pedigree of, xvii. 24—32.
- RAWLINSON, Major, C.B., Account of Select Coins from Cabinet of, xiii. 70—85.
- RAWLINS, THOMAS, and the Honorary Medal of the Commonwealth, Paper on, xiii. 129—133.
- Redulf, List of Moneys' Names on Coins of, vii. 103; List of Moneyers of, ix. 124.
- Regnald, Penny of, Drawing of, contributed by the Very Rev. the Dean of St. Patrick's, i. 119; Penny of, 119; and Sihtric, Coins of, not Irish, but Northumbrian, ii. 7.
- "Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Constitution, Management and Expense of the Royal Mint, A.D. 1848," xii. 27—50.
- REV, M., Notice of Work by, entitled, "Monnaies inconnues des Evêques des Innocens, etc." Paris. i. 252—257.
- "Revue Numismatique," Notice of, v. 151.
- Rhescuporis VII., Coin of, xiv. 116; VIII., Coin of, 117.
- Richard III., Unpublished Penny of, xii. 171—173; short Account of Penny of, 171—173.
- Ring-Money, earliest notice, apparently, in Job xlii. 11, i. 184; used by the Israelites, vii. 97; a Defence of, as a medium of exchange, xvi. 150—169.
- Robert III., Count of Flanders, Remarks on Sterlings of, xviii. 124.
- ROBERTSON, J., "Catalogue of Cameos found in Persia, 1841," Notice of, v. 202.
- Rochester, Mint of Aethelstan and three Moneyers at, ii. 36.
- Roettier Family, Genealogy of, iii. 189.
- Roettiers, Petition of, with their account for making the Great Seal of England, Temp. Charles, ii. 198, 199; Medals of the, 254, 255.
- Roman Coins found at Strood, ii. 112; List of, 116—124; Catalogue of, in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, 255; Roman Second and Third Brass, List of, iii. 87; Brass and English Silver Coins, discovery of, at Holbrook, on the Stour, iv. 62; Gold Coins found in India, v. 202; the Legionary Eagles on, illustrative of Scripture, "There will the eagles be

- Roman Coins.**
gathered together," *Matt.* xxiv. 28, viii. 147.
- Romanus I.**, Restoration of Coin to, iv. 55; *IV.* (?), Coin of, and Eudocia, with her three sons, Michel, Constantine and Andronicus, xiv. 126.
- ROOKE**, Commander, R.N., presents a collection of Greek Coins to the United Service Museum, i. 261.
- ROSE, HENRY JOHN**, "On the Jewish Shekels," xvi. 89—95.
- Rottingus, Michael**, Medal of, xvi. 190.
- Rubria Family**, Denarius of, found at Ixworth, in Suffolk, xv. 59.
- Ruding**, New Edition of, iii. 125.
- BVLIS**, Coins inscribed, xx. 167—170; in some way connected with Verulamium, 169.
- Runic Characters** brought to England by the Saxons, iii. 119.
- Russia**, Mines in, ii. 206.
- SAEMV**, or **SAFMV**, Icenian Coin reading, Remarks on, xvi. 84, 85.
- Sætte** (**Sætteni**) **Lydiæ**, Remarks on Coins of, iv. 138—140; viii. 10, 11; xiv. 121.
- Sagalapus Pisiidæ**, Remarks on Coins of, x. 97—99.
- SAINTHILL, R.** "Olla Podrida: or Scraps; Numismatic Antiquarian, and Literary," Notice of, vii. 37, 38.
- Saint Omer**, Coins of, ii. 206.
- Saites Nomos**, described, ii. 104.
- Sala Thraciæ**, "Notice that this place must be effaced from the list of Numismatic cities," iii. 112.
- Salmon's Antiquities of Surrey**, note from, iii. 85.
- Salonina**, Coins of, xx. 122.
- Samaritan Language**, deduced from the Coins of Judæa, Account of the, xiv. 89—104.
- Samaritans**, Account of the Religion of the, viii. 160, 161.
- Samian-ware Paterna**, with inscription **DIVIX.P.**, found at Albury, iii. 88.
- Samos (insula)**, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 72—77; Coins of, xiv. 119; xvii. 100.
- SANDAL**, on Coins of Larissa, in Thessaly, probably with reference to the one Jason lost, i. 224.
- Sandwich**, Gold Coin found at, of Gaulish origin, i. 84.
- Sardis Lydiæ**, no Silver Money of, except the Cistophori, viii. 11; Cistophori of, ix. 67, 68.
- Sassanian Coins**, the weight of, xix. 223, 224.
- Sassanian Kings**, Pehlevi Legends on Coins of, xi. 60—92, 121—146.
- Sassanidæ**, Unpublished Coins of the, xv. 180—184.
- SAULCY, F. DE**. "Recherches sur les Monnaies des Ducs Héritaires de Lorraine," Notice of, v. 155; "Numismatique des Croisades," Notice of, x. 184—186; "Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaique," Remarks on, by John Evans, Esq., xx. 8—22.
- Sauromates II.**, Coin of, xiv. 116; *IV.*, Coin of, 116; *V.*, Coin of, 116.
- SAUSSAYE, DE LA**, "Le Druide Abarris," Notice of, v. 153; "Numismatics of Gallia Narbonensis," Notice of, 155.
- Scallop-shells**, on Coins of Zancle, symbolical either of the Temple of Venus, or the town of Zancle itself, iii. 46.
- Sceatta**, no, found with the great collections of Northern Styca, i. 10; discovered in the Isle of Sheppey, near Minster, 48; with name of Ethelred, attributed by Mr. Lindsay to Ethelred I., A.D. 774, instead of Ethelred II., A.D. 840, 142; bearing resemblance to a Coin of the Constantines, ii. 158; found at Richborough, with type imitated from the **VRBS.ROMA** of Constantine, iv. 32; found at Dunstable, Bedfordshire, xv. 94, 95.
- Sceattæ**, compared with Coins of Saxon Kings between A.D. 725—796. i. 11; perhaps contemporary with Saxon Kings between A.D. 725—796, 12; described, ii. 152—160.
- Sceldfor** is "Shelford," in Nottinghamshire, v. 117.

- Scepsis Troadis, Coins of, vi. 198
 SCHRODER, JOHANNES. "Initia Monetæ Suecanæ," Notice of, vii. 201, 202.
 Sciathus (insula), Remark on Coin of, vii. 125.
 Scotch Coins, Forgeries of, xvi. 23—29.
 Scotland, recent finds in, xx. 192—194.
 Scottish Coins, Remarks on, iv. 67—72.
 Scythian Princes, Coins of, with Greek Legends, xv. 30—40.
 Sebaste Phrygiæ, Coins of, viii. 32, 33.
 Sebasteni, Coin of the, whether to be attributed to Galatia or Phrygia, ii. 226, 227.
 Sebastopolis Ponti, Coins of, Remarks on, v. 183, 184.
 Sebennytes Nomos, described, ii. 102, 103.
 Segestica, Coins to be classed to, rather than to Segisa Bastitanorum, xvi. 13, 14.
 Seistân, Paper on Coins of, xx. 49—57.
 Seleucus I., Tetradrachms of, xiii. 75, 76; Remarks on two Gold Drachmas of, 137, 138.
 Selge Pisidiæ, Remark on Coin of, x. 100.
 Selinus, Essay on Types of Coins of, x. 108—126.
 Seleucia Pisidiæ, Remarks on Coins of, x. 99, 100.
 Selybria, Chers. Thracia, Coins of, Remarks on, iv. 6, 7.
 SESTINI ABBATE and M. COUSINERY. Opinions relative to the finding of Ancient Coins, i. 46.
 Sestus, Chers. Thracia, Coins of, Remarks on, iv. 7.
 Sethroites Nomos, described, ii. 99.
 Sauthes I., Paper on a remarkable Coin of, xx. 151—156.
 Sauthes IV., King of Odrysii, Coin of, iii. 111.
 Severus Septimius, Coin of, classed to Pisidia, ii. 185; Coin of, xii. 26; Remark on Coins of, xx. 117, 118.
 Severus Alexander, Coins of, xvii. 41; xx. 119, 120.
 Sfortza, Galeaz Maria, Medal of, xvi. 187.
 Shekels, Paper on Jewish, xvi. 89—95.
 Siam, Silver Coinage of, xi. 40—48.
 Siamese Silver Currency. The Tekal, etc., Account of, xii. 89—91.
 Sibidonda Phrygiæ, Coin of, viii. 33.
 Sibia Phrygiæ, Remarks on Coin of, viii. 33, 34.
 Sicyon Achaia, Coin of, described, ii. 58; Coins of, resemble those of Pellene, 239; Remarks on Coins of, vi. 132—136.
 Side, Coins of, weight of, viii. 89—93.
 Sidon, Coin of, with turreted female head, viii. 142.
 Siefredus, the same as Sigefert, the Commander of the Danish Expedition against England, v. 114.
 Sigeum Troadis, Coin of, vi. 199.
 Sikh Coinage, Notice of, xiii. 112.
 Silandus Lydiæ, Coins of, with heads of Commodus and Lucilla, Remarks on, vii. 14, 15; Coins of, viii. 11, 12.
 Silver Fish-hook-Money of Ceylon, Account of, xii. 82—89.
 Silver Standard, advocated, ii. 29.
 SIMON, THOMAS, Memoir of, iv. 211—232.
 SIMON's "Trial Piece" of Charles II., Pedigree of, xvi. 134—146.
 Sinope Ponti, Coin of, described, ii. 167.
 Sipontium, Coin of, iv. 128.
 Sithric III., King of Dublin, Penny of, of the Stamford Mint, Remark on, xvi. 176.
 Sitric, Earl, remarks on Coin of, v. 45, 46.
 SLOANE, SIR HANS, Letter of, ix. 86.
 SMITH, AQUILLA. "The Irish Coins of Edward IV.," published in "Transactions of Royal Irish Acad.," 1840, Notice of, iv. 41—54.
 Smyrna Ionia, Coins of, vii. 70; xiv. 119.
 Soemias (Julia), Coin of, xx. 119.
 SOLIDO, most likely the name of

SOLIDO.

a Moneyer on British Coin, iv. 28.

Soter Megas, Coins of, xix. 58—59.
Sora, Paper on Coin of, struck in 1462, xvii. 238—244.

Southend, Gold Coins of James I. and Charles I., to the number of 420, found there in 1838, i. 30.

Spain, Autonomous Coins of, iv. 63.
Spalagadanās, or Spalyrias, Coins of, xix. 53.

Spalirises, Coins of, xix. 52.

Spalirises and Agas, Coins of, xix. 52.

Spanish Coin (?), with uncertain legend, EOR or EAR. ANEKSKN., Remarks on, xvi. 19, 20.

Spanish Coins, Paper on, xvi. 1—20.

Sphinx, on Coins of Cunobeline, *not adopted* out of compliment to Augustus, xx. 165.

Σπείρα Στρατηγῶν, Account of, most probably a Samaritan corps in the Roman army, ix. 42, 43.

SPIEWITZ, DR., List of Oriental Coins belonging to, i. 202.

Standard of Value, Observations on, ii. 18—28.

STANTON, WILLIAM, Sketch of Life of, xi. 188, 189.

Stectorium Phrygiæ, Coin of, viii. 34.

STEFN.RIEV, supposed reading on a Penny, ought to be, HEN-RIEV.S., iv. 146.

Stephen, Coin of, described, ii. 193; Coins of, found in Hertfordshire, xii. 155—165; List of, found near Dartford, Kent, xiii. 187—189; Account of Baronial Coins during reign of, 181—186.

Sterling, struck at Arleux, xviii. 127; Counterfeit, in imitation of Coins of Edward I. or II., 127; reading, IOH. DNS. DE --- OT., 128; Counterfeit, in imitation of those of Henry III., Remarks on, xix. 12.

Sterlings, Counterfeit, found at Kirkcudbright, Account of, xiii. 86—94; Foreign or Counterfeit, Paper on, xviii. 121—129.

STEVENSON, SETH. W., Dictionary of Roman Coins, Notice of, xiv. 177.

Stralsund, Siege of, Gold Medal struck to commemorate the, in 1628, xv. 58.

Strato, King of Bactriana, Coins of, xiii. 8—10; xix. 41, 42.

Stratoniceæ, Remarks on Coins of, iv. 144, 145; Coin of, with Busts of Caracalla and Geta, Remarks on, viii. 43.

Strood, Discoveries at, ii. 255.

Stycas, of the Kings of Northumberland and Archbishops of York, large numbers found of the, i. 10; Remarks on two, xv. 96, 97.

Sub-Parthian Coins, Remarks on some, xviii. 143—146.

Su-Hermæus, Coins of, xix. 44.

Sun, the, found earlier than the Coins of Edward III.; it is on the reverse of the Coins of John, iv. 46.

Susa, Paper on Coins discovered at, xx. 25—32.

Sybaris, Coins of, xi. 112.

Sycee Silver, List of, with explanation, vii. 176—179.

Symbols, Assignment of Coins by, ii. 164.

Synaos Phrygiæ, Coins of, viii. 34.

Syphax, King of Phœnicia, Remarks on Coin of, xiv. 12—14.

Syracuse, Paper on Gold Coins of, xvii. 12—18; Coin of, 100.

Syria, Antiochus V., Coin of, ii. 168; Demetrius II., Coin of, 169; Coin of, with Legend, KOINON. CYPIAC, "The Community of Syria," viii. 137.

Syrus (insula), Coins of, Remarks on, v. 179—182.

Systems of Velasquez and Sestini, one belonging to the South of Spain, termed, "Turditani," and the other to the North, called, "Celtiberian," iii. 5.

Taba Cariæ, Coin of, described, ii. 167; List of Coins of, iii. 99, 100; Stephanus mentions three cities of that name; first, in Caria; second, in Persia; third, in Lydia; 100; probably situated in the vicinity of Aphrodisias, in Caria, and Cibra, in Phrygia, 201; Coins of, vii. 17; xiv. 119, Coin of, with Bust of Gallienus, viii.

- Taba Carizæ.
43; Remarks on Coins of, ix. 160, 161.
- Table of the Derivation of British Coins from Stater of Philip II., xii. 137.
- Tables of the Money-changers (*γραμμάζας τῶν κολλοβιστῶν*) Remarks on, viii. 150—152.
- Tabala Lydiæ, situate on the Her-mus, Coin of, iv. 140.
- Taher, Prince of Seistân (?), Re-mark on Coin of, xx. 50, 51.
- Tanagra Bœotizæ, Remarks on Coins of, vi. 127, 128.
- Tanites Nomos, described, ii. 99.
- Tápας*, derived from *Ταράσσειν*, "to trouble," and not from *Ταυπέλος*, vii. 107.
- Taras, name of a river, not of a hero, vii. 107; Phalanthus, the hero, represented on Coins of, with the dolphin, 108; the youth mounted on a horse is the *Τάπας* *Ἰππιος*, or Neptune, 102.
- Tarentum, Coins of, iv. 128; xvii. 98.
- Tarpeia Locridis, Remarks on Coin of, xi. 58.
- Tarraga, of the Vascones, Remarks on Coin of, xvi. 17.
- Tarsus Ciliciæ, Coin of, with Bust of Marcus Aurelius, Remarks on, viii. 44—47.
- TASCIOVANLE., Remarks on Coins inscribed, xv. 215—217.
- Tasciovanus, List of Coins of, vii. 82, 83; Coin of, xvi. 81; the Father of Cunobeline, xviii. 43; Remarks on Coins of, with the Legend, VER.BOD., xx. 57—65; Remarks on Coin of, 166, 167.
- Tauric Chersonese, Coin of, ii. 161.
- Tavoy, Tin Coins of, Account of, vii. 82—83.
- Tax, imposed on all who wore beards or moustaches, in 1705, by Peter the Great, vii. 153; on Beards, not removed till the reign of Catherine II., 1762.
- Tealby, allusion to Coin of Henry II., found at, ii. 43.
- TED, Remarks on Silver Coin in-scribed, xx. 173, 174.
- Tekal, the, description of, xi. 40, 41.
- Telephus, Coins of, xix. 43.
- Telmessus and Cragus Lyciæ, Re-marks on Coin of, x. 87, 88.
- Temenothyra Lydiæ, Remarks on Coins of, viii. 12, 13.
- Temnos Æoliæ, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 50, 51.
- Temon, Story of, and the Inachians, ii. 150.
- Teos Ioniæ, Coins of, vii. 70, 71.
- Teos and Lebedus Ioniæ, Remarks on Coins of, vii. 71, 72.
- Terina, Explanation of Types of, vii. 142—145; the word ATH on Coins of, explained, perhaps the name of a fountain, 145.
- Termessus Pisidiæ, Coins of, xiv. 120; Remarks on Coin of, xix. 3—7.
- Tetricus, Sen., Coins of, xv. 74, 75; xx. 81, 124; Jun., Coins of, xv. 75; xx. 125.
- Thames, Bridge over the, when erected, iv. 157.
- Thebæ Bœotizæ, Remark on Coin of, vi. 128.
- Themisonium Phrygiæ, Remarks on Coins of, viii. 35.
- Theodora, Coins of, xx. 83, 131.
- Theodore, wife of Michael VIII., Palæologus, Coin of, described, iv. 21, 22.
- Theodore Vatatzes-Ducas-Lascaris, Coin of described, iv. 15—19.
- Theodosius Magnus, Coins of, xvii. 113; xx. 139.
- Theoxenus, surname of Apollo, ii. 240.
- Thermæ Siciliæ, Remarks on Coin of, iv. 129, 130.
- Thothorses, Coins of, xiv. 117.
- Thrasimund, Remarks on Coins of, xvii. 9.
- Thronium, the Capital of the Locri Epicnemidii, Remarks on Coin of, iv. 131—137.
- Thurium Lucaniæ, Coins of, iv. 128; xiv. 111.
- Thyatira Lydiæ, Cistophorus of, viii. 113.
- Thymbra Troadis, Remarks on Coins of, vi. 199, 200.
- Tiberiopolis Phrygiæ, Coins of, with Heads of Antoninus and Gordi-anus, vii. 10; with Head of Anto-ninus Pius, Remark on, viii. 48.

- Tiberius, Coin of, with reverse, PONTIF. MAXIM., probably the Denarius shown to our Lord, viii. 143; Coin of, struck in the city of Tarraco, xii. 20; Coin of, xx. 109.
- Ticals of Siam, xiii. 43.
- Tickets, Medallie, Paper on, xviii. 89—104.
- Timarchus, King of Babylon, Coin of, formerly assigned to Eukratides, King of Bactriana, xiii. 79, 80.
- "Timor Domini fons vitæ," probable origin of this Legend on English Coins, xiii. 138.
- TINCOM, Remarks on British Coins inscribed, xvi. 85, 86.
- Tingis, Coins probably belonging to, xvi. 8—10.
- Tiræus, Coin of, xx. 36.
- Tirida Thraciæ, Coins of, described, iii. 112—115.
- Titipolis Isauriæ, not mentioned in history till the Empire had become Christian, i. 215; Artemius, Bishop of, in A.D. 381, i. 215; Earliest notice of, on a Coin of Hadrian, struck between A.D. 117 and 138, i. 216.
- Tityassa Lyciæ, to be erased from list of Numismatic cities, and Coins given to Tityassa Pisidiæ, x. 88.
- Titus, List of Large and Second Brass Coins of, commemorating the taking of Jerusalem, viii. 156, 157; Coin of, with Legend, IVDAEA NAVALIS, commemorating the defeat of the Jews on the Lake of Gennesaret, by the ships of Vespasian, as they fled from Joppa in their small vessels (σκάφη), 157, 158; Coins of, struck in Judæa (?), with legend, ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ. ΕΛΛΩΚΥΙΑΣ (Judæa deperdita), 159; Coins of, xii. 20; xx. 112.
- Tium Bithyniæ, Remark on Coins of, vi. 121, 122.
- Tlos Lyciæ, Coins of, x. 88—89.
- Token of the Corporation of the City of Bristol, the earliest Regal Copper Money of England, xx. 176, 177; of 1644, with "CITTIE OF LONDON" on it, 178, 179; of Isle of Man, 1663, 186.
- Tokens, Leaden, discovered at Bury St. Edmunds, Account of, vi. 82—90; struck in commemoration of the Murder of the Innocents, 83—89; of Wiltshire Tradesmen, List of, viii. 100—115; Leaden, found in London, Remarks on, 116, 117; Coffee-house and Tavern, Account of, ix. 49—66; Coffee-house, Tavern and Tradesmen's, Examples of, x. 63—79; of the seventeenth century, having reference to London or Southwark, Paper on, xx. 176—187; description of six Plates of, 180—185; earliest Irish are in 1653, and continued longer than the English, 186.
- Trabezopolis Cariæ, Coins of, ix. 161.
- Trajan, Gold Coin of, found at Ribchester, iii. 60; Coins of, xx. 113, 114.
- Trajanopolis Thraciæ, Coin of, iii. 116.
- Tralles Lydiæ, Remarks on Coins of, viii. 13, 14; Cistophori of, ix. 68—70.
- Trebenna Lyciæ, Remarks on Coins of, x. 89, 90.
- Tribute-money, the, was the Half-shekel, or Hemi-stater, current in Syria at the time of our Lord, viii. 145.
- Tricca Thessaliæ, Remark on Coin of, vii. 174.
- Tripoli, Coins of the Counts of, viii. 199.
- Tripolis Cariæ, Coins of, iv. 145; ix. 162.
- Trocmi Galatiæ, Coin of, described, ii. 169; Dissertation on Coin of, 224.
- Troezenæ, Remarks on Coins of, vi. 139, 140.
- Trussell-Puncheons, or Upper Dies, described, vii. 21.
- Two-gulden Piece, struck at Frankfurt, in 1848, Account of, xiv. 141.
- Tyndaris Siliciæ, Coin of, iv. 130; Remarks on Coin of, xvii. 218, 219.
- Tyre, Autonomous Coin of, viii. 118; Coin of, with Head of Hercules, the Baal of their city, 141.

- Type of English Coins regulated by the Sovereign, ii. 44, 45.
- Uncertain Coins, xiv. 124; with A and star, and N below, with Z on reverse, 125.
- Urbs Roma, Coins of, xx. 83, 133, 134.
- Vaballathus, not the son of Odenathus and Zenobia, but of Athendorus and Zenobia, ix. 128, 129.
- Valens, Coins of, xv. 112, 113; xx. 83, 138.
- Valentia, Coin of, iv. 128.
- Valentinianus I., Coins of, with the Phoenix, xi. 176—179; Remarks on Coins of, xv. 78, 79; Coins of, xvii. 112; xx. 138; II., Coins of, xvii. 113.
- Valeria, Coins of the Family, iii. 125.
- Valerianus, Coins of, xx. 121.
- Value of Coins, Remarks on the, xvii. 50—56.
- Vandals, Coins of, in Africa, xvii. 3—12.
- Velasquez, the first man of ability who set to work on the Celtiberian Alphabet, iii. 2.
- Venusia, Coin of, iv. 128.
- VER.BOD., probably Verbodunum, xx. 63—65; Mr. Evans doubts the authenticity of Coins reading, 175.
- Verela, of the Berones, Remarks on Coin of, xvi. 17, 18.
- VERIC. COM. F., Gold Coin inscribed, note on, xi. 155, 156.
- Vericus, another Type of, discovered on Farley-heath, xii. 174; another Type of, xiii. 134.
- Verulam, description of the Site of Ancient, and of Coins found there, xx. 101—108.
- Verulamium, Coins of, xv. 94; xvi. 86, 87.
- Vespasian, Coin of, with Legend, IVDAEA. CAPTA, minted the same year as the Destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 71), viii. 155; with Legend, IVD. CAP., struck four years after the Destruction of Jerusalem, 155; List of Silver Coins of, commemorating the Vespasian.
- Taking of Jerusalem, 155, 156; Remarks on a Denarius of, xviii. 118, 119; Coins of, xx. 111, 112.
- Vetranio, Coin of, xvi. 174.
- VIB., on Coins of Canute's son, an abbreviation of Viberga (Viborg, in Jutland), iii. 121.
- Victor, Coins of, xvii. 114.
- VICTORIA, QUEEN, Proclamation by, relating to the new Coinage, dated July 5, 1838, i. 129—131.
- Victorinus, Coins of, xx. 123, 124.
- Vigmund, List of Moneyer's names on Coins of, vii. 103; List of Moneyers of, ix. 125.
- Viminacium Moesiae, Remarks on Coin of, viii. 39, 40.
- Vincentinus, Medal of, xvi. 187.
- VIRI, Coin inscribed, xv. 105.
- Visigoth Series, Coin of the, iv. 31.
- Visontium, or Viseum, Remarks on Coins of, xvi. 18, 19.
- Vologeses, King of Parthia, Remarks on Coins of, xvii. 164—171.
- Volusian, Third Brass Coin of, viii. 37, 38; Coin of, xx. 121.
- Vonones (and Spalahares) Coins of, xix. 51; (and Spalagadames, son of Spalahares), Coins of, xix. 126.
- Vulphere, Archbishop, Coins of, ix. 126.
- Warwick(?), Earl of, Account of two Coins of, xii. 165—168.
- Waterloo Medal, Mr. Pistrucci on the, xii. 115—122.
- Welch, Sir Robert, Medal presented by Charles I. to, xv. 80, 81.
- WERERIC, Coin reading, struck by one of the Earls of Warwick, xiv. 153, 154.
- Whaddon Chase, find of British Coins, xii. 52—56.
- William the Conqueror, Coin of, struck at Guildford, i. 120; Remarks on Coin of, xiv. 149, 550.
- William II. (?), Half-penny of, xii. 144.
- William and Mary, Gold Coins of, xiii. 50, 51.
- William III., Gold Coin of, xiii. 51, 52.
- William IV., Gold Coins of, xiii. 179, 180; Remarks on Pattern Rupee of, xviii. 75—82.

- William, Bishop of Canterbury, Counterfeit Sterling of, xiii. 87.
 William III., Count of Holland, Remark on Sterling of, xviii. 128.
 WITTE, J. DE, "Le Héros Aleuas," Notice of, v. 151.
 Wolstat, Daniel, and Company, Letter of, to Sir Thomas Gresham, ii. 14—16.
 Wulfhere, Moneyers' names on Coin of, vii. 103.
 Wulfred, successor of Æthelheard, ii. 210; Coin of, description of, of, 212.
 WYON, W., strikes a Medal to commemorate Her Majesty's Visit to the Corporation of London, Nov. 9, 1837, i. 193.
- Xoïs, Coin of, ii. 101, 102.
- York, Uncertain Coins, and Coins York.
 with two Moneyers' names found at, ix. 126, 127.
- Zakynthus, the Hero, why he appears on the Coins of that place, i. 250.
 Zancle Siciliæ, taken possession of by the Samians, 494 B.C., iii. 40; Coins of, described, 42, 43; the Port and Town, illustrated on a Modern Medal, struck in honour of Charles VI., Emperor of Germany, on the taking of Messina, in 1719, 45.
 Zela Ponti, Coins of, Remarks on, v. 184.
 Zeno, called Artaxias, from Artaxata, the place of his coronation, ii. 5, 6.
 Zenobio, San, Sequin of, xvi. 77—80.
 Zeugma, Coin of, xiv. 121.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1858—59.

NOVEMBER 25, 1858.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE following presents, received during the recess, were announced,
and laid on the table.

PRESENTED BY

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|---|----------------|
| Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Journal of the German Oriental Society.) 12 vols. 8vo, and Index to Vols. I. to X. 1846—1858. | } THE SOCIETY. |
| Jahresbericht der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Yearly Report of the German Oriental Society.) 2 parts for 1846 (not since continued). | } DITTO. |
| Abhandlungen für der Kunde des Morgenlandes. (Treatises on Oriental Subjects.) 4 parts, 8vo, 1857-58. | } DITTO. |
| Wüstenfeld, Chroniken der Stadt Mekka. (Chronicles of the Town of Mecca.) 8vo, Leipsig. 1857. | } DITTO. |
| Wüstenfeld, Muhammedanische und Christliche Zeitrechnung. (Comparative Tables of Muhammedan and Christian Chronology.) 4to, Leipsig, 1854. | } DITTO. |
| Amari, Bibliotheca Arabico-Sicula. Fasc. 1—3. 8vo, Leipsig, 1855-56. | } DITTO. |

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PRESENTED BY

- Jahrbücher des Vereins der Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande (Annual of the Society of Antiquarians of the Rhine.) Part 26. 8vo, Bonn, 1858. } THE SOCIETY.
- Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux Arts de Belgique. Année 26^{me}. Tom. 1—3, 1857. 8vo, Brussels. } THE ACADEMY.
- Annuaire de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Année 24. 12mo, Brussels, 1858. } DITTO.
- Lindenschmidt. — Die Alterthümer unserer Heidnischen Vorzeit. (The Antiquities of our Heathen Ancestors.) 1^{tes} Heft. 4to. Mainz, 1858. } THE AUTHOR.
- Braun, Prof.—Achilles auf Skyros; oder die Antike Bronzestatue von Lüttingen. (Achilles at Scyrus; an ancient Bronze Statue found at Lüttingen.) 8vo, Bonn, 1858, pp. 24. } DITTO.
- Dorn.—Noch einige Worte über ein auf Pehlevi Münzen vorkommendes Monogramm. (A few more Words about a Monogram occurring on Pehlevi Coins.) From the *Mélanges Asiatiques*. 8vo, pp. 30. }
- Chalon.—Description de quelques Médailles Satiriques de la Révolution des Patriotes. 8vo, Brussels, 1858, pp. 13. } THE AUTHOR.
- Chalon. — *Tiërs du Sol Mérovingien*. 8vo, Brussels, 1858, pp. 8. } DITTO.
- Bushell, C. J. Arrangement of Tradesmen's Cards, Tokens, etc., current in America in the last Sixty Years. 8vo, New York, 1858. } DITTO.
- Musée de Prince Basile Kotchoubey ou Histoire Numismatique des Colonies Grecques de la Russie. 2 vols, 4to, 1857. } DITTO.
- Smith, C. Roach. On the so-called Anglo-Saxon Antiquities discovered near Kertch. 8vo, 1858, pp. 4. } DITTO.
- Revue Numismatique Belge. 3rd Sec. Tom. II. 2 livraisons. }

The Rev. C. C. Babington exhibited a rare drachma of Antimachus, King of Bactriana, and some other coins.

Mr. Evans exhibited a rupee, struck in Cashmere, and remarkable from having the letters JHS in the centre of the inscription. It is said to have been the work of a Portuguese engraver in the employment of the rajah.

Mr. Freudenthal exhibited a collection of the most recent coins of Holland.

READ:—A paper, by the President, on some oriental and other coins recently acquired by the British Museum. The most remarkable are —

1. A tetradrachm of Antiochus IX., with the eagle standing on a thunderbolt on the reverse, and bearing the date LAΣ, equivalent to B.C. 111. The coins with the eagle are extremely rare.

2. A coin of Gebal, or Byblus, in Phœnicia. On the obverse is a galley, terminated by the head of a lion; below, a hippocamp to the left, and a shell. In the galley are three warriors. On the reverse is the inscription, in Phœnician characters, עזבעל מלך גבל "Azbaal King of Gebal." Some smaller coins were also adduced, with Hercules on the obverse, and a lion devouring a stag on the reverse, and the legend לעזבעל. All these coins are of great rarity, none being known except those in the collections of the British Museum and of the Duc de Luynes. Mr. Vaux considers them to be of the age of Artaxerxes I., when several of the towns on the Phœnician border of the Mediterranean possessed a quasi-independence, with the power of striking money. Gebal was the Hebrew or Phœnician name of the town known in Greek history as Byblus, and is mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel among the allies of Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 8, 9).

The name of Azbaal may be translated, "The power of God."

To the coins of Byblus, Mr. Vaux was also inclined to add another, which the Duc de Luynes had been led to ascribe to Citium or Cyprus, but which, from the inscription, לבעל מלך "To Baal the king," and analogy of types, might well belong to Gebal.

The remaining coins which were noticed were some of the cele-

brated Muhammedan conqueror, Mahmud of Ghazna, of considerable rarity, and of interest as having formed part of a collection made by the late Lady Sale during many years' residence in India, and now unfortunately dispersed during the recent insurrection at Jansi, when her son-in-law and daughter, Colonel and Mrs. Holmes, were murdered by the Sepoys.

Mr. Evans read an account of coins found upon and near the site of ancient Verulam, in which he noticed some of the causes why coins are found in such numbers on Roman sites, and why certain classes usually predominate. He then traced the history of Verulam, in connection with the coins found upon the spot, from the days of the ancient British coinage to those of Honorius, when Britain was severed from the empire of Rome. In the catalogue given of the coins, only the various types had been noticed, and not the number of each that had been found. Mr. Evans, however, stated, that at least from 3,000 to 4,000 had been examined by him in various collections formed upon the spot. The coins enumerated are of about 70 different emperors and empresses, and comprise upwards of 300 types. This paper will be given at length in the Chronicle.

DECEMBER 23, 1858.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid upon the table:—

	PRESENTED BY
Nouvelle Classification des Monnaies de Jeanne Duchesse de Brabant, par Renier Chalon. 8vo, Brussels, 1858, pp. 12.	THE AUTHOR.
Un Jeton de Nicholas de Châtelet Seigneur de Vauvillars. By the same. 8vo, pp. 4.	
Une Monnaie de Blankenberg. By the same.	DITTO.
8vo, pp. 6.	

Frederic W. Madden, Esq., of the British Museum, was balloted for, and elected a member of the Society.

The President read a paper on some coins of Marathus, and of Kamnaskires and Anzaze, some rare specimens of which have recently been added to the National Collection.

The coins of Marathus more particularly noticed were a tetradrachm and hemidrachm. On the obverse of the former is a female head, wearing a turreted head-dress, supposed to represent the Dea Syria, Astarte; and on the reverse is a naked male figure to the left, seated on shields, holding in his right an acrostolium, and in his left a spear. On the field are two inscriptions, viz., ΜΑΡΑΘΗΝΩΝ to the right, and one in Phœnician characters to the left.

On the obverse of the hemidrachm is a female veiled head, possibly that of Berenice; and, on the reverse, a half-draped male figure, resting his left hand on a column with two inscriptions as before.

Mr. Vaux considered the attribution of these coins to Marathus, a city on the coast of Syria, nearly opposite to the Isle of Aradus, as indisputable, both from the ethnical name of ΜΑΡΑΘΗΝΟΣ, which appears on these coins, occurring in Strabo and other writers, as applied to the inhabitants of Marathus; and also from the fact, that the three Phœnician letters representing מרת appear on nearly all the coins, and give the Phœnician name, Marath. Other letters also occur on the field of these coins, which apparently denote the dates of their being struck. Mr. Vaux has met with them ranging from the year 16 to 107, but the æra from which they date is uncertain. Other Phœnician letters, beside the dates, occur on the field of some of the coins, being, possibly, part of the names of magistrates. The coins of Marathus in silver are of extreme rarity; the tetradrachm described being probably unique. Those in copper are less rare. The turreted head-dress found upon the coins of Syria, Mr. Vaux remarks, has now been proved to be of more ancient date than has been commonly suspected. On one of the best-preserved of the sculptures recently brought from ancient Nineveh, is a representation of a king and queen seated at a

banquet, under festoons of vine-leaves and other foliage. The queen wears a head-dress ornamented with towers, precisely analogous to that on this tetradrachm of Marathus. The name of this queen has not been preserved; but the king is Ashur-ban-i-pal, the last great sovereign of Nineveh, who was on the throne of Assyria about the middle of the seventh century before Christ; so that this fashion of ornamenting the head-dress was in practice in Western Asia at least four centuries before we find it represented on the money of the Græco-Syrian states, like Tyre, Sidon, and Marathus.

The coins of Kamnaskires and Anzaze, noticed by Mr. Vaux, both tetradrachm and drachm, are analogous in type to that engraved in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. XVIII. p. 139, No. 4. On the obverse are their heads, side by side, turned to the left: Kamnaskires wearing a low Parthian cap, round which is bound the fillet; and Anzaze also wearing one nearly similar, but considerably higher above her head. Behind the busts is the usual sub-Parthian monogram.

The legend of the reverse, when completed by the aid of other specimens, is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΜΝΑΣΚΙΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΚΚΙΑΙΟΥ ΑΝΖΑΖΗΣ, and the type Zeus Nikephoros sitting. Below the date, ΑΑΕ, *i. e.*, B.C. 111.

Mr. Vaux stated that he still adhered to the opinion he had formerly expressed, that these rulers swayed over the district anciently known as Characene, and now represented by the country called Irak-al-Arabi, near Bussorah, and the united mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates. These coins are of extreme rarity, few specimens of the tetradrachm being known, and only two of the drachma.

JANUARY 26, 1859.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid upon the table :—

Revue de la Numismatique Belge. 3me Serie.	} PRESENTED BY THE SOCIETY.
Tome ii., 3me Livraison.	
Ditto, ditto, Index to the first 12 vols.	DITTO.

The President read a paper by Mr. Poole, on a coin of Mallus, in Cilicia, lately acquired by the trustees of the British Museum. The coin is of silver, weighing $159\frac{1}{10}$ grs. ; from which Mr. Poole suggests, that its current value was two-thirds of the tetradrachm of about 240 grs. ; the Asiatics being remarkable for their fondness of divisions by three. On the obverse is the figure of Minerva seated to the left, holding a spear in her right hand, and resting her left arm on a shield.

On the reverse the legend MAA (ΜΑΛΛΩΤΩΝ) ; Mercury standing, wearing a chlamys, and bearing in his right hand a caduceus. To his right, Venus, also standing, turned to the left, with her right arm resting on his shoulder, and her left arm resting upon a column.

The art of the coin is fine in character, and delicately though somewhat hardly executed. It is difficult to speak with certainty as to the age of these coins of Cilician and Pamphylian cities, but Mr. Poole was inclined to regard it as of not later date than about B.C. 400. With regard to the signification of the types, Mr. Poole supposes that Mercury and Venus are represented upon the coins as protectors of the city of Mallus, like Minerva on the other side.

 FEBRUARY 24, 1859.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. B. Dickinson, of Leamington, exhibited and communicated an account of a gold ducat of Aloise Mocenigo I., Doge of

Venice (1700—1708), accompanied with some remarks upon the illustrious family of Mocenigo, seven of whom were Doges of Venice in the period that elapsed between 1414 and 1763.

Mr. Vaux read a communication from Mr. de Michele to the Earl of Malmesbury, dated at the British Consulate, St. Petersburg, January 15th, 1859, and enclosing an extract from the Russian Journal of the Minister of the Interior, No. 11, relating to the discovery of some coins in the district of Ordonblad, in the government of Erivan, of which the following is a translation :—

“ In the course of the month of November last, a peasant of the district of Ordonblad (in the government of Erivan), discovered in the ground 500 ancient silver coins, which have been presented to the Viceroy of the Emperor in the Caucasus by the military Governor of Erivan. These coins have been recognised as very rare and remarkable. They all belong without exception to the dynasty of the Djelairides, and were struck in different towns of Arabia, Syria, Persia, Armenia, and the Transcaucasian districts, between the years 762 and 779 of the Hejra (A.D. 1361—1380). At that period, anterior to the conquests of Tímúr, concerning which we have so few historical data, these coins present the names of the Khans, Scheikh Oveis, Schoh Schodja (a name apparently new to numismatics), and Jebal-eddin-Husein Khan. They have been divided into two collections, of which one, consisting of 349 coins, is composed of several specimens of each variety; and the other of 151 coins. The first-named collection has been deposited in the museum of the Caucasian section of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, and the other will be offered to the Cabinet of Medals at the Hermitage.”

Mr. Vaux stated, that though this class of coins was of some rarity, it was fairly represented in the collection at the British Museum.

MARCH 24, 1859.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors.

PRESENTED BY

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| A Defence of the British School of Medal Engraving. By R. Sainthill, Esq. 8vo., pp. 45, Cork. | } THE AUTHOR. |
| A Medal of C. Roach Smith, Esq., struck in commemoration of his preservation of the walls of Dax from destruction. By W. C. Taylor. London. | |
| | } THE ENGRAVER. |
| | |

On the obverse of this medal is the bust of this distinguished antiquary, to the left; with the legend, C. Roach Smith, behind; and on the reverse, a view of the Roman Castrum at Dax, the ancient Aquæ Tarbellicæ, or Tarbellæ, with the inscription, RELIQ. MVR. AQ. TARBELL. CONS. MDCCCLVIII.

Mr. A. Wellington Hart, of 16, Esc-place, New York, presented to the Society an interesting collection of 14 early American Bank Notes, or Continental Currency, between the years 1772 and 1776, comprising Notes of the respective values of 30, 8, 4, 3, and 2 dollars; 50, 30, 20, 15, 6, and 2 shillings; $\frac{2}{3}$ ds of a dollar; one shilling and sixpence, and fourpence. They may be classed under the following heads:—

Continental Currency Notes.

Notes of the State of Pennsylvania
Notes " " Maryland
Notes " " New Jersey.

Of the Continental Currency are notes for 30, 3, and 2 dollars; the formula of the 30 dollar notes is as follows:—

Continental Currency Thirty Dollars.

The United Colonies.

No. 13559. *This BILL entitles the Bearer to receive THIRTY*

c

Spanish milled DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in Gold or Silver, according to the Resolutions of the Congress held at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775. XXX Dollars.

There are devices upon the back, and medallions in front, varying according to the value of the bills, which are printed by Hall and Sellers, Philadelphia.

The Pennsylvania notes are of the respective values of 50, 20, and 2 shillings, eighteenpence and fourpence. The fifty shilling note runs as follows :—

No. 28114.

Fifty Shillings.

According to an Act of GENERAL ASSEMBLY of *Pennsylvania*, passed in the 13th REIGN of his Majesty GEO. the Third. Dated the First Day of *October*, 1773. Fifty *Shill.*

On the back is a view of a homestead and ploughed fields.

(Above) FIFTY SHILLINGS. To Counterfeit is DEATH. (Below) Printed by HALL and SELLERS.

The Maryland notes are for 8, 4, and $\frac{2}{3}$ dollars, and the form as follows :—

Eight Dollars. THIS *Indented* BILL of EIGHT DOLLARS shall entitle the Bearer hereof to receive BILLS of EXCHANGE payable in *London*, or Gold and Silver, at the rate of Four Shillings and Six-pence Sterling per Dollar for the said Bill, according to the Directions of an ACT of *Assembly of Maryland*. Dated in ANNAPOLIS, this 10th Day of *April*, Anno Domini 1774.

On the back of the bills are devices of leaves upon a sort of woven or stippled ground, apparently produced by a sort of "Nature Printing," which "*Tis Death to counterfeit.*" They are printed by A. C. and F. Green, of Annapolis.

The New Jersey Bills represent the respective amounts of 30, 15, and 6 shillings, and run as follows:—

THIRTY Shillings. No. 6006.

This Bill, by an ORDINANCE of the Provincial Congress, shall pass current in all Payments within the COLONY of NEW-JERSEY, for THIRTY SHILLINGS, Proclamation Money. Dated the 20th Day of February, 1776.

THIRTY SHILLINGS.

On the back of the notes are representations of single leaves, which "to counterfeit is *Death*," and the statement that they were printed by Isaac Collins, 1776, at Burlington, in New Jersey.

This interesting collection of early American notes was accompanied by a letter from Mr. Hart, stating that they were relics of his grandfather, the Hon. Ephraim Hart; and that they had been paid to him for loans during the Revolutionary War.

In accordance with a wish expressed in this letter, Mr. A. Wellington Hart was elected an Associate member of the Society.

Mr. Warren, of Ixworth, exhibited casts of a groat of the 2nd coinage of Henry VII., reading *perRIRIA* instead of the ordinary *perRIA*; and of a groat of Edward III., with a mark of abbreviation over the final *N* in London, its place of mintage.

Mr. Vaux exhibited some casts of Cufic coins, found in Orkney, in company with some Saxon coins, and a large quantity of silver ornaments, such as fibulæ, armillæ, etc. The Saxon coins are of Æthelstan, A.D. 925 to 941, and a St. Peter's Penny, presumedly of about the same period. The Cufic coins are of the Samanide dynasty, two giving the dates A.H. 293 and 295=A.D. 906 and 908, and apparently of the Khalif Al-Motadhed, A.H. 792, 801.

Mr. Vaux exhibited some drawings and impressions of cylindrical beads of glass, found on the sea-shore in the county of Cork, and communicated to him by the Rev. Dr. Neligan. Some of them

bear inscriptions, apparently in Arabic characters, but of extreme minuteness. There is a tradition of an Algerine pirate having been wrecked, some two centuries ago, on the spot where the beads were found; and they probably formed a portion of her cargo.

APRIL 28, 1859.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced :—

Sur les Seigneurs de Schöneck, par R. Chalon. Bruxelles, 8vo, 1859.	} PRESENTED BY THE AUTHOR.
Die Extersteine. Fest program zu Winckelmann's Geburtstage. Prof. Braun. Bonn, 4to, 1858.	
	} DITTO.

Mr. C. Roach Smith communicated an account of the discovery of a hoard of Roman coins, under very interesting circumstances, at Wroxeter, the site of the ancient Uriconium. In the excavations now in progress there, under the direction of Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., and Dr. Henry Johnson, there were discovered in the hypocaust of what must have been a splendid mansion, three skeletons; one of an old man, apparently crouching in a corner, and two others near him, stretched on the ground, one at least of whom was a female. Near the old man lay a little heap of Roman copper coins, which, from the nails and traces of wood found with them, appear to have been enclosed in a small wooden coffer. They are 132 in number, and range from Tetricus down to Valens, and may be regarded as a specimen of what must have been the currency in Britain at the time of the catastrophe by which these three persons perished. From the worn condition of the coin of Valens, this could not have been until towards the close of his reign; and Mr. Roach Smith pointed out, that in this very reign Theodosius was sent into Britain to check the inroads of the Saxons

and Picts, and to put down what appears to have been an internal insurrection. The fact, that the coins of the Constantine family were so little worn by circulation, was accounted for by supposing that, though minted in the time of the emperors whose name they bear, they were not issued until a considerable period of time had elapsed — possibly not until the days of Valens.

Subjoined is a summary of the classification of the coins : —

Tetricus	1
Claudius Gothicus	1
Constantinus	13
Constans	1
Constantinus, Jun.	36
Constantius II.	5
Julianus	1
Helena	2
Theodora	1
Urbs Roma	24
Constantinopolis	34
Valens	1
Barbarous imitations	6
Corroded and illegible	6

132

Mr. Vaux communicated an account of an interesting discovery of Saxon and Cufic coins, in conjunction with ingots and portions of bracelets in silver, and one large silver buckle, at Goldborough, in Yorkshire. They were found in an earthenware vessel, while digging foundations for rebuilding the wall of the churchyard, and came into the possession of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Lascelles, the vicar of the parish, by whom they were ceded to the British Museum. Though much resembling the great Cuerdale find in character, there is this remarkable feature about the Goldborough *trouvaille*, that nearly all the coins are Cufic, there being but two Saxon coins to thirty-five Oriental. One of the Saxon coins is of a common type of Edward the elder; but the other is of the rarest

type of Alfred, like the remarkable coin engraved in Hawkins' "Silver Coins," No. 178. Unfortunately, the specimen now found is only a fragment. The Cufic coins are both of the Abbasside and Samanian dynasties, the earliest being one of the Khalif Al Motâmed-ala-Allah, A.H. 286=A.D. 889; and the latest bearing the name of Nasr-ben-Ahmed, the fourth prince of the Samanian house, who commenced his reign A.H. 301=A.D. 913. Mr. Vaux inferred from these facts, that the coins were deposited in the place where they were found towards the close of the reign of Edward the Elder, who died A.D. 925.

MAY 26, 1859.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors:—

	PRESENTED BY
Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires del' } Ouest. Année 1857. Poitiers, 8vo, pp. 402. }	THE SOCIETY.
Bulletins de la même Société, 1, 2, 3, 4 } Trimestres. 1857. }	DITTO.
Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de } Picardie. 2nd Série.Vols. V. and VI. Dorn. }	DITTO.

Chalon.

Professor Donaldson read a paper, by himself, on the Neocor medals of cities, and more especially on those of Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamus, and Perinthus, in which he gave an account of the original meaning of the title ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ, and of its subsequent architectural adoption. In its first sense, it no doubt simply means, "the cleanser or sweeper of a temple." By degrees, however, this

humble office became one of great importance; and the title was given, as one of the highest honour, not only to individuals, but also to communities. In the second sense, it occurs in the well-known passage in the Acts of the Apostles (ch. xix. ver. 35), where, however, the Greek "*νευκορος*" is very inadequately translated by the English "worshipper." Many hundreds of coins exist, struck by Greek states during the Roman imperial times, on which this title occurs; in many cases, as on the coins of the cities above-mentioned, in connection with the representations of temples, of which the people or cities are said to have been the *νευκοροι*. There can be no doubt that, in these instances, the people were considered as the guardians of the sacred fane and of its treasures, as well as of its rites, festivals, colleges of priests, etc. In this respect, therefore, the *Νευκοροι* of the Greeks corresponded very nearly with the *Æditui* or *Æditimi* of the Romans. A great extension of the principle of the Neocorate occurred when the custom arose of erecting temples in honour of living or deified emperors, which was at first faintly resisted by Augustus, but soon became common in Asiatic Greece; and Prof. Donaldson contends, that this honour carried with it the erection and endowment of a temple by a city, a community, or an union of states. Certain it is, that some cities, like Ephesus, claimed this as an individual privilege; and that where more than one city were associated together, the coins often indicate the fact by the word "*Ομονοια*." By this custom, probably, may be explained the types of some coins, where a female holds one or two temples in her hand, as on a coin of Perinthus, or where, as in some cases, there are two or three, and even four temples on the reverse. Prof. Donaldson described at some length the architectural features of the buildings delineated on these *Neocorate* coins, and stated that the artists, in most cases, had represented the buildings correctly. He concluded his paper with some interesting notices of the places — especially Ephesus — where these coins were struck, which he had himself visited, many years ago, in search of antiquities.

JUNE 23, 1859.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The minutes of the last General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The report of the Council was presented and read.

The numerical state of the Society was as follows:—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Associates.	Total.
Members } June, 1858. }	17	50	4	39	110
Since elected	—	1	—	2	3
	17	51	4	41	113
Deceased	5	3	—	—	8
Resigned	1	—	—	—	1
June, 1859	11	48	4	41	104

A list of papers contributed to the ordinary meetings of the Society was then read.

Carlo Giulio Minervini, and Carlo Gonzales, were elected Associates of the Society.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the Officers for the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were duly elected:—

President.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S.

THE LORD LONDESBOROUGH, K.C.H., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

G. H. VIRTUE, Esq., F.S.A.

Secretaries.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S.

FRED. W. MADDEN, Esq.

Foreign Secretary.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Librarian.

JOHN WILLIAMS, Esq., F.S.A.

Members of the Council.

J. B. BERGNE, Esq., F.S.A.

COLONEL TOBIN BUSH.

J. W. FAIRHOLT, Esq., F.S.A.

W. FREUDENTHAL, Esq.

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S.

CAPT. MURCHISON.

J. G. PFISTER, Esq.

R. S. POOLE, Esq., M.R.S.L.

C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.

EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., H.E.I.C.S.

RICHARD WHITBOURNE, Esq., F.S.A.

EDWARD WIGAN, Esq.

The Society then adjourned until November 24th.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1859—60.

NOVEMBER 24, 1859.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

THE following presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the respective donors :—

Voyage en Espagne et Algérie. 8vo. 1859.	PRESENTED BY M. BOUCHES DE PERTHE.
Attribution des quelques monnaies inédites des Arabes (tirage à part).	M. LAGY.
Un Gros Tournois de Cause (tirage à part).	M. CHALON.
Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Erforschung der Rheinischen Alterthümen zu Maintz.	M. KOHNE.
Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. 3 parts. 1858-9.	THE ACADEMY.
Tables générales du recueil des Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. 8vo.	DITTO.
Annuaire de l'Académie Royale de Belgique.	DITTO.
Supplement to the coins of Scotland. 1859.	J. LINDSAY.

Mr. Vaux read a paper, communicated by Samuel Birch, Esq., F.S.A., "On a remarkable coin of Seuthes I, King of the Odrysæ, in Thrace," which has lately been procured by the British Museum, from Prof. Verkovich, of Belgrade. This coin exhibits on the obverse a horseman, wearing a chlamys, and galloping to the right: he is hurling a javelin with the right hand, and holds the reins with the left; and on the reverse is the inscription ΣΕΥΘΑ written KOMMA

across the field of the coin in two lines. Mr. Birch remarked upon the curious fact, that this coin (which weighs 132.5 grains) has been made according to the Attic standard, whereas, almost all the other known money of northern Greece has been struck on the Macedonian standard. The inscription is in the Doric dialect, which prevails also, as is well known, on the coins of Geta, the King of the Edones. It is probable, therefore, that the local name of this king was Seuthas, this word ΣΕΥΘΑ being in the genitive case, after the analogy of Amynta from Amyntas. Little is known about Seuthes; but it is certain that he succeeded Sitalces I. about B.C. 424, at a period when this portion of northern Greece was in a flourishing condition. Some doubt has been expressed as to the correct title of the tribe over whom he ruled; and he, perhaps, may have been rightly called King of the Edones: on the whole, however, that of King of the Odrysians, has been adopted as his fittest title.

Mr. Mayer, of Liverpool, exhibited, through Mr. Roach Smith, impressions of a gold British coin, purchased at Worcester, and not improbably found in that neighbourhood. Its type is that described in the Numismatic Chronicle Vol. XIV., p. 78, No. 12, and engraved in Wise's Bodleian Coins, Pl. XVI., No. 3. On the obverse is an object somewhat resembling a fern-leaf, like that on the coins reading CATTI and COMVX; and on the reverse is a rude horse to the right, with the legend CORI, or possibly VOCORI. The meaning of this word is uncertain.

DECEMBER 15, 1859.

W. S. W. VAUX., Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid upon the table:—

	PRESENTED BY
Illustrations of Roman London. By C. Roach Smith. 4to. 1859.	} THE AUTHOR.
Das Portal zu Remagen. Bonn, 1859.	DR. BRAUN.

*The Numismatic Society of America sent specimens of their dollars, half-dollars, etc.

Major Hay, H.E.I.C.S., and John de Sakis, Esq., were balloted for, and elected members of the Society.

Mr. Vaux exhibited gutta percha impressions of the following fine and rare coins lately acquired by the British Museum. 1. A very early coin, which he ascribes to Macedonia ; on the obverse, a figure seated in a chariot, to right, drawn by an ox, and holding in his right hand a whip ; above the ox is a helmet, and beneath, a flower, perhaps the lotus. On the reverse, a triquetra, in the angles of which are flowers similar to that on the obverse. Mr. Vaux stated his reason for attributing this coin to Macedonia, and assigning it to the early part of the fifth century, B.C. Two others are known. 2. A tetradrachm of Philip V., King of Macedon, with his portrait, of extreme rarity, and in excellent preservation. 3. A fine coin of Abdera. 4. A very rare coin of Elis. 5. An extremely rare coin of Delphi ; *Obv.*, veiled head of Ceres (?) right ; *Rev.*, AMΦIKTIONQN, Apollo of Delphi, seated left, his head supported on his right arm, which rests upon a lyre, and with the left holding a small branch of laurel, which passes over his left shoulder. This coin is supposed to refer to the Amphictyonic council, which always met at Delphi.

JANUARY 26, 1860.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

Dr. Friedländer gave the Society an account of a silver coin of "Arpi," described in the Northwick Catalogue, with the erroneous remark, that these coins are "always found in the south of Asia Minor." The attribution to "Arpi" comes from Visconti. Two others of these coins were purchased by Dr. Friedländer at Campi ; and three others were also seen by him in the collection of M. Amati, in Polenza ; consequently there are five specimens of this

rare coin in South Italy. Moreover, there is great resemblance to the small brass coins of the Brettii. Whether these coins really belong to "Arpi," is doubtful, but the style and fabric is certainly Italian.

Mr. Evans also read a paper "On some rare and unpublished British Coins," comprising specimens of the coins of Cunobelin, Tascovianus, Dubnovellaunus, and of the Icenii. They are all inscribed, and the legends sufficiently well preserved, for there to be no doubt as to the correctness of their identification and attribution. Among them is a very rare coin, reading, TASCOIIVANTIS, probably to represent the genitive case of TASCOIIVANS—the Latinized form of some British chief—a coin of Cunobelin, of much interest, as giving the Roman name of Colchester at full length, thus, CAMVL-ODVNO (in two compartments of a tablet), the ablative termination being used in the case of this town, as on the coins of St. Albans, which read, VERLAMIO. It may be remarked, that this coin was originally supposed to represent Maldon, in Essex, by Camden and other antiquaries; the present attribution, however, is abundantly confirmed by a large number of the coins of Cunobelin, which have been discovered there. It has been conjectured, that the type of the sphinx—which is common on these coins of Cunobelin—was adopted by him out of compliment to Augustus, on whose coins it frequently occurs. Mr. Evans has, however, shown that this hypothesis is not probable.

FEBRUARY 23, 1860.

W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., President, in the Chair.

The following present was announced, and laid upon the table :—

Jetons du Comité de Saint-Pol. By M. Chalon. } Bruxelles. 1859.	PRESENTED BY THE AUTHOR.
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Henry William Rolfe, Esq., was balloted for, and elected a member of the Society.

Mr. Vaux read a paper, giving some account of a celebrated collection of Oriental coins, made chiefly by Col. Abbott, during his residence in the Punjab; and noticed some among the more remarkable specimens of the Bactrian coinage, which are contained in his cabinet. Mr. Vaux also called attention to two gold coins of Diodotus, the first Greek ruler in Bactriana, which belong to Major Hay, and are of extreme rarity, no other specimens being known, except the one in the French collection.

MARCH 22, 1860.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following present was announced, and laid upon the table :—

Revue Numismatique Belge. Series 3, tom. III.,	} PRESENTED BY THE EDITOR.
Parts I., II., III.	

The Hon. J. Leicester Warren, and George Worms, Esq., were balloted for, and elected members of the Society.

Mr. Poole read a paper "On two Coins of Polyrrhenium and Priansus, in Crete, preserved in the British Museum," both of which are very rare, and the latter probably unique, in which he pointed out the peculiar interest attaching to the coinage of this island, as one of the most ancient homes of Greek civilization; and that they cast a remarkable light upon its early greatness, with many new facts for the reconstruction of its later annals, which have been imperfectly related by classical writers. They show, that Crete had a special medallic school of its own, probably representing the style of its famous artists, of whose works, though history has not been wholly silent, we have, nevertheless, no certain remains. And this, indeed, is what we should expect from what we know of Greek

art generally, each separate state or colony exhibiting a pure and comprehensive style of art, worthy of comparison, indeed, with that of the Elgin marbles; yet by no means the uniform representation of one mind. In style, the Cretan coins display the same love of truth and purity, and breadth of treatment, as the best Greek works of their class; they have, however, one peculiarity, which markedly separates them from the coins of all other regions of the Greek world, in that their treatment is a pictorial rather than a sculptural one—proving their artists were not aware of the forms and types fit for the surface of a coin, or of the proper method of representing them; of this, the well-known type of Europa seated in the tree, on the coins of Gortyna, is an excellent example. The oldest Cretan coins are probably about the time of the invasion of Xerxes; the medium of commerce, having been most likely, before this period, the didrachms of Ægina and the staters of Cyzicus. From Egyptian authorities, we know that it was a prosperous island as early as the twelfth or thirteenth century, B.C.

APRIL 26, 1860.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

The following presents were announced, and laid upon the table:—

	PRESENTED BY
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. } XVII. Part 2, 1860.	THE SOCIETY.

The Rev. Assheton Pownall, M.A., was balloted for, and elected a member of the Society.

The Hon. J. Leicester Warren read a paper "On the Decay and Final Extinction of the Old Municipal Institutions under Gallienus," in which he showed that the local, as contrasted with the imperial

mints, ceased to be used about that time, and that the empire was finally centralised and consolidated by Aurelian. Mint-marks appear first in the reign of Aurelian, and the mints themselves were divided into western, central, and eastern; comprehending, respectively, under the first, Britain, Gaul, and Spain; under the second, Italy, Africa, Illyricum, and Western Thrace; and, under the third, Eastern Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Among the more important coins alluded to, were those of Magnentius and Decentius, struck probably at Ambianum (Amiens). Mr. Warren also noticed the attribution to Arelate (Arles), under its altered name of Constantina, of certain coins which had been, without reason, previously ascribed to Constantinople; a determination which rests in great measure on the character of the fabric of these coins, and shows at once how important this is as a guide to the student, and how necessary it is to class this portion of the series by mint-marks. In illustration of this, Mr. Warren mentioned, that a monetary establishment had been ascribed to Tarraco (Tarragona), the capital of Roman Spain — which had, not long before, had a mint of its own — and that the mint of Tarraco was subsequently removed to Arles, just as that of Carthage was removed first to Ostia, and then to Rome. Mr. Warren added, that in the legend CONOB, on coins of Constantinople, the OB must be interpreted as a representation of value, and that this sense is found on the money of several other places; the OB being, in fact, nothing but the Greek numerals 72, and meaning that 72 “solidi” were coined from one pound of gold. COMOB occurs only on the gold coins of the west, and must be rendered, “Constantinopolitana Moneta 72;” that is, “Money of the standard of Constantinople.” It was further remarked, that the coins of Eudoxia Arcadii must be distinguished from those of Eudoxia, the wife of Theodosius II.; that Ælia Placidia ought to be expunged from the Roman series, and her coins given to Galla Placidia, the sister of Honorius; and that, under Alexandria, there exist coins of two different epochs, both exhibiting a distinct “Domitianus,” the latter of which must be given to Domitius, Domitian, or Achilleus; the earlier to Alexander

Æmilian, who struck no medal there in his own name. In conclusion, Mr. Warren stated, that the dynasty of Palmyra comprehended merely viceroys of Gallienus and Claudius Gothicus, coins having been struck by them at Antioch, on which, however, their own names do not occur, until Vabalathus endeavoured to make himself equal with Aurelian; that, nevertheless, an unique gold coin in the Paris collection has been by some ascribed to Odonathus, and that Dion Cassius mentions two princes of that name, the younger one a son of the elder, by a marriage previous to that with Zenobia.

MAY 24, 1860.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., President, in the Chair.

General Moore was balloted for, and elected a member of the Society.

Mr. Evans read a short paper on "A Silver Coin of Carausius," in the possession of the Earl of Verulam, and lately discovered on the site of the ancient city of Verulam. It may be thus described:—

Obv.—IMP. CARAVSIVS. P. F. AVG. Draped and laureate bust of the emperor to the right.

Rev.—CONSER. AVG. Neptune, represented as an old man, half-naked, seated on a shell, and holding in his right hand an anchor, and leaning on a trident with his left. In exergue, R. S. R.

Mr. Evans remarked, that this type, though not unpublished, was still of extreme rarity, so much so as not to be noticed in the catalogue of coins of Carausius, given by Mr. Akerman in his "Coins of the Romans relating to Britain;" that it is, however, engraved in Stukely, Pl. XXX. No. 7, and in "Monumenta Hist. Brit.," Pl. V. 12, now in the Hunterian collection; and that there is a very similar type known in copper, engraved in Stukely, Pl. XIII. 9, and in the "Monum. Hist. Brit.," Pl. VI. 31, the latter from a coin in the possession of Mr. C. Roach Smith. The type of the reverse is

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singularly appropriate on the coins of one who owed his elevation entirely to his naval skill; the ocean god being as much in his place on the coins of Carausius, as he was on the coins of Agrippa three hundred years before. We accordingly find him on some of his other coins, as COMES . AVG; but on these he is represented *standing*. Mr. Evans added, that the representation of Neptune on the coin was singular in many respects: the drapery, the seat, and the anchor, are all unusual, especially the anchor; for besides the coins of Carausius, the denarii of Hadrian are the only ones on which Neptune is represented holding an anchor. The exergual letters, R . S . R., probably point out Rutupium as the place of mintage of this coin.

Mr. Evans also read a communication from Mr. Goddard Johnson, on "The Coins inscribed PAXS," and usually attributed to William I., though some of them have, by Mr. Sainthill (Olla Podrida, Vol. I. Pl. VIII.), been attributed to Rufus. Mr. Johnson is of opinion, that the final S is not merely to fill up a vacant space, like the C in the PACX on the coins of Canute and Edward the Confessor; but is intended to convey some meaning, making the legend PAX . S. This he regards, with Mr. Sainthill, as "Peace with Scotland"; and cites the peace concluded between the Conqueror and Malcolm III., in 1072, and that of Rufus with the same monarch, in 1091, as fitting occasions for issuing coins of this type. Mr. Johnson also communicated some extracts from the corporation account of the chamberlain of Norwich, between the years 1541 and 1549, as follows: —

"Lost in iij very bad base French crowns, that was
 paid to Mr. Eyer ij shillings
 "Lost in xxx pence of Dandypratts and Dylloyn
 grots sold for xxij. ^{ij} ij ^{ij} viij."
 Etc., etc., etc.

He remarks, that Dandypratts were small silver coins, probably farthings, of Henry VII. and VIII.; and it was most likely from the use of this word as a diminutive — a small child being called a

Dandypratt of a thing — that this term was applied to the smallest coins of the English series, weighing only from two to three grains.

Communications were also read from Mr. Akerman, on "A Gold Coin of Louis le Debonnaire" (814—840), being a barbarous imitation of the gold coins engraved in the "*Revue Numismatique*," Vol. II. Pl. VIII. Nos. 2 and 3, and bearing on the reverse MVNVS. DIVINVM, the type being a cross within a wreath; this coin has since been purchased for the British Museum:—from Mr. George Simon—"A Series of Coins found in the Farm of Netherfield, parish of Cummertrees, county of Dumfries;" including foreign sterlings, coins of John of Hainault, of Mons and Valenciennes, and of Robert III. of Flanders; a coin of Scotland, and several of Edward I. and II. of England; in all, 195:—from Mr. Roach Smith—"On a Coin of Baldred, King of Kent;" a type similar to that engraved in *Numis. Chron.*, Vol. XVI. p. 103, and in the possession of Edw. Pretty, Esq., F.S.A.; and on "A Third Brass Coin of Carausius, found at Richborough, the ancient Rutupium, with Fortuna Aug., and her bust on the reverse," which gave rise to the blunder of Stukely, who mistook this for an empress, and wife of Carausius. Dr. Bialloblotsky also gave the Society a few remarks on some Jewish tokens.

JUNE 21, 1860.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The minutes of the last General Meeting were read and confirmed; and the following Report of the Council, drawn up by the President, was read to the meeting:—

GENTLEMEN,—In obedience to the original custom of this Society, the Council have the honour to lay before you the following Report of the state of the Numismatic Society at this its Anniversary Meeting, both in regard to the numbers now on its books, and with

regard to its financial condition, as compared with the last occasion on which we had the pleasure of meeting together.

And, in the first place, the Council cannot but congratulate the Society on the flourishing condition which it to-day exhibits, in spite of the heavy losses which, in common with many other scientific bodies, it has experienced during a year which has proved peculiarly fatal to the elder men of science, and which will indeed be long remembered as one in which a larger proportion of England's most eminent scholars have passed from among us than at any period since this Society was called into existence. Yet, though the Numismatic Society has some to deplore whom the nation justly mourns, the number on our books at the present time exceeds that on our last anniversary; so that, as far as we are concerned, our regret may be tempered by the reflection that, in numbers at least, we are better off than we were a year ago.

Among those whom we deplore, we may briefly mention—

The Lord Londesborough,
Prof. H. H. Wilson,
W. H. Morley, Esq., and
Lieut.-Colonel Leake,

as deserving of more especial notice; while, on the other hand, we have the satisfaction of recording the election of—

The Hon. Mr. Warren,
I. De Salis, Esq.,
Major Hay, late of the H.E.I.C.S.
General Moore,
The Rev. Assheton Pownall,
H. Rolfe, Esq., and
George Worms, Esq.

If, therefore, we have lost by death four eminent members, we have, on the other hand, to congratulate the Society on the election of seven new members, some of whom are already known as men eminent for the successful cultivation of Numismatic science.

According to our Treasurer's report, our actual numbers at present may be arranged as follows:—

	Original.	Elected.	Honorary.	Associates.	Total.
Members } June, 1859, }	11	48	4	41	104
Since elected	—	7	—	—	7
	11	55	4	41	111
Deceased	1	3	—	—	4
Resigned	—	—	—	—	—
Total, June, 1860	10	52	4	41	107

Of those whom we have lost by death, we shall now proceed to give a brief notice; and we will take first the Lord Londesborough, to whom, from his long connection with us, and the spirit with which he at all times supported Numismatic and other antiquarian researches, this Society, in common with many other societies, is under great obligations.

The late Lord Londesborough was the second son of Henry first Marquess of Conyngham by his marriage with Elizabeth the daughter of Mr. Joseph Denison. He was born Oct. 21, 1805, the memorable day of the battle of Trafalgar; and was twice married: first, on July 6, 1833, to the Hon. Henrietta Maria Forester, fourth daughter of the late Lord Forester, who died in April, 1831; and secondly, in 1847, to Miss Bridgeman, the eldest daughter of Captain the Hon. Orlando Bridgeman, which lady survives her husband.

Lord Londesborough, as Lord Albert Conyngham, served for a short period in the Royal Horse Guards, but then adopted the Diplomatic service, being, in May, 1824, appointed *attaché* to the British legation at Berlin; and, in the following year, removed to Vienna, where he remained till February, 1828, when he was promoted to the Secretaryship of Legation at Florence. In July, 1829, he proceeded to Berlin, with the same official rank, and continued in that employment till June, 1831. In 1835, Lord Albert Conyng-

ham was returned to Parliament by the city of Canterbury, for which place he sat in the House of Commons till February, 1841, and, subsequently, from March, 1847, till the spring of 1850, when he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Londesborough. He had already assumed the name of "Denison," in the place of that of Conyngham, in accordance with the will of his maternal uncle, Mr. Joseph Denison, who had bequeathed to him the greater part of his immense wealth. In politics, Lord Londesborough was a staunch supporter of the Whig party. He had been created by George IV., in 1829, a Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Order, and was Deputy-Lieutenant of the West Riding of York. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society; and though, owing to his constant ill health, he was unable regularly to attend the meetings of the various societies of which he was member, he zealously promoted, as far as possible, by his example and practice, the objects for which they had been established.

It may truly be said of him, that few noblemen have shewn a more decided interest in all that concerns the arts or antiquities of his country; and as the President of this Society, and of the Archaeological Association, he was well known as an enthusiastic advocate of almost every kind of antiquarian research. By his death, science has lost a liberal patron, in whose behalf a well-filled purse was ever open. The work he published, entitled "*Miscellanea Graphica*," at great expense, and with beautiful drawings, executed by his friend and our respected member Mr. Fairholt, is the best monument of his taste and knowledge he could have left behind him.

His lordship is succeeded in his title and extensive landed property by the eldest son of his first marriage, the Hon. W. W. Forester Denison, recently M.P. for the town of Scarborough.

Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, who died in April of the present year, at the ripe age of seventy-five, the world, in common with the Numismatic Society, has reason to lament, as perhaps the most distinguished oriental scholar who has ever lived. He was a native of Scotland, and in his early youth was attached, as an

assistant-surgeon, to the Bengal establishment, in which capacity he went to India, in September, 1808; and having previously qualified himself by a knowledge of chemistry, and of the practical analysis of metals, for the duties of assay, he was at once placed in the mint at Calcutta, under Dr. Leyden, the most distinguished oriental scholar in India after H. T. Colebrooke. On the decease of Dr. Hunter, in 1811-12, Mr. Wilson, though then a very young man, was appointed, on the recommendation of Mr. Colebrooke, the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; a proof of the zeal with which he had thus early devoted himself to the study of eastern languages, and especially of Sanscrit. In 1813, he published his first work, a poetical translation of "The Megha-Duta, or Cloud-Messenger;" and from that time to his death he was incessantly engaged in the successful working out of his favourite pursuits. In 1819, he gave to the world the first edition of his immortal work, the "Sanskrit Dictionary," a second edition of which was called for in 1832. In 1827, his "Specimens of the Hindu Theatre," translated from the Sanscrit, were published in three vols. 8vo. In 1828, he published "A Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Manuscripts," one of the most valuable collections ever made, in illustration of the history and antiquities of India:—in 1840, the "Vishnu Purana," a system of Hindu mythology and tradition, translated from the original Sanscrit, Lond. 4to:—in 1841, his most valuable "Introduction to the Study of the Sanscrit Grammar," which reached a second or enlarged edition in 1847; and in 1842, "Selections from the Mahabharata," in 8vo.

In 1850, he commenced the publication of his translation of the "Rig Veda Sanhita," a collection of ancient Hindu hymns, the editing of which from the original MSS. had, in the year 1847, been commenced by Prof. Max. Müller, at a cost to the East India Company, when the whole shall have been finished, of little less than £20,000—a work of the greatest interest to those who are desirous of forming a correct estimate of Hindu civilization 1,500 years before Christ. On this translation Prof. Wilson was still engaged at his death, the third volume having been recently published. In 1855, he published

another and most useful book, a "Glossary of all the Judicial and Revenue Terms now in use in India, and explained by Translations from the Sanscrit, Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic Languages," 4to.

To this Society are of especial interest, the labours Prof. Wilson devoted to the ancient coinage of India. Of these we must notice, first, "A Description of Select Coins in the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII.); secondly, a short account of the coins discovered in Afghanistan, by Lieut. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes, published in 1834; and, thirdly, the large and comprehensive volume of the "*Ariana Antiqua*," published in 1841.

Nor were these the only products of his prolific pen and prolonged labours. To the general reader, Prof. Wilson's "Collection of Proverbs," translated from the Persian and Hindustani, in 1824, in 8vo., will probably be not uninteresting; while his "Narrative of the Burmese War of 1824-26," and his new and complete edition of Mill's "History of British India," extended, with continuations, to nine vols., 12mo. London, 1840-48, is a work indispensable to those who are anxious to obtain a complete account of the connection of the East India Company with India. There are also three lectures, given by him in his capacity as Boden Professor, in the Theatre at Oxford, in 1838; and a subsequent one, "On the Present State of the Cultivation of Oriental Literature," both of which will repay attentive perusal; together with the "Travels of Moorcroft and Trebeck in Kashmir and the Punjab," 2 vols. 8vo., 1841; and an interesting paper on the "*Indica of Ctesias*," published by the Ashmolean Society, at Oxford.

But besides his more distinctly literary occupations, a considerable portion of Prof. Wilson's Indian career was devoted to the active service of the Government, his literary labours being chiefly the result of his hours of relaxation. The duties of the Assay Office, at Calcutta, and the secretaryship of the Mint, afforded him constant occupation for a portion of every day; while, in addition to this, he created, in 1820, a new Mint at Benares, the management of which, aided by James Prinsep, was chiefly under his direction

up to the time of his retirement from India, in 1833. During this employment, he made himself acquainted with the details of the local currency of India, both ancient and modern, and laid the foundation of that accurate numismatic knowledge, which he has so effectively displayed in the "*Ariana Antiqua*," and which may justly be deemed to have formed an æra in the pursuit of numismatic science, and to have given a secure basis to all the subsequent researches of Bactrian and ancient Hindu students.

It was natural, that, with these pursuits and this knowledge, Prof. Wilson should have taken a deep interest in this Society—of which he was one of the founders—and that he should have felt much gratification in acting as our President, for more than one year.

Prof. Wilson was a member of many of the most distinguished Scientific and Literary Societies at home and abroad. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, a Corresponding Member of the French Institute, and Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Literature; and for some years President, and, to the day of his death, Director, of the Royal Asiatic Society. He held also, as has been stated, the distinguished position of the Boden Professor of Sanskrit, in the University of Oxford; and succeeded Sir Charles Wilkins as Librarian to the East India Company, a post which he continued to hold till within two months of his lamented death. In him the study of the languages of India—and more especially the younger students, who hung upon his lips for the words of wisdom and encouragement—have experienced a loss which they will long have reason to deplore.

Prof. Wilson finally left India, in 1833, on his appointment by the University of Oxford to the first Boden Professorship of Sanscrit; since this period to the very day of his death, his life has been one of increasing and valuable labour, during which he was able to mature the many works noticed above; together with a large number of Papers, Essays, and Contributions to literary and scientific journals, which it is not necessary should be here enumerated.

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In Mr. William Henry Morley, who had joined us comparatively lately, the Society has to regret the loss of a most accomplished scholar, who had turned his attention to many branches of literature, and had shewn remarkable ability on every subject he handled. Called to the Bar in 1840, he devoted himself with great zeal to the duties of that profession, and more especially to those parts of it which refer to our Indian empire; for which his thorough acquaintance with Arabic and Persian fitted him in a peculiar manner. Hence the extraordinary labour he bestowed on appeal cases from India, and the compilation of a most valuable work, "On the Muhammedan laws prevalent in India," which issued as it was, from time to time, in *fasciculi*, received from its first appearance the earnest attention of the highest legal authorities in this country, and has ever since been used as a text-book for reference, both in England and India.

The first work, indeed, that he published, was that from which he had derived his chief reputation in this country. It was entitled, "Analytical Digest of all the Reported Cases decided in the Supreme Courts of Judicature in India, and in the Courts of the East India Company; and an Appeal from India, by Her Majesty in Council, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1849-50"; together with a New Series, 1 vol. 8vo., London, 1852, which he was continuing at the time of his lamented death.

In 1858, he published, much enlarged, but as a separate volume, portions selected from the Introduction to his earlier work, with the title, "Administration of Justice in India, its Past and Present History; comprising an Account of the Laws peculiar to India." London, 8vo., 1858.

But, besides these more elaborate labours, Mr. Morley was well known for his great general knowledge of all matters connected with the East. This information he exhibited in a remarkable manner, in his account of some curious astronomical instruments preserved in the British Museum and other collections, and termed, for want of a better name, "Astrolabes," the most splendid specimen of which he published in 1856, under the title, "Descrip-

tion of a Planisphere Astrolabe, constructed by Shah Husein, now in the British Museum, with concise Notices of Twelve other Astrolabes, Eastern and European." London, folio, 1856; a work which will ever remain as an illustration of his knowledge and skill in the interpretation of descriptions in Arabic and Persian, not readily intelligible to any but a practised astronomer.

Nor was he less attentive to other branches of Oriental knowledge. Thus the Asiatic Society owe to him a most valuable account of the chief manuscript treasures which they possess, entitled, "A Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Manuscripts in Arabic and Persian, preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society. London, 8vo., 1854": while this Society gladly acknowledges the value of the only work he published on Numismatic subjects—"The Coins of the Atâbek Princes of Syria and Asia Minor"—all the plates of which were drawn by his own hand, and the descriptions furnished by Mr. Vaux.

Mr. Morley died suddenly after a short but severe illness, in great measure produced by heavy domestic misfortunes, at the early age of 45, and when his friends might reasonably have hoped that his life might long have been spared for even greater and more valuable labours.

The late Lieut.-Colonel William Martin Leake was born in London on the 14th of January, 1777. He was the son of John Martin Leake, a commissioner for auditing the public accounts, and the grandson of Stephen Martin Leake, Garter Principal King-at-Arms. The family name of Leake was derived from Sir John Leake, the famous admiral of Queen Anne's reign. He obtained a commission in the Artillery in the year 1794, and commenced his professional career in the West Indies. In 1799, he entered the field of his subsequent labours, on being appointed to a mission for the instruction of the Turks in the use and practice of artillery, and repaired to Constantinople for that purpose. Early in 1800, it having been deemed advisable by the English Ambassador that the Grand Vizier,

then engaged in the defence of the southern provinces of the empire against the French, should have the assistance and advice of competent British officers, General Koehler, Captain Leake, and others, were despatched to Jaffa. They traversed Asia Minor, and visited the island of Cyprus; but meeting there Sir Sydney Smith, who had just signed a treaty for the evacuation of Egypt by the French, they returned to Constantinople. That treaty not having been confirmed, Capt. Leake again started, and joined the army of the Grand Vizier in Syria; and, in the winter of the same year, visited the greater part of Palestine. In 1801, he entered Egypt with the Turkish army; and Alexandria having capitulated, he received the directions of Lord Hutchinson to accompany the late Mr. William Richard Hamilton, then private secretary to Lord Elgin, into Upper Egypt, for the purpose of making a general survey of that country, as well with respect to its military and geographical, as to its political and commercial state. The results of their labours were a map of the course of the Nile from the sea to the first cataract, a determination of many ancient sites, a description of the principal monuments, as well as a large collection of observations on the agriculture and commerce of the country. The results of this journey to the public were a map which has been, until very lately, the most satisfactory and available, and Mr. Hamilton's excellent work, entitled "*Ægyptiaca*." In 1802, Capt. Leake visited Syria, and prosecuted researches in that country.

Having returned to England, Capt. Leake was despatched, in 1804, on an important mission, charged by the government to survey the coasts and interior of European Turkey, with reference to placing the country in an efficient state of defence. From 1804 to 1806, he travelled, in pursuit of his instructions, in Northern Greece and the Morea; and while performing the important duties of his mission in a manner that gave great satisfaction to the authorities at home, he paid constant attention to the remains of antiquity and the illustrations of geographical difficulties that he met with in his journeys.

In 1807, the occurrence of hostilities between England and the

Porte prevented his travels. He was made a prisoner, but escaped from custody at Salonica to H. M. S. "Thetis." In 1808, he returned to England for the benefit of his health; and in the autumn of the same year, Mr. Canning instructed him to repair to the East, in order to open communications with the famous 'Alee Páshá, of Jannina, and other feudatories of the Porte, to persuade them to commence offensive operations against the French. On this mission Major Leake was engaged till the year 1810.

On the observations made during these years, from 1804 to 1810, extended by subsequent reflection and study, were founded those standard topographical works which have earned for their author a well-deserved celebrity. In the same period, he formed a favourable judgment of the Greek nation, and acquired those Philhellenic partialities which strongly mark several of his works.

In 1814, Lieut.-Col. Leake was appointed to attend the army of the Swiss Confederation under the command of the Archduke John, and was for some months at Berne at the conclusion of the great European war.

On his return to England, his literary labours commenced, and were continued with very little interruption from his professional duties (for he retired from the army in 1823) until the day of his death. In the year 1814 were published his "Researches in Greece;" in 1821, the first edition of his "Topography of Athens;" and, in 1822, Burckhardt's "Travels in Nubia, Syria, and Arabia," appeared, edited by Col. Leake. In 1824, he narrated the observations he had made in Asia Minor; in 1826, he published the "Historical Outline of the Greek Revolution;" and, in 1829, the "Demi of Attica." In 1830, he published one of his most important works, the "Travels in the Morea;" followed, in 1835, by the equally important "Travels in Northern Greece."

The later years of Col. Leake's life were occupied in the production of the "Numismata Hellenica," a work which must here be especially mentioned. From the broad views with which this work was undertaken, the author bringing his varied geographical and historical knowledge to the illustration of the coins described, and

the unwearied accuracy with which the details were executed, this work is one of the most important contributions ever made to numismatic science. Since Eckhel, no one has treated numismatics with so large an appreciation of their real value; and, in consequence, no one has produced a book approaching in interest and value this last of Col. Leake's many contributions to archæology.

In 1838, Colonel Leake married Elizabeth Wray, eldest daughter of Sir Charles Wilkins, and widow of Charles Marsden, both of whose names are honourably known in connection with Oriental studies. Mrs. Leake took no small share in Col. Leake's numismatic labours, and rendered him the most valuable assistance, especially in the preparation of electrotypes.

A list of papers, contributed to the ordinary meetings of the Society, was then read.

The Meeting then proceeded to ballot for the Officers of the ensuing year, when the following gentlemen were duly elected:—

President.

W. S. W. VAUX, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.A.S.

Vice-Presidents.

EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq., F.S.A., F.L.S.

JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S.

Treasurer.

GEORGE H. VIRTUE, Esq., F.S.A.

Secretaries.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.S.A.

FRED. W. MADDEN, Esq.

Foreign Secretary.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., F.S.A.

Librarian.

JOHN WILLIAMS, Esq., F.S.A.

Members of the Council.

J. B. BERGNE, Esq., F.S.A.
 W. BOYNE, Esq., F.S.A.
 COLONEL TOBIN RUSH.
 F. W. FAIRHOLT, Esq., F.S.A.
 W. FREUDENTHAL, Esq.
 CAPT. MURCHISON.
 J. G. PFISTER, Esq.
 J. W. DE SALIS, Esq.
 C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.
 HON. J. LEICESTER WARREN.
 R. WHITEBOURNE, Esq., F.S.A.
 EDWARD WIGAN, Esq.

The Society then adjourned till November.



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